

THE APOCRYPHA
AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA
OF THE
OLD TESTAMENT
IN ENGLISH

WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES
TO THE SEVERAL BOOKS

EDITED IN CONJUNCTION WITH MANY SCHOLARS BY

R. H. CHARLES, D.LITT., D.D.

FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD
FELLOW OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY

VOLUME II
PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1913

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW NEW YORK
TORONTO MELBOURNE BOMBAY
HUMPHREY MILFORD M.A.
PUBLISHER TO THE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE

FOR students both of the Old and New Testaments the value of the non-Canonical Jewish literature from 200 B. C. to A. D. 100 is practically recognized on every side alike by Jewish and Christian scholars. But hitherto no attempt has been made to issue an edition of this literature as a whole in English.¹ Indeed, such an undertaking would have been all but impossible at an earlier date, seeing that critical editions of some of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha have not been published till within the last few years.

The method observed in this work.

In all the contributions one and the same method has been observed. Each contribution consists of an introduction, an English translation from the best critical text—in a few cases the Revised Version has been adopted and emendations suggested in the notes—and of a critical and exegetical commentary.² As regards the introductions, the subjects dealt with in them have, so far as possible, been treated in the same order to facilitate the use of the work. Though a large discretion has naturally been given to the various editors, the following order has more or less been observed as a guide or been actually carried out.

- § 1. Short account of the book, embodying its leading features and the editor's chief conclusions.
- § 2. Title of the book.
- § 3. The MSS.
- § 4. The Ancient Versions.
- § 5. Date of (*a*) the original text, (*b*) of the Ancient Versions.
- § 6. Integrity or composite nature of the text.
- § 7. Authorship.
- § 8. Influence of the book on later literature—(*a*) Jewish ; (*b*) Christian.
- § 9. Theology of the book.
- § 10. Bibliography—
 - (*a*) Chief editions of the text (and of the Ancient Versions).
 - (*b*) Chief critical inquiries.
 - (*c*) Chief editions of the book.

¹ Kautzsch published an edition in German in 1900, but on a smaller scale than the present work and embracing fewer books of this literature (vol. i. 1-507; vol. ii. 1-540).

² In the case of Sirach and Tobit the editors have been allowed much beyond the normal number of pages for their critical apparatus, which they have used to good purpose.

PREFACE

The extent of the present work.

The first volume contains what is generally known as the Apocrypha Proper, which constitutes the excess of the Vulgate over the Hebrew Old Testament, which excess was in turn borrowed from the LXX. But this volume differs from the Apocrypha Proper at once in the way of excess and in the way of defect. 3 Maccabees has been added after 2 Maccabees, since it is contained in many MSS. of the LXX, and 4 Ezra has been transferred to Volume ii since it is essentially a Pseudepigraph.

Volume ii contains all the remaining extant non-Canonical Jewish books written between 200 B.C. and A.D. 100 with possibly one or two exceptions. The greater part of these books have hitherto been accessible only in expensive editions—such as Jubilees, 1 Enoch, Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, 2 Baruch, 4 Ezra, Psalms of Solomon, Pirkē Aboth, the Story of Aḥikar, &c. As regards the last two, it is not necessary to make any apology for their introduction into the present work, although they do not properly fall within the true limits above defined, but they were used, at all events partially, by Jewish readers within this period, nor can they be rightly designated Pseudepigraphs. The Fragments of a Zadokite Work are of an historical character, and are valuable in throwing light on a lost chapter of Jewish religious history. They contain likewise apocalyptic material of an interesting nature.

The General Editor, in conclusion, wishes to express his thanks to the Delegates of the Press for undertaking this work, and to the Officers of the Press, whose help and counsel were always ready to meet each difficulty as it arose. The Editor is also under deep obligations to the many scholars who, notwithstanding the pressure of other duties, have yet given themselves so unsparingly to the tasks they had undertaken, that in every instance most valuable service has been rendered to the student and the scholar, while in not a few instances their contributions form actual monographs within the limits assigned. His thanks are due to Messrs. A. and C. Black, the publishers of his editions of Jubilees, Martyrdom of Isaiah, Testament of the XII Patriarchs, Assumption of Moses, 2 Baruch, for permission to reprint the translation and make use of the introduction and notes contained in those editions. Finally, he would acknowledge his indebtedness to the Rev. A. Ll. Davies, who has acted throughout as his secretary and also made the General Index.

R. H. CHARLES.

24 BARDWELL ROAD, OXFORD.
March, 1913.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II

	PAGES
CONTRIBUTORS	vi
THE PSEUDEPIGRAPHA OF THE OLD TESTAMENT	
GENERAL INTRODUCTION (Charles)	vii
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA	xii
PRIMITIVE HISTORY REWRITTEN FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE LAW—	
THE BOOK OF JUBILEES (Charles)	i-82
SACRED LEGENDS—	
THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS (Andrews)	83-122
THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE (Wells)	123-154
THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH (Charles)	155-162
APOCALYPSES—	
1 ENOCH (Charles)	163-281
THE TESTAMENTS OF THE XII PATRIARCHS (Charles)	282-367
THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES (Lanchester)	368-406
THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES (Charles)	407-424
2 ENOCH, OR THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH (Forbes and Charles)	425-469
2 BARUCH, OR THE SYRIAC APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH (Charles)	470-526
3 BARUCH, OR THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH (Hughes)	527-541
4 EZRA (Box)	542-624
PSALMS—	
THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON (Gray)	625-652
ETHICS AND WISDOM LITERATURE—	
4 MACCABEES (Townshend)	653-685
PIRKE ABOTH (Herford)	686-714
THE STORY OF AHIKAR (Harris, Lewis, Conybeare)	715-784
HISTORY—	
THE FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK (Charles)	785-834
GENERAL INDEX	835-871

CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLUME II

ANDREWS, HERBERT T., B.A. (Oxford), D.D. (Aberdeen), Professor of New Testament Exegesis, Hackney and New College, London : *The Letter of Aristeas*.

BOX, G. H. (see list of Contributors to Vol. I): 4 *Ezra*.

CHARLES, R. H.: 2 *Baruch*, 1 *Enoch*, 2 *Enoch*, *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, *Book of Jubilees*, *Assumption of Moses*, *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*.

CONYBEARE, F. C., M.A., D.D. (Giessen), formerly Fellow of University College, Oxford ; Fellow of the British Academy ; Officier d'Académie : *Story of Ahikar* (Armenian Version).

DAVIES, A. LL, M.A., formerly Scholar of Queen's College, Oxford : *The General Index*.

FORBES, NEVILL, M.A., Reader in Russian and the other Slavonic Languages : 2 *Enoch* (translation).

GRAY, G. BUCHANAN, D.D., D.Litt., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis, Mansfield College, Oxford : *The Psalms of Solomon*.

HARRIS, J. RENDEL, Litt.D., LL.D., Director of Studies at the Friends' Settlement, Woodbrooke : *The Story of Ahikar* (Syriac, Aramaic, and Greek Versions).

HERFORD, R. TRAVERS, B.A. : *Pirkē Aboth : The Sayings of the Fathers*.

HUGHES, H. MALDWYN, D.D. (London) ; 3 *Baruch*.

LANCHESTER, H. C. O., M.A., formerly Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge : *The Sibylline Oracles*.

LEWIS, AGNES SMITH, Hon. Phil. Doc. (Halle, Wittenberg), LL.D. (St. Andrews), D.D. (Heidelberg) : *The Story of Ahikar* (the Arabic Version).

TOWNSHEND, R. B., M.A., formerly Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge : 4 *Maccabees*.

WELLS, L. S. A., M.A., formerly Tutor in Ripon Theological College ; *The Books of Adam and Eve*.

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME II

§ 1. *The apocalyptic and legalistic sides of pre-Christian Pharisaism—starting originally from the same source—developed ultimately into Christianity and Talmudic Judaism.*

APOCALYPTIC Judaism and legalistic Judaism were not in pre-Christian times essentially antagonistic. Fundamentally their origin was the same. Both started with the unreserved recognition of the supremacy of the Law. This is to be expected in regard to legalistic Pharisaism, which was therein only adopting the teaching of the priesthood.¹ But it is enforced also in apocalyptic Pharisaism. Thus the most universalistic and ethical of all the apocalyptic writings, i.e. the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, declares that this Law is 'the light that lighteth every man'. To all Jewish apocalyptic writers the Law was of eternal validity, but they also clung fast to the validity of the prophetic teaching as the source of new truth and the right of apocalyptic as its successor in this respect. We have early evidence of this conjunction of legalism and apocalyptic in the Book of Joel. The Law is there recognized as authoritative, its ritual as of the highest import, while at the same time the impending advent of the kingdom of God is depicted in highly apocalyptic colouring. In the Book of Jubilees, the narrowest book that ever emanated from legalistic Judaism, the same conjunction is manifest, though naturally the theology is of a much more advanced type.

Thus devotion to the Law is the note that characterizes apocalyptic from its earliest beginnings. It appears in the declaration of Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees; it was voiced by the Jews in their uprising against Caligula's attempt to set up his statue in the Temple, and it is stereotyped in words placed in the mouth of the Quietist saint in the Assumption of Moses: 'Let us die rather than transgress the commands of the God of our fathers' (ix. 6).

This original and fundamental identity of apocalyptic and legalistic Pharisaism in respect to devotion to the Law needs to be emphasized, because Jewish scholars in the past, and to a considerable extent in the present, have denied to apocalyptic its place in the faith of pre-Christian orthodox Judaism. This action on their part is unintelligible, seeing that Talmudic Judaism, no less than Christianity, owes its spiritual conceptions of the future to apocalyptic.

The affinity then between Jewish apocalyptic and legalism is essential, since the Law was for both valid eternally, but when apocalyptic passed over into Christianity and therein naturally abandoned this view of the Law, it became in a measure anti-legalistic.² Even before the Christian era each of these two sides of Pharisaism necessarily tended to lay more and more emphasis on the chief factor in its belief and study to the almost complete exclusion of the other, and thus legalistic Pharisaism in time drove out almost wholly the apocalyptic element as an active factor (though it accepted some of its developments) and became the parent of Talmudic Judaism, whereas apocalyptic Judaism developed more and more the apocalyptic, i.e. prophetic, element, and in the process came to recognize, as in 4 Ezra, the inadequacy of the Law for salvation. From this it follows that the Judaism that survived the destruction of the Temple, being almost wholly bereft of the apocalyptic wing which had passed over into Christianity, was not the same as the Judaism of an earlier date. Before A.D. 70 Judaism was a Church with many parties: after A.D. 70 the legalistic party succeeded in suppressing its rivals, and so Judaism became in its essentials a Sect. In modern times Judaism is striving to recover the liberty of prophesying.³

¹ One of the elements that contributed to this recognition was the identification of the Law and Wisdom. This is already an accomplished fact in Sirach, though it had probably been long a current belief: cp. xix. 10, xxiv. 23: see vol. i. 305 sq. But the most absolute assertion of the supremacy and everlastingness of the Law in pre-Christian Judaism is to be found in Jubilees. See this vol., 1 sq.

² The Law is not mentioned even once in the great New Testament Apocalypse.

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME II

§ 2. *Jewish apocalyptic has been always pseudonymous from the third century B.C. onwards. This pseudonymity due to the absolute supremacy of the Law, which left no room for prophecy. The prophetic spirit cannot openly declare itself in Judaism save by a breach with Talmudic Judaism.*

Apocalyptic works written before the third century B.C. were not pseudonymous. Joel is perhaps the latest apocalypticist in the Old Testament whose work was not pseudonymous. But Zech. ix-xiv and Isaiah xxiv-xxvii—not to speak of other later additions to the earlier prophets—were in all probability pseudonymous. At all events, from the third century B.C. onwards apocalyptic has always been pseudonymous in Judaism. On the other hand in Christianity, for the first century at any rate, apocalyptic ceased to be pseudonymous, and the seer came forward in his own person. Of these strange and conflicting phenomena explanations have been advanced by various scholars, and the latest by Gunkel, but they are all partial or inadequate. The present writer is of opinion that he has arrived at an hypothesis which will satisfy all the conditions of the problem.

We have already adverted to the fact that in the third century B.C. the Law had come to be conceived as the final and supreme revelation of God. When once this idea of an inspired Law—adequate, infallible, and valid for all time—had become an accepted dogma of Judaism, as it became in the post-Exilic period, there was no longer room for independent representatives of God appearing before men, such as the pre-Exilic prophets. God had, according to the official teachers of the Church, spoken His last and final word through the Law, and when the hope was expressed that in the coming age a prophet will arise, he was only conceived as one whose task was to decide questions of ritual or priestly succession, or legal interpretation in accordance with the Law. Thus in 1 Macc. iv. 46 the stones of the defiled altar of burnt-offering were to be put aside till a prophet arose, and similarly in xiv. 41 (cf. ix. 27) the high-priesthood of Simon was to be provisionally acknowledged till a prophet arose, who could decide on the validity of his high-priesthood. Accordingly the first fact we are to recognize is, that from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah *the Law has not only assumed the functions of the ancient pre-Exilic prophets, but it has also, so far as it lay in its power, made the revival of such prophecy an impossibility.* The prophet who issued a prophecy under his own name after the time of Ezra and Nehemiah could not expect a hearing unless his prophecy had the imprimatur of the Law.¹

This is exactly the view of the Rabbinic scholars. Thus they taught that whereas the Prophets and Hagiographa will in the future cease to be, for there is nothing in them which is not suggested in the Law (Jer. Meg. 70d), the Law itself would endure for ever (Taanit 9a); and that 'Any prophet who attempted to annul one of its laws would be punished by death' (Toseph. xiv. 13), and that 'though all mankind should combine, they could not abolish one yod of it' (Cant. R. v. 11; Lev. R. xix; Num. R. xvii, &c.). (See *Jewish Encyc.* xii. 197.)

It is now clear, I think, that from Nehemiah's time onward prophecy could not gain a hearing, whether the prophecy was genuine—that is, appeared under the name of its actual author—or was anonymous, unless it was acceptable in the eyes of the Law. From the class of genuine and anonymous works we pass on to the third division, the pseudonymous. There are at all events two of them in the Old Testament, Ecclesiastes and Daniel. With the former we have here no concern. But how are we to explain the pseudonymity of Daniel and the other apocalyptic works of the second century B.C., such as Enoch, Jubilees, and the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs? This pseudonymity has already in part been explained. These apocalypticists do not merely repeat the old truths, which in so many cases had become the mere shibboleths of a petrified orthodoxy, they not only challenged many of the orthodox views of the time and condemned them, but they also carried

¹ Nay more, according to Zech. xiii. 1-5 (a late work written from the priestly standpoint), if a man declared himself to be a prophet his father and his mother were to put him to death. By such drastic measures prophecy was driven forth from the bosom of Judaism, and has never since been suffered to return. The task of leading the people into more spiritual conceptions, alike as regards the present life and that which is to come, devolved henceforth on apocalyptic, and that a pseudonymous apocalyptic.

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME II

forward the revelation of God in the provinces of religion, ethics, and eschatology. Against the reception of such fresh faith and truth the Law stood in the way, unless the books containing them came under the aegis of certain great names in the past. Against the claims and authority of such names the official representatives of the Law were in part reduced to silence, at all events in the case of the Book of Daniel. But there is another ground for the adoption of pseudonymity, and when we combine it with the autocracy claimed and exercised by the Law we have the grounds for which we are in search. This second ground is the formation of the threefold Canon of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. Before the formation of the prophetic Canon anonymous prophetic writings could gain currency and acceptance on the ground of their inherent worth, but when once the prophetic Canon was closed, no book of a prophetic character could gain canonization as such. Now the collection of the Prophets existed pretty much in its present form about 200 B.C., though additions may have been made to Hosea, Isaiah, and Zechariah, &c., subsequently to that date. Into the Hagiographa were received all books of a religious character, of which the date was believed to go back as far as to the time of Ezra. To this third division of the Canon books were admitted down to A.D. 100, and the last were Canticles, Ecclesiastes, and Esther. Daniel was admitted to this third Canon at some period in the second century B.C.

Daniel was admitted into the Canon in the belief that it was written by the ancient worthy of that name; but not among the Prophets, for the prophetic Canon was closed, but among the Hagiographa. The example of Daniel was followed by Jewish apocalyptic down to the thirteenth century A.D. It was pseudonymous and remained pseudonymous; for the Law was supreme, inspiration was officially held to be dead, and the Canon was closed. Moreover, all the great Jewish apocalypses which were written before A.D. 10, and which carried on the mystical and spiritual side of religion as opposed to the legalistic, Judaism dropped and banned after its breach with Christianity, just as it dropped and banned the Greek translation of the Old Testament. Thereupon Legalism became absolute, and determined henceforth the character of Judaism. Apocalyptic, which had exercised a determining influence in many of the great crises of the nation, and had given birth to and shaped the higher theology of Judaism, was driven from its position of secondary authority, and either banished absolutely or relegated wholly into the background. Owing to this fact Jewish scholars like Jost and Graetz have denied the great significance of apocalyptic in Judaism. But this blunder is every day becoming more impossible, and now we find that Jewish scholars like Battenwieser (*Jewish Encyc.* i. 676) maintain that the courage and persistency of the Jews in their faith, their indomitable hope under persecution, their scorn of death, were all nourished by apocalyptic from the times of the Maccabees down to the thirteenth century A.D. 'The darker the present grew . . . the more eagerly did their minds turn to the comfort offered by apocalyptic promises, which predicted the end of their suffering and the dawn of their delivery.'

All Jewish apocalypses, therefore, from 200 B.C. onwards were of necessity pseudonymous if they sought to exercise any real influence on the nation; for the Law was everything, belief in inspiration was dead amongst them, and their Canon was closed.¹

§ 3. *The ethical advance in Judaism.*

Prophecy has always been recognized as the greatest ethical force in the ancient world. Such also was apocalyptic in its time, and yet an attempt has recently been made by advanced liberals to differentiate prophecy and apocalyptic on the ground that apocalyptic and ethics are distinct, and that ethics are the kernel and apocalyptic the husk which Christianity shed when it ceased to need it. How any scholar who was really acquainted with the texts could make such a statement I cannot understand. Apocalyptic was essentially ethical. To use the mixed metaphor of St. Paul, it was rooted and grounded in ethics, and that an ethics based on the essential righteousness of God.

¹ See my *Eschatology*², pp. 193-205.

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME II

In every crisis of the world's history, when the good cause was overthrown and the bad triumphant, its insistent demand was ever: 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?' and its uncompromising optimism, its unconquerable faith under the most overwhelming disasters, was: 'God reigns, and righteousness shall ultimately prevail'.

The ethical element is the fundamental element in the chief books of this literature. What else but an inexpugnable sense of truth and duty to truth inspire the refusal of the three children in Daniel to fall down and worship the image that the king had set up? When the king demands: 'Who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?' mark the splendid heroism of their reply: 'There is a God whom we serve who is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and He will deliver us out of thy hand, O king. But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up' (iii. 17 sqq.).

Now let us turn to the apocalyptic books outside the Canon.

What an expressive ethical statement is that in Jubilees (xxi. 22) addressed to Israel!

'Beware lest thou walk in their ways
And tread in their paths,
And sin a sin unto death against the Most High God,
And so He deliver thee back again into the grip of thy transgression.'

Or, turning to a different theme, let us hear what the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs say of the faithful doer of the word of God:

'Every man that knoweth the law of the Lord shall be honoured,
And shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth . . .
For though there be a leading into captivity,
And cities and lands be destroyed,
And gold and silver and every possession perish,
The wisdom of the wise can nought take away,
Save the blindness of ungodliness,
Or the callousness (that comes) of sin. . . .
Even among his enemies shall wisdom be a glory to him,
And in a strange country a fatherland,
And in the midst of foes shall prove a friend.'

(T. Levi, xiii. 3, 7-8.)

Or again, in 2 Enoch (xliii. 2-3): 'As one year is more honourable than another, so is one man more honourable than another. This man on account of having possessions, that man on account of the wisdom of the heart, another on account of understanding, another on account of purity, another on account of strength . . . but let it be heard everywhere; there is none greater than he that feareth God.'

Or again, when the apocalypticist says of the unceasing service of an order of heavenly beings: 'They rest not day nor night; for unto them thanksgiving is rest.'

There are numberless other passages showing the moral depth and inwardness of this literature. What nobler advice could the best ethical Christian teacher give to a defeated rival than this: 'If a man is prospered beyond you, do not be vexed, but even have recourse unto prayer on his behalf, that he may be prospered to the full' (T. Gad vii. 1)? Or again: 'If any man seeketh to do evil unto you, do him a good turn, and pray for him, and so from all evil ye shall be redeemed of the Lord' (T. Jos. xviii. 2). Or again: 'The holy man is merciful to him that revileth him, and holdeth his peace' (T. Benj. v. 4).

Now it would be possible to fill many pages in setting forth the teaching of apocalyptic on such ethical subjects as conscience, courage, endurance, longsuffering, justice, truthfulness, temperance, singleness of heart, deceit, calumny, folly; on religious themes of an ethical character as love, faith, works, forgiveness, compassion, humility, reverence, covetousness, lust; or on metaphysical themes influencing ethics, as foreknowledge, freedom, determinism, heredity, individualism, universalism; but we have established our thesis sufficiently for our present purpose.¹

¹ Reprinted from my *Eschatology* (2nd ed.), 190 sqq., where the renderings differ slightly in diction from those given in this volume.

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME II

The ethical teaching on these subjects in apocalyptic is a vast advance on that of the O.T., and forms the indispensable link which in this respect connects the O.T. with the N.T.

This ethical element is present also in Talmudic literature, but somehow it lacks the fire and inspiration that distinguish it in the Pseudepigrapha. It is more nearly related to the average morality and practical wisdom of the Proverbs of the Old Testament. The chief work on Ethics in the Talmud, which is reproduced in the Jewish Book of Common Prayer, i.e. *The Sayings of the Fathers*, has been translated and added to this volume, in order that the student might have before him the best that Later Judaism produced in the domain of Ethics. It will be obvious even to the most cursory reader that a great gulf divides the Ethics of the Testaments of the XII Patriarchs, and even those of 2 Enoch, from these excellent but very uninspiring sayings of Jewish sages belonging to the legalistic wing of Judaism. It is quite true that many a fine saying is found in the other tractates of the Talmud and other Rabbinic writings, but the harvest that rewards the diligent reaper is slight in comparison of the toil, and the number of really fine sayings that were uttered before A.D. 100 is far from great.¹

¹ For a very favourable account of this side of Rabbinic Judaism see Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, 1909. The chapter on the 'Joy of the Law' (pp. 148-69) is well worth study. It shows that in all ages in Judaism the joy that the Psalmists felt in the service of God was experienced likewise by many a Jew in the fulfilment of the innumerable later requirements of the Law—requirements which to the non-Jew could only prove an intolerable and unspiritual burden, and which were felt even by many spiritually-minded Jews to be a yoke that neither they nor their fathers had been able to bear (Acts xv. 10). But this type of mind which reaches its fullest satisfaction in unquestioning submission to an external commandment is, of course, to be found in all religions. It is not progressive or prophetic in character, but it helps to preserve some of the best elements in the past. See also Oesterley and Box, *The Religion and the Worship of the Synagogue*, chap. vii.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA TO VOLUME II

P. 386 (The Sibylline Books).

Sibyll. III. 396-397. Instead of the rendering in the text, which is right indeed grammatically, we should unquestionably render as follows:—

‘Yet after leaving one root, which the Destroyer shall cut off
From among ten horns, he shall put forth a side shoot.’

The ‘one root’ was Antiochus V, Eupator, who was murdered by Demetrius I, son of Seleucus IV. He was the last of ten horns, i.e. ten kings. We appear here to have an almost contemporary interpretation of the ten horns in Daniel vii. 7-8, for the latest date of this section is 140 B.C. The above rendering has the support of Rzach, Geffcken, and Schürer.—GEN. EDITOR.

P. 473 (2 Baruch). l. 23 from bottom *read* ‘Sukka’ *for* ‘Sakka’.

P. 474 seq. On these pages I have given an analysis of the various elements of 2 Baruch, with their approximate dates from A.D. 60 to 100. But owing to the fact that Mr. Box, in his admirable Commentary on 4 Ezra, has accepted Rosenthal’s view that 2 Baruch was derived from the school of R. Aqiba and written in the year A.D. 115, it is necessary to consider the grounds from which Rosenthal draws this conclusion. Mr. Box’s Commentary was not published when the edition of 2 Baruch for the present work was prepared. We shall now deal with Rosenthal’s thesis.

Rosenthal (*Vier apokryphische Bücher aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akibas*, Berlin, 1885) sought to prove that the Assumption of Moses, 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and the Book of Tobit were written by members of the school of R. Aqiba.

As regards the Assumption of Moses and the Book of Tobit no scholar would now agree with Rosenthal. But for the learned and admirable Commentary of Mr. Box on 4 Ezra it would not be necessary to reconsider Rosenthal’s views on 2 Baruch. Mr. Box (*The Ezra Apocalypse*, p. lxx sq.), however, writes: ‘We may therefore conclude that our book (4 Ezra) emanates from a school of apocalyptic writers who reflect the school of Shammai; just as the companion Apocalypse of Baruch (i.e. 2 Baruch) represents an apocalyptic school under the influence of Aqiba. This important distinction has been well brought out by Rosenthal.’

With this statement I must join issue. On pp. 95-100 Rosenthal gives five grounds from which he concludes the influence of R. Aqiba in 2 Baruch. The fifth is so beside the mark and irrelevant—being commonplaces about the last plagues—that I will take no account of it here. The rest, indeed, are not much better, but need to be considered owing to Mr. Box’s acceptance of Rosenthal’s conclusion. These are as follows:

(1) 2 Baruch (xi, 1 sq.) and Aqiba (*Sifre* on Deut. § 43) alike complain of the prosperity of Rome and the desolation of Zion, and both alike comfort their readers with the promised restoration of Zion. This would naturally be a commonplace with most Jewish writers after A.D. 70, just as corresponding complaints and hopes appear in the post-Exilic prophets respectively with regard to the successive oppressors of Judah and the coming restoration of Jerusalem. But the same actual combination of complaint and comfort with regard to Rome and Jerusalem respectively is found in the Psalms of Solomon ii. 1 sqq., 30-41, and the Assumption of Moses vi. 8-9, x. 8-10. Hence no dependence of 2 Baruch on Aqiba can be deduced from this fact.

(2) Both believed strongly in the freedom of the will. But this does not prove anything. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5, 9) the Sadducees believed in the complete freedom of the will, while the Pharisees believed alike in the freedom of the will and in Providence. Now according to this view the teaching of our book is that of ordinary Pharisaism. Thus in A⁸ (i.e. liv-lxxiv) we find the vigorous assertion of free-will: ‘each of us has been the Adam of his own soul’ (liv. 19). And yet throughout the section the supremacy of Providence is acknowledged; cf. lxix. 2, lxx. 2. Exactly the same teaching is found in the Psalms of Solomon. Thus in ix. 7 we have:

‘Our works are subject to our own choice and power
To do right or wrong in the works of our hands;
And in Thy righteousness Thou visitest the sons of men.’

See also v. 4-6. Philo also (*Quod Deus sit immutabilis* 10) speaks in the strongest terms of man’s God-given freedom.

(3) The next ground adduced by Rosenthal is that 2 Baruch and R. Aqiba alike bring forward the chastening effects of adversity. But this teaching is found in Deut. viii. 5; Ps. xxxii. 1, 5, lxxiii. 14, lxxxix. 30-34, cxix. 71, 75; Prov. iii. 12, xiii. 24; frequently in the Prophets and the Pseudepigrapha. For the latter cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 16, vii. 3, viii. 7, 27, &c.

(4) The fourth ground is that 2 Baruch and R. Aqiba held that none who denied the resurrection would share in it. According to *Sanh.* 90a R. Aqiba made this statement, but nowhere in 2 Baruch is such an

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA TO VOLUME II

affirmation made, though no doubt its various writers believed in the resurrection. Yet Rosenthal thinks he finds it there, and cites two passages, i.e. xxx. 1, which in the present form of the text speaks, however, not of belief in the resurrection of the dead, but in the hope of the Messiah. The second passage betrays an extraordinary misunderstanding of Ceriani's Latin rendering of 2 Baruch lxv. 1, i.e. 'Manasses . . . cogitabat tempore suo quasi ac futurum non esset ut Fortis inquireret ista.' This of course means: 'Manasses . . . thought that in his time the Mighty One would not inquire into these things.' But Rosenthal took it as meaning: 'Manasses thought in his time that there would be no future life!'

Thus the doctrines, which 2 Baruch and Aqiba hold in common, are commonplaces even of pre-Christian Pharisaism, and furnish no evidence for Rosenthal's hypothesis, while all the internal evidence of 2 Baruch postulates various dates for its several constituents from A.D. 60 to 100. Moreover, whereas Aqiba declared that the Ten Tribes would never return, 2 Baruch emphasizes this hope repeatedly; cf. lxxvii. 6, lxxviii. 5, 6, 7, lxxxiv. 2, 8, 10, i. 4.

From the above it is clear that there are no grounds of evidence for Rosenthal's contention. 2 Baruch, if it belongs to any school, belongs to that of Hillel, who was the great rival of Shammai. Its main theses are certainly in accord with much that is known of Hillel. Even its latest sections are too early to be the products of R. Aqiba's school, as is clear from the following dates. At the earliest Aqiba was born about A.D. 40-50. As he did not attend the Rabbinic schools till he was forty, and did not become himself a teacher till he had studied for thirteen years (see Aboth R. N. vi. 29, ed. Schechter), it follows that his school was founded about the beginning of the second century A.D. Now, according to lxxviii. 5-6, the Temple was standing when A⁸ was written (and also A¹ and A²), while as regards the other elements of 2 Baruch the evidence is against any later date than A.D. 90-100.—GEN. EDITOR.¹

P. 528 (3 Baruch). l. 29 from bottom *read* 'Apoc.' *for* 'apoc.'

P. 625 (Psalms of Solomon). l. 11 from top *for* '(H)' *read* '(V)'.

l. 6 from bottom *for* 'H' *read* 'V'

P. 738 (Story of Ahikar). col. 3, l. 6 from top *for* 'get thy boon fragrant' *read* 'get a good name', the former reading being due to a corruption in the MSS.—CONYBEARE.

P. 809 (Fragments of a Zadokite Work). In line 2 *for* 'make atonement for' *read* 'pardon'.

P. 814 (Fragments of a Zadokite Work). In the first note on this page the statement regarding Simon ben Shetach is wholly wrong, and is to be deleted. This Pharisee did not appropriate the sacrifices of the Nazirites, but by means of a gross lie to the king enabled them to offer their sacrifices at half the cost. By falsely stating that he would bear half the expenses of the sacrifices, if King Jannaeus would bear the other half, he prevailed on the king by this mendacious assertion to do so. The most remarkable point about the incident, if it is wholly authentic, is that Simon ben Shetach appears to have been wholly unconscious of having done any wrong.—GEN. EDITOR.

¹ Mr. Box has recently in a letter informed me that he is willing to accept the earlier dates I have assigned to certain of the sections of 2 Baruch, but that he regards them as redacted by an editor or editors of the school of Aqiba. This hypothesis, however, is quite different from that of Rosenthal.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN INTRODUCTIONS,
TEXT AND NOTES

See special lists as under :—		Sirach		vol. I. 315.	Test. XII Patr.		vol. II. 295.
1 Esdras	vol. I. 19, 20.	Prayer of Manasses	„	I. 620.	2 Baruch	„	II. 475.
Tobit	„ I. 201.	1 Enoch	„	II. 187.	4 Ezra	„	II. 560.
See also under Versions and MSS. in the different books.							
A ¹ &c.	See 2 Bar. § 7	Hiph.	Hiphil		Sir.	Sirach	
A.J.Th.	<i>American Journal of Theology</i>	Hom.	Homer		Slav. Bar.	See vol. ii. 131	
Aboth	Pirke Aboth	Il.	Iliad		Slav. Vit.	Slavonic <i>Vita Adae et Evae</i> .	
Ab. R. Nathan	= Aboth Rabbi Nathan	Int. Crit. Comm.	= <i>International Critical Commentary</i>		Soph.	Sophocles	[Eve
ἀπ. λεγ. or εἰρ. ἀπ. λεγόμενον or εἰρημένον		Intr.	Introduction		Stob.	Stobaeus	
Apoc. Abrah.	Apocalypse of Abraham	J.E.	<i>Jewish Encyclopaedia</i>		Symm.	Symmachus	
Apoc. of Baruch	= 2 Baruch	J.Q.R.	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>		Syncell.	Syncellus	
Apoc. Zeph.	Apocalypse of Zephaniah	J.R.A.S.	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>		Syr.	Syriac	
Aq.	Aquila	J.T.S.	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>		Syr. H.	Hexaplaric Syriac	
Ar.	Arabic	Jalkut Schim.	= Jalkut Shimeoni		Syr. W.	Syriac Version in Walton's Polyglot	
Aram. Frag.	Aramaic Fragment. See Test. App. II	Jashar	Book of Jashar		Sok.	Sokolov's Text of 2 Enoch	
Arm.	Armenian	Jer. Joma &c.	= Joma in Jerusalem Talmud		T.A. &c.	See under 'Testaments' in list of symbols prefixed to Index.	
Asc. Is.	Ascension of Isaiah	Jerus. Targ.	Jerusalem Targum		T.b.	Babylonian Talmud	
Ass. Mos.	Assumption of Moses	Jos. Ant. &c.	Josephus, <i>Antiquities</i> , &c.		Targ. Jer.	Jerusalem Targum	
Aug.	Augustine	Jub.	Book of Jubilees		Targ. Jon.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan	
B ¹ &c.	See 2 Bar. § 7	Jüd. Theol. ²	<i>Jüdische Theologie</i> ² (Weber)		Th. Gram.	Thackeray, <i>Grammar of Old Testament Greek</i>	
B.D.	<i>Bible Dictionary</i>	K.	Kautzsch		Theod.	Theodotion	
B.S.	Deissmann, <i>Biblical Studies</i>	K.A.T.	Schrader, <i>Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament</i>		Theoph.	Theophilus	
1 Bar.	Apocryphal Book of Baruch	Kit.	Kittel		Tebt. P.	Tebtuneh Papyrus	
2 Bar.	Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch	L.A.E.	Deissmann, <i>Light from the Ancient East</i>		Tert.	Tertullian	
3 Bar.	Greek Apocalypse of Baruch	L.d.T.	Weber, <i>Die Lehren des Talmuds</i>		Test.	Testament	
Ber. Rabb.	Bereshith rabba	L. & S.	Liddell and Scott		Test. Sim.	See vol. ii. 153	
Berach. or Berakh.	= Berachoth	LXX.	Septuagint Version		Test. XII Patr.	= Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs	
Beresh.	Bereshith	Lact.	Lactantius		Tisch.	Tischendorf	
C.I.G.	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>	Lib. V.T.	<i>Libri Veteris Testamenti</i>		Tob.	Tobit	
C.O.T.	<i>Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament</i> . See K.A.T.	Luc.	Lucian		V.L. or Vet. Lat.	= Versio Vetus Latina, Old Latin Version	
Cat. Niceph.	Catalogue of Nicephorus	Lucr.	Lucretius		Vit. Ad.	Vita Adae	
Chag.	Chagigah (Talmud)	MS.	Manuscript		Vulg.	Vulgate	
Chron. Pasch.	= <i>Chronicon Paschale</i>	MT.	Massoretic Text		W.P.	Walton's Polyglot	
Clem. Alex.	Clement of Alexandria	1 Macc. &c.	First, &c., Book of Maccabees		Wellh.	Wellhausen	
Clem. Recog.	<i>Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions</i>	Macrobi.	Macrobius		Wisd.	Book of Wisdom	
Cod.	Codex	Mart. Is.	Martyrdom of Isaiah		Z.A.T.W.	<i>Zeitschrift für die A. T. Wissenschaft</i>	
D.B.	<i>Dictionary of the Bible</i>	Mass.	Massoretic		Z.D.M.G.	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>	
Dan.	Daniel	Megill.	Megilla		Z.N.T.W.	<i>Zeitschrift für die N. T. Wissenschaft</i>	
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus	Menach.	Menachoth (Talmud)		Z.W.T. or Z.f.W.T.	= <i>Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie</i>	
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius	Mg.	Marginal				
E.A.	See 4 Ezra, § 7, and ii. 560	Midr.	Midrash		[]	indicate an intrusion into the original text	
E.B. or Bi.	<i>Encyclopaedia Biblica</i>	N.H.W.	<i>Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch</i>		+ +	indicate that the word or passage so enclosed is corrupt	
Edd.	Editions	N.T.	New Testament		()	or italics indicate that the word or words so enclosed or printed are supplied for the sake of clearness.	
1 En.	1 Enoch or Ethiopian Enoch	O.T.	Old Testament		+	indicates that the authority or authorities quoted insert the word or words following this mark.	
2 En.	2 Enoch or Slavonic Enoch	Onk.	Onkelos, Targum of		>	indicates that the authority or authorities quoted omit the word or words following this mark.	
Encyc. Brit.	<i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i>	Onom. Sacr.	<i>Onomasticon Sacrum</i>		< >	indicate a restoration in the text.	
Ep. Barn.	Epistle of Barnabas	Or. Sibyll.	Sibylline Oracles		Thick type	indicates an emendation in the text.	
Ep. Jer.	Epistle of Jeremy	Orph. Frag.	Orphic Fragment				
Epiph.	Epiphanius	P.E.F.	Palestine Exploration Fund				
Eth.	Ethiopic	P.P.	Petrie Papyri				
Eus.	Eusebius	P.R. Eliezer	Pirke Rabbi Eliezer				
Ev. Nicod.	<i>Evangelium Nicodemi</i>	P.R.E.	<i>Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theologie und Kirche</i>				
4 Ez.	Fourth Book of Ezra	P.S.B.A.	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>				
Fayum P.	Fayum Papyri	Pesikt.	Pesikta				
Fr. or Frag.	Fragment	Ps. Clem. Recog.	= Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions				
Gr.	Greek Version	Ps. Jon.	Targum Pseudo-Jonathan				
G. d. Jud.	<i>Geschichte des Judenthums</i>	Ps. of Sol.	Psalms of Solomon				
G.J.V.	Schürer's <i>Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes</i>	R.	Rabbi				
G.V.I.	<i>Geschichte des Volkes Israel</i>	R.E.	<i>Real-Encyclopädie</i>				
Gen. rabb.	Genesis rabba	R.E.J.	<i>Revue des Études juives</i>				
Gk.	Greek	Rel. des Jud.	<i>Religion des Judenthums</i>				
Gk. Frag.	Greek Fragment. See Test. App. II	Sam.	Samaritan				
Gr.	Grimm	Sam. Chron.	Samaritan Chronology				
Gr. of O.T.	<i>Greek Grammar of Old Testament Greek</i> (Thackeray)	Sanh.	Sanhedrin				
H.D.B.	Hastings' <i>Dictionary of the Bible</i>	Schürer, E.T.	Schürer's <i>History of the Jewish People</i> , English Translation				
H. J.P.	<i>History of the Jewish People</i>	Sept.	Septuagint				
Heb. Gr.	Hebrew Grammar	Shabb.	Shabbath				
Herm.	Hermas, <i>Pastor</i>						
Hes.	Hesiod						

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Book of Jubilees is in certain limited aspects the most important book in this volume for the student of religion. Without it we could of course have inferred from Ezra and Nehemiah, the Priests' Code, and the later chapters of Zechariah the supreme position that the law had achieved in Judaism, but without Jubilees we could hardly have imagined such an absolute supremacy of the law as finds expression in this book. This absolute supremacy of the law carried with it, as we have seen in the General Introduction, the suppression of prophecy—at all events of the open exercise of the prophetic gifts. And yet these gifts persisted during all the so-called centuries of silence—from Malachi down to N.T. times, but owing to the fatal incubus of the law these gifts could not find expression save in pseudepigraphic literature. Thus Jubilees represents the triumph of the movement, which had been at work for the past three centuries or more.

And yet this most triumphant manifesto of legalism contained within its pages the element that was destined to dispute its supremacy and finally to reduce the law to the wholly secondary position that alone it could rightly claim. This element of course is apocalyptic, which was the source of the higher theology in Judaism, and subsequently was the parent of Christianity, wherein apocalyptic ceased to be pseudonymous and became one with prophecy.

The Book of Jubilees was written in Hebrew by a Pharisee between the year of the accession of Hyrcanus to the high-priesthood in 135 and his breach with the Pharisees some years before his death in 105 B. C. It is the most advanced pre-Christian representative of the midrashic tendency, which has already been at work in the Old Testament Chronicles. As the Chronicler had rewritten the history of Israel and Judah from the basis of the Priests' Code, so our author re-edited from the Pharisaic standpoint of his time the history of events from the creation to the publication, or, according to the author's view, the republication of the law on Sinai. In the course of re-editing he incorporated a large body of traditional lore, which the midrashic process had put at his disposal, and also not a few fresh legal enactments that the exigencies of the past had called forth. His work constitutes an enlarged Targum on Genesis and Exodus, in which difficulties in the biblical narrative are solved, gaps supplied, dogmatically offensive elements removed, and the genuine spirit of later Judaism infused into the primitive history of the world. His object was to defend Judaism against the attacks of the hellenistic spirit that had been in the ascendant one generation earlier and was still powerful, and to prove that the law was of everlasting validity. From our author's contentions and his embittered attacks on the paganisers and apostates, we may infer that Hellenism had urged that the levitical ordinances of the law were only of transitory significance, that they had not been observed by the founders of the nation, and that the time had now come for them to be swept away, and for Israel to take its place in the brotherhood of the nations. Our author regarded all such views as fatal to the very existence of Jewish religion and nationality. But it is not as such that he assailed them, but on the ground of their falsehood. The law, he teaches, is of everlasting validity. Though revealed in time it was superior to time. Before it had been made known in sundry portions to the fathers it had been kept in heaven by the angels, and to its observance henceforward there was no limit in time or in eternity.

Writing in the palmiest days of the Maccabean dominion, in the high-priesthood of John Hyrcanus, he looked for the immediate advent of the Messianic kingdom. This kingdom was to be ruled over by a Messiah sprung, not from Levi—that is, from the Maccabean family, as some of his contemporaries expected—but from Judah. This kingdom would be gradually realized on earth, and the transformation of physical nature would go hand in hand with the ethical transformation of man till there was a new heaven and a new earth. Thus, finally, all sin and pain would disappear and men would live to the age of 1,000 years in happiness and peace, and after death enjoy a blessed immortality in the spirit world.¹

¹ Three-fourths of this section is reprinted from the present writer's Introduction to his Commentary on the Book of Jubilees.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

§ 2. VARIOUS TITLES OF THE BOOK.

Our book was known by two distinct titles even in Hebrew.

(a) Jubilees = τὰ Ἰωβηλαία or οἱ Ἰωβηλαῖοι = היובלים.

(b) The Little Genesis = ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις = ברשית זוטא.

(c) Apocalypse of Moses and other alleged names of the book.

(a) *Jubilees*. This appears from Epiphanius (*Haer.* xxxix. 6) to have been its usual designation. It is found also in the Syriac Fragment entitled 'Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book of Jubilees,' first published by Ceriani, *Mon. sacra et profana*, ii. 1. 9-10, and reprinted by the present writer in his edition of *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, p. 183. This name admirably describes the book, as it divides into jubilee periods of forty-nine years each the history of the world from the creation to the legislation on Sinai. The writer pursues a perfectly symmetrical development of the heptadic system. Israel enters Canaan at the close of the fiftieth jubilee, i.e. 2450.

(b) *The Little Genesis*. The epithet 'little' does not refer to the extent of the book, for it is larger than the canonical Genesis, but to its character. It deals more fully with details than the biblical work. The Hebrew title was variously rendered in Greek. 1° ἡ λεπτή Γένεσις (or Λεπτὴ Γένεσις) as in Epiphanius, Syncellus, Zonaras, Glycas. 2° ἡ Λεπτογένεσις in Didymus of Alexandria and in Latin writers, as we may infer from the Decree of Gelasius. 3° τὰ λεπτὰ Γενέσεως in Syncellus. 4° ἡ Μικρογένεσις in Jerome, who was acquainted with the Hebrew original.

(c) 1° The Apocalypse of Moses.

2° The Testament of Moses.

3° The Book of Adam's Daughters.

4° The Life of Adam.

1° *The Apocalypse of Moses*. This title had some currency in the time of Syncellus (see i. 5, 49). It forms an appropriate designation since it makes Moses the recipient of all the disclosures in the book. 2° *The Testament of Moses*. This title is found in the Catena of Nicephorus, i. 175, where it precedes a quotation from x. 21 of our book. It has, however, nothing to do with the Testament of Moses, which has become universally known under the wrong title—the Assumption of Moses. Rönisch and other scholars formerly sought to identify Jubilees with this second Testament of Moses, but this identification is shown to be impossible by the fact that in the Stichometry of Nicephorus 4,300 stichoi are assigned to Jubilees and only 1100 to this Testament of Moses. On the probability of a Testament of Moses having been in circulation—which was in reality an expansion of Jubilees ii-iii see my edition of Jubilees, p. xviii. 3° *The Book of Adam's Daughters*. This book is identified with Jubilees in the Decree of Gelasius, but it probably consisted merely of certain excerpts from Jubilees dealing with the names and histories of the women mentioned in it. Such a collection, as we have already seen, exists in Syriac, and its Greek prototype was used by the scribe of the LXX MS. no. 135 in Holmes and Parsons' edition. 4° *The Life of Adam*. This title is found in Syncellus i. 7-9. It seems to have been an enlarged edition of the portion of Jubilees, which dealt with the life of Adam.

§ 3. THE ETHIOPIC MSS.

There are four Ethiopic MSS., *a b c d*, the first and fourth of which belong to the National Library in Paris, the second to the British Museum, and the third to the University Library at Tübingen. Of these *a b* (of the fifteenth and sixteenth century respectively) are the most trustworthy, though they cannot be followed exclusively. In *a*, furthermore, the readings of the Ethiopic version of Genesis have replaced the original against *b c d* in iii. 4, 6, 7, 19, 29; iv. 4, 8, &c. For a full description of these MSS. the reader can consult Charles's *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*, pp. xii seqq.

§ 4. THE ANCIENT VERSIONS—GREEK, ETHIOPIC, LATIN, SYRIAC.

(a) *The Greek Version* is lost save for some fragments which survive in Epiphanius *περὶ Μέρων καὶ Σταθμῶν* xxii (ed. Dindorf, vol. iv. 27-8). This fragment, which consists of ii. 2-21, is published with critical notes in Charles's edition of the Ethiopic text. Other fragments of this version are preserved in Justin Martyr, Origen, Diodorus of Antioch, Isidore of Alexandria, Isidore of Seville, Eutychius, Patriarch of Alexandria, John of Malala, Syncellus, Cedrenus. Syncellus attributes to the Canonical Genesis statements derived from our text. This version is the parent of the Ethiopic and Latin Versions.

(b) *The Ethiopic Version*. This version is most accurate and trustworthy and indeed as a rule

INTRODUCTION

servilely literal. It has, of course, suffered from the corruptions naturally incident to transmission through MSS. Thus dittographies are frequent and lacunae are of occasional occurrence, but the version is singularly free from the glosses and corrections of unscrupulous scribes, though the temptation must have been great to bring it into accord with the Ethiopic version of Genesis. To this source, indeed, we must trace a few perversions of the text: 'my wife' in iii. 6 instead of 'wife'; xv. 12; xvii. 12 ('her bottle' instead of 'the bottle'); xxiv. 19 (where the words 'a well' are not found in the Latin version of Jubilees, nor in the Mass., Sam., LXX, Syr., and Vulg. of Gen. xxvi. 19). In the above passages the whole version is influenced, but in a much greater degree has this influence operated on MS. *a*. Thus in iii. 4, 6, 7, 19, 29, iv. 4, 8, v. 3, vi. 9, &c., the readings of the Ethiopic version of Genesis have replaced the original text. In the case of *b* there appears to be only one instance of this nature in xv. 15 (see Charles's Text, pp. xii seqq.).

For instances of corruption native to this version, see Charles on ii. 2, 7, 21, vi. 21, vii. 22, x. 6, 21, xvi. 18, xxiv. 20, 29, xxxi. 2, xxxix. 4, xli. 15, xlv. 4, xlviii. 6.

(*c*) *The Latin Version*. This version, of which about one-fourth has been preserved, was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta sacra et profana*, 1861, tom. i. fasc. i. 15-62. It contains the following sections: xiii. 10^b-21; xv. 20^b-31^a; xvi. 5^b-xvii. 6^a; xviii. 10^b-xix. 25; xx. 5^b-xxi. 10^a; xxii. 2-19^a; xxiii. 8^b-23^a; xxiv. 13-xxv. 1^a; xxvi. 8^b-23^a; xxvii. 11^b-24^a; xxviii. 16^b-27^a; xxix. 8^b-xxx. 1^a; xxxi. 9^b-18, 29^b-32; xxxii. 1-8^a, 18^b-xxxiii. 9^a, 18^b-xxxiv. 5^a; xxxv. 3^b-12^a; xxxvi. 20^b-xxxvii. 5^a; xxxviii. 1^b-16^a; xxxix. 9-xl. 8^a; xli. 6^b-18; xlii. 2^b-14^a; xlv. 8-xlvi. 1, 12-xlviii. 5; xlix. 7^b-22. This version was next edited by Rönisch in 1874, *Das Buch der Jubiläen . . . unter Beifügung des revidirten Textes der . . . lateinischen Fragmente*. This work attests enormous industry and great learning, but is deficient in judgement and critical acumen. Rönisch was of opinion that this Latin version was made in Egypt or its neighbourhood by a Palestinian Jew about the middle of the fifth century (pp. 459-60). In 1895 Charles edited this text afresh in conjunction with the Ethiopic in the Oxford Anecdota (*The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees*). To this work and that of Rönisch above the reader must be referred for a fuller treatment of this subject. Here we may draw attention to the following points. This version, where it is preserved, is almost of equal value with the Ethiopic. It has, however, suffered more at the hands of correctors. Thus it has been corrected in conformity with the LXX in xlv. 14, where it adds 'et Oon' against all other authorities. The Ethiopic version of Exod. i. 11 might have been expected to bring about this addition in our Ethiopic text, but it did not. Two similar instances will be found in xvii. 5, xxiv. 20. Again the Latin version seems to have been influenced by the Vulgate in xxix. 13, xlii. 11 (*canos meos* where our Ethiopic text = *μον τὸ γῆρας* as in LXX of Gen. xlii. 38); and probably also in xlvii. 7, 8, and certainly in xlv. 12, where it reads 'in tota terra' for 'in terra'. Of course there is the possibility that the Latin has reproduced faithfully the Greek and that the Greek was faulty; or in case it was correct, that it was the Greek presupposed by our Ethiopic version that was at fault.

Two other passages are deserving of attention, xix. 14 and xxxix. 13. In the former the Latin version 'et creverunt et iuvenes facti sunt' agrees with the Ethiopic version of Gen. xxv. 27 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxv. 27. Here the peculiar reading can be best explained as having originated in the Greek. In the second passage, the clause 'eorum quae fiebant in carcere' agrees with the Ethiopic version of Gen. xxxix. 23 against the Ethiopic version of Jubilees and all other authorities on Gen. xxxix. 23.

On the other hand, there is a large array of passages in which the Latin version preserves the true text over against corruptions or omissions in the Ethiopic version: cf. xvi. 16, xix. 5, 10, 11, xx. 6, 10, xxi. 3, xxii. 3, &c. (see my Text, p. xvi).

(*d*) *The Syriac Version*. The evidence as to the existence of a Syriac is not conclusive. It is based on the fact that a British Museum MS. (Add. 12154, fol. 180) contains a Syriac fragment entitled, 'Names of the Wives of the Patriarchs according to the Hebrew Book called Jubilees.' It was first published by Ceriani in his *Monumenta Sacra*, 1861, tom. ii. fasc. i. 9-10, and reprinted by Charles as Appendix III to his Text of Jubilees (p. 183).¹

§ 5. THE ETHIOPIC AND LATIN VERSIONS—TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GREEK.

Like all the biblical literature in Ethiopic, Jubilees was translated into Ethiopic from the Greek. Greek words such as *δρὺς*, *βάλανος*, *λίψ*, *σχῖνος*, *φάραγξ*, &c., are transliterated into Ethiopic. Secondly, many passages must be retranslated into Greek before we can discover the source of their corruptions. And finally, many names are transliterated as they appear in Greek and not in Hebrew.

¹ (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) reprinted from the present writer's Commentary.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

That the Latin is derived directly from the Greek is no less obvious. Thus in xxxix. 12 *timoris* = *δειλίας*, a corruption of *δουλείας*; in xxxviii. 13 *honorem* = *τιμὴν*, which should have been rendered by *tributum*. Another class of mistranslations may be seen in passages where the Greek article is rendered by the Latin demonstrative as in *huius Abrahæ* xxix. 16, *huic Istraël* xxxi. 15. Other evidence pointing in the same direction is to be found in the Greek constructions which have been reproduced in the Latin; such as xvii. 3 'memor fuit sermones' = *ἐμνήσθη τοὺς λόγους*: in xv. 22 'consummavit loquens' = *συνετέλεσε λαλῶν*: in xxii. 8 'in omnibus quibus dedisti' = *ἐν πάσιν οἷς ἔδωκας*.

§ 6. THE GREEK—A TRANSLATION FROM THE HEBREW.

The early date of our book—the second century B. C.—and the fact that it was written in Palestine speak for a Semitic original, and the evidence for such an original is conclusive. But the question at once arises, was the original written in Hebrew or Aramaic? Certain proper names in the Latin version ending in *-in* seem to bespeak an Aramaic original, as Cettin xxiv. 28; Adurin xxxviii. 8, 9; Filistin xxiv. 14–16. But since in all these cases the Ethiopic transliterations end in *-m* and not in *-n*, it is not improbable that this Aramaising in the Latin version is due to the translator, who, as Rönisch has concluded on other grounds, was a Palestinian Jew. Again, in the list of the twelve trees suitable for burning on the altar some are transliterations of Aramaic names. But in a late Hebrew work—written at the close of the second century B. C.—the popular names of such objects would naturally be used. Moreover, in certain cases the Hebrew may have already been forgotten, or, when the tree had been lately introduced, been non-existent.

But the arguments for a Hebrew original are many and weighty. (1) A work which claims to be from the hand of Moses would naturally be written in Hebrew; for Hebrew, according to our author, was the sacred and national language, xii. 25–6; xliii. 15. (2) The revival of the national spirit is, so far as we know, accompanied by a revival of the national language. (3) The existing text must be retranslated into Hebrew in order to explain unintelligible expressions and restore the true text. Thus *lā'ēlēja* in xliii. 11 = *ἐν ἐμοί*, which is a mistranslation in this context of *בִּי*; for *בִּי* here = *δέομαι*, 'pray,' as in Gen. xlv. 18. In xlvii. 9 the text = 'domum (= בית) Faraonis', but the context demands 'filiam (= בת) Faraonis', though here the argument is not conclusive, since בית might have been corruptly written for ברת, which in Aramaic = 'daughter'. Again in xxxvi. 10 (cp. also xxxix. 6) the text = *οὐκ ἀναβήσεται* (= ja'arg) *εἰς τὸ βιβλίον τῆς ζωῆς*. But ja'arg must = 'will be recorded'. Now this meaning is unattested elsewhere in Ethiopic, but the difficulty is solved when we find that it is a Hebrew idiom: see 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, 2 Chron. xx. 34. (4) Many paronomasiae discover themselves on retranslation into Hebrew, as in iv. 9 there is a play on the name Enoch, in iv. 15 on Jared, in viii. 8 on Peleg, &c. (5) Many passages are preserved in Rabbinic writings, and the book has much matter in common with the Testaments xii Patriarchs, which was written about the same date in Hebrew. Both books, in fact, use a chronology peculiar to themselves. (6) Fragments of the original Hebrew text or of the sources used by its author are to be found in the Book of Noah and the Midrasch Wajjisau in Jellinek's *Beth-ha-Midrash*, iii. 155–6, 3–5, reprinted in Charles's edition of the Ethiopic text on pp. 179–81.

§ 7. TEXTUAL AFFINITIES.

A minute study of the text shows that it attests an independent form of the Hebrew text of Genesis and the early chapters of Exodus. Thus it agrees with individual authorities such as the Samaritan or the LXX, or the Syriac, or the Vulgate, or the Targum of Onkelos against all the rest. Or again it agrees with two or more of these authorities in opposition to the rest, as for instance with the Massoretic and Samaritan against the LXX, Syriac and Vulgate, or with the Massoretic and Onkelos against the Samaritan, LXX, Syriac, and Vulgate, or with the Massoretic, Samaritan and Syriac against the LXX or Vulgate. But the reader must here be referred to Charles's Book of Jubilees (pp. xxxiii–xxxix) for a full classification of these instances. A study of these phenomena proves that our book represents some form of the Hebrew text midway between the forms presupposed by the LXX and the Syriac; for it agrees more frequently with the LXX, or with combinations into which the LXX enters, than with any other single authority. Next to the LXX it agrees most often with the Syriac or with combinations into which the Syriac enters. On the other hand, its independence of the LXX is shown by a large array of readings, where it has the support of the Samaritan and Massoretic, or of these with various combinations of the Syriac, Vulgate and Onkelos. From these and like considerations we may conclude that the textual evidence points to the composition of our book at some period between 250 B. C. and 100 A. D. and at a time nearer the earlier date than the latter.

INTRODUCTION

§ 8. THE VALUE OF THE BOOK OF JUBILEES IN THE CRITICISM OF THE MASSORETIC TEXT OF THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

From a study of the facts which are referred to in the preceding Section it will be clear that both before and after the Christian era the Hebrew text did not possess any hard and fast tradition. It will further be obvious that the Massoretic form of this text, which has so long been generally assumed as conservative of the most ancient tradition and as therefore final, is after all only one of the many phases through which the text passed in the process of over 1,000 years, i. e. 400 B. C. till A. D. 600, or thereabouts.

As we pursue the examination of the materials just mentioned we shall see grounds for regarding the Massoretic text as the result partly of conscious recension and partly of unconscious change extending over many centuries. How this process affected the text in the centuries immediately preceding and subsequent to the Christian era, we have some means of determining in the Hebrew-Samaritan text which, however much it may have been tampered with on religious or polemical grounds, still preserves in many cases the older reading, even as it preserves the older form of the alphabet. Next we have the LXX of the Pentateuch, to which we may assign the date 200 B. C.; next the Book of Jubilees just before the Christian era; the Syriac Pentateuch before A. D. 100; the Vulgate of the fourth century; the Targums of Onkelos and Ps.-Jon. in their present form A. D. 300-600.

We have above remarked that the evidence of § 6 shows that the Massoretic text is only one of the phases through which the Hebrew text has passed; and if we consider afresh the materials of evidence suggested in that Section in connexion with their dates, and given in some fullness in the Introductions to Charles's Text and Commentary, we shall discover that in some respects it is one of the latest phases of the Hebrew Pentateuch that has been stereotyped by Jewish scholars in the Massoretic text.

This conclusion will tally perfectly with the tradition that all existing Massoretic MSS. are derived in the main from one archetype, i. e. the Hebrew Codex left behind him by Ben Asher, who lived in the tenth century, and whose family had lived at Tiberias in the eighth.

We shall now proceed to give a list of readings in the Massoretic text which should be corrected into accord with the readings attested by such great authorities as the Sam., LXX, Jub., Syr., Vulg.

The following list was published in Charles's *Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* in 1895. More than two-thirds of the emendations of the Book of Genesis here suggested were subsequently accepted independently, on the evidence of the Sam., LXX, Syr., Vulg., without a knowledge of Jubilees, by C. J. Ball in his edition of the Hebrew Text of Genesis, 1896, by Kittel in his edition of the Hebrew Text of Genesis, 1905, and more than half in the recent Commentary of Gunkel.

In Gen. viii. 19 for *כל־החיה וכל־העוף וכל־הרמש הרומש* we should read *כל־החיה וכל־העוף וכל־הרמש הרומש* with the Sam., Sam. Vers., Jub. (v. 32), Vulg. ('omnia animantia iumenta et reptilia quae reptant super terram'), and Arabic. The LXX and Syr. confirm our emendation (see my Ethiopic text, p. 21, note 29). Here Onk. only supports the Massoretic. The restoration is confirmed by Gen. i. 26 where the very combination *הרמש הרומש* is actually found.

In xi. 8 after *העיר* add *והמנדל* with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (x. 24), against Mass. and Vulg.

In xi. 31 *ויצאו אתם* we have a reading that should be emended into *ויצאו אתם* with Jub. (xii. 15) and Syr., or into *ויצאו אתם* with the Sam., LXX, Itala, and Vulg. Only Onk. supports the Massoretic.

In xii. 3 for *וימקללך* read *וימקללך* with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xii. 23), Syr., Vulg. The reading of the Mass. is the first movement in the change of plurals into singulars, which is completed in Onk. and Ps.-Jon., where both the participles are in the singular. A few Hebrew MSS., however, preserve the original reading.

In xv. 21 after *ואת־הכנעני* add *ואת־החוי* with the Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xiv. 18), against Mass., Syr., and Vulg.

In xvii. 14 after *עָרְלוּ* add *ביום השמיני* with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xv. 14), against Mass., Syr., and Vulg.

In xvii. 16 for *ויברכתיו* read *ויברכתיו* with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xv. 16), Syr., and Vulg. Only Onk. supports the Mass. For *והיה* of Mass., Sam., and Onk. read *והיה* with LXX, Jub. (xv. 16), Syr., and Vulg. For *כפנה* of Mass., Sam., and Onk. read *כפניו* with LXX, Jub., Syr., and Vulg.

In xvii. 19 add *ו* before *לורעו* with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xv. 19), Syr., Vulg., and Arab. Only Onk. supports the Mass.

In xxi. 8 after *את־יצחק* add *בנו* with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xvii. 1), against Mass., Syr., Vulg., and Onk.

In xxi. 13 after *האמה* add *הואת* with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xvii. 6), against Mass., Syr., Vulg., and Onk.

In xxi. 13 after *לגוי* read *נרול* with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xvii. 6), Syr., Vulg., Arab. Only such late authorities as Mass., Onk., and Ps.-Jon. omit on religious and polemical grounds, the last giving quite a different turn in expression of national hatred, *עם ליסטים*, 'nation of robbers.'

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

In xxii. 13 for **אֶחָד** read **אֶחָד** with some Hebrew MSS., Sam., LXX, Jub. (xviii. 12), Syr., Ps.-Jon., Graec.-Ven., against Mass. and Vulg. Onk. combines both readings.

In xxii. 16 after **אֶת־יְהוֹדָד** add **בְּמִנִּי** with Sam., LXX (δὲ ἐμὲ), Jub. (xviii. 15), Syr., Vulg. (*propter me*). Only the Targums support the Mass.

In xxv. 8 for **וְשָׁבַע יָמִים** read **וְשָׁבַע יָמִים**, as in Gen. xxxv. 29, with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xxiii. 8, cf. xxi. 1; xxii. 7), Syr., Vulg., Arab. Onk. supports the Mass.

In xxvi. 18 for **בְּיָמֵי** of Mass. and Onk. read **עֲבָדֵי** with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xxiv. 18), Vulg. Syr. combines both readings.

In xxvii. 27 after **שָׁרָה** add **מֵלָא** with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xxvi. 22, Lat.), Syr. Vet. (*teste Diodoro*), Vulg. Onk. supports Mass. in omitting.

In xxviii. 4 after **אֶבְרָהָם** add **אֶבְרָהָם** with Sam., LXX, Jub. (= **אֶבְרָהָם** xxvii. 11). Mass., Syr., and Vulg. omit.

In xxix. 27 for **וְיָהֳרִי־הָאֵל** of Mass. and Onk. read **וְיָהֳרִי־הָאֵל** with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xviii. 8), Syr., Vulg., and Arab.

In xli. 56 for **אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם בָּר** read **אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם בָּר** with Jub. (xlii. 3), LXX *τοὺς σιτοβολῶνας* and Onk. **אוֹצְרוֹת**, while **בָּר** is actually found in the Sam., which reads **אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם בָּר**. **אוֹצְרוֹת**, also Targ., Jer., and Ps.-Jon., Syr., and Vulg., support **אוֹצְרוֹת**, while **בָּר** is actually found in the Sam., which reads **אֲשֶׁר בָּהֶם בָּר**.

In xlv. 31 after **הַנֶּעַר** add **אֶתְנִי** with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xliii. 12), Syr., Vulg., Arab. Mass. and Onk. stand here alone.

In xlv. 28 after **רַב** read **לִי** with LXX, Jub. (xliii. 24), Syr., Vulg., and Onk. against Mass. and Sam.

In xlv. 13 for **פָּנָה** read **פּוֹנָה** with Sam., LXX, Jub. (xlv. 17), Syr., Vulg., Onk. 1 Chron. vii. 1 confirms this emendation.

In xlv. 13 for **יֹב** of Mass., Vulg., and Onk. read **יָשִׁיב** with Sam., LXX, and Jub. (xlv. 17). 1 Chron. vii. 1 confirms this emendation.

In xlv. 24 for **שָׁלֹם** read **שָׁלֹם** with Sam., Jub. (xlv. 30), and 1 Chron. vii. 13. The Syr. **ܫܠܡܐ** and LXX **Σαλλήμ** support the former.

In xlv. 28 for **לְהוֹרֹת** read **לְהַרְאוֹת** with Sam., Syr., or **לְרֹאוֹת** with Jub. (xlv. 9) and Onk. or **לְהַקְרוֹת** with LXX.

§ 9. DATE OF (a) THE ORIGINAL TEXT AND (b) OF THE VERSIONS.

(a) Jubilees was written between 153 B. C. and the year of Hyrcanus' breach with the Pharisees. (1) It was written during the pontificate of the Maccabean family, and not earlier than 155 B. C., when this office was assumed by Jonathan the Maccabee. For in xxxii. 1 Levi is called a 'priest of the Most High God.' Now the only Jewish high-priests who bore this title were the Maccabean, who appear to have assumed it as reviving the order of Melchizedek when they displaced the Zadokite order of Aaron. Despite the objections of the Pharisees, it was used by the Maccabean princes down to Hyrcanus II (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2). (2) It was written before 96 B. C.; for since our author was of the strictest sect a Pharisee and at the same time an upholder of the Maccabean pontificate, Jubilees cannot have been written later than 96, when the Pharisees and Alexander Jannaeus were openly engaged in mortal strife. (3) It was written before the public breach between Hyrcanus and the Pharisees when Hyrcanus joined the Sadducean party. As Hyrcanus died in 105, our book was written between 153 and 105.

But it is possible to define these limits more closely. The book presupposes as its historical background the most flourishing period of the Maccabean hegemony—such as that under Simon and Hyrcanus. The conquest of Edom, which was achieved by the latter, is referred to in xxxviii. 14. Again our text reflects accurately the intense hatred of Judah towards the Philistines in the second century B. C. It declares that they will fall into the hands of the righteous nation, and we learn from 1 Macc. and Josephus that Ashdod and Gaza were destroyed by Hyrcanus and Alexander Jannaeus respectively. But it is in the destruction of Samaria, which is adumbrated in the destruction of Shechem, xxx. 4–6, that we are to look for the true *terminus a quo*. Now all accounts agree in representing the destruction of Samaria as effected by Hyrcanus about four years before his death. Hence we conclude that *Jubilees was written between 109 and 105 B. C.*

Many other phenomena point to the second-century origin of our book, which are given in Charles's edition, pp. lviii–lxvi. Amongst these we might mention the currency of older and severer forms of the halacha than prevailed in the rabbinical schools, or were registered in the Mishnah. The severe halacha regarding the sabbath in l. 8, 12, were indubitably in force in the second century B. C., if not earlier, but were afterwards mitigated by the Mishnah and later Judaism. Again the strict halacha in xv. 14 regarding circumcision on the eighth day was a current, probably the current, view in the second century B. C. and earlier, since it has the support of the Samaritan text and the LXX. This strict law was subsequently relaxed in the Mishnah. In xxxii. 15 the severe law of tithing found in Lev. xxvii. 15 is enforced, but rabbinic tradition sought to weaken the statement. As regards the halacha laid down in iii. 31 regarding the duty of covering one's shame, it is highly

INTRODUCTION

probable that such a halacha did exist in the second century B. C., when Judaism was protesting against the exposure of the person in the Greek games. See also iii. 8-14 notes and xx. 4 note.

Other cases of strict rules afterwards relaxed are the limitation of trees for use with burnt-offerings (see xxi. 12-15 notes), the restriction of the eating of the passover to the court of the Lord's house (see xlix. 20 note), the close adherence to the exacting demand of Lev. xix. 24 that the fourth year's fruit should be holy (see vii. 36 notes), though here we have a variant reading. Note that the rest of the firstfruits belong to the priests, who are to eat them 'before the altar.' On the other hand, the thank-offerings in xxi. 8-10 do not belong to the priest. The computation of the Feast of Weeks is different from the later prevalent Pharisaic reckoning (see xv. 1 note; xvi. 13; xlv. 4-5), while the account of the Feast of Tabernacles in xvi. 21-31 is peculiar to Jubilees.

Finally, we might draw attention to the fact that the Pharisaic regulation about pouring water on the altar (Jer. Sukk. iv. 6; Sukk. 44 a) at the feast of tabernacles appears to have been unknown to him. We know that the attempt of the Pharisees to enforce its adoption on Alexander Jannaeus resulted in a massacre of the former. Attention might also be drawn to the fact that the Priests and Levites still numbered in their ranks, as in the days of the author of Chronicles, the masters of the schools and the men of learning, and that these positions were not filled as in the days of Shammai and Hillel by men drawn from the laity. This inference is to be deduced from the fact that the Levites are represented as the guardians of the sacred books and of the secret lore transmitted from the worthies of old time (x. 4, xlv. 16).

(b) *Date of the Ethiopic and Latin Versions.* There is no evidence for determining the exact date of the Ethiopic version, but since it was practically regarded as a canonical book it was probably made in the sixth century. Röscher, as we have already pointed out in § 4, gives some evidence for regarding the Latin version as made in the fifth century.

§ 10. JUBILEES FROM ONE AUTHOR BUT BASED ON EASTERN BOOKS AND TRADITIONS.

Our book is the work of one author, but is largely based on earlier books and traditions. The narrative of Genesis forms of course the bulk of the book, but much that is characteristic in it is due to his use of many pseudepigraphic and ancient traditions. Amongst the former might be mentioned the Book of Noah, from which in a modified form he borrows vii. 20-39, x. 1-15. In vii. 26-39 he reproduces his source so faithfully that he leaves the persons unchanged, and forgets to adapt this fragment to its new context. Similarly our author lays the Book of Enoch under contribution, and is of great value in this respect in determining the dates of the various sections of this book. See Introd. to 1 Book of Enoch, *in loc.* For other authorities and traditions used by our author see Charles's edition, § 13.

§ 11. JUBILEES IS A PRODUCT OF THE MIDRASHIC TENDENCY WHICH HAD BEEN ALREADY AT WORK IN THE O.T. BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

The Chronicler rewrote with an object the earlier history of Israel and Judah already recounted in Samuel and Kings. His object was to represent David and his pious successors as observing all the precepts of the law according to the Priests' Code. In the course of this process all facts that did not square with the Chronicler's presuppositions were either omitted or transformed. Now the author of Jubilees sought to do for Genesis what the Chronicler had done for Samuel and Kings, and so he rewrote it in such a way as to show that the law was rigorously observed even by the Patriarchs. The author represents his book to be as a whole a revelation of God to Moses, forming a supplement to and an interpretation of the Pentateuch, which he designates 'the first law' (vi. 22). This revelation was in part a secret republication of the traditions handed down from father to son in antediluvian and subsequent times. From the time of Moses onwards it was preserved in the hands of the priesthood, till the time came for its being made known.

Our author's procedure is of course in direct antagonism with the presuppositions of the Priests' Code in Genesis, for according to this code 'Noah may build no altar, Abraham offer no sacrifice, Jacob erect no sacred pillar. No offering is recorded till Aaron and his sons are ready' (Carpenter, *The Hexateuch*, i. 124). This fact seems to emphasize in the strongest manner how freely our author reinterpreted his authorities for the past. But he was only using to the full a right that had been exercised for nearly four centuries already in regard to Prophecy and for four or thereabouts in regard to the law.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

§ 12. OBJECT OF JUBILEES—THE DEFENCE AND EXPOSITION OF JUDAISM FROM THE PHARISAIC STANDPOINT OF THE SECOND CENTURY B. C.

The object of our author was to defend Judaism against the disintegrating effects of Hellenism, and this he did (*a*) by glorifying the law as an eternal ordinance and representing the patriarchs as models of piety; (*b*) by glorifying Israel and insisting on its separation from the Gentiles; and (*c*) by denouncing the Gentiles and particularly Israel's national enemies. In this last respect Judaism regarded its own attitude to the Gentiles as not only justifiable but also just, because it was a reflection of the divine.

But on (*a*) it is to be observed further that to our author the law, as a whole, was the realization in time of what was in a sense timeless and eternal. It was observed not only on earth by Israel but in heaven. Parts of the law might have only a time reference, to Israel on earth, but in the privileges of circumcision and the Sabbath, as its highest and everlasting expression, the highest orders of archangels in heaven shared with Israel (ii. 18, 19, 21; xv. 26–28). The law, therefore, was supreme, and could admit of no assessor in the form of Prophecy. There was no longer any prophet because the law had made the free exercise of his gift an offence against itself and God. So far, therefore, as Prophecy existed, it could exist only under the guise of pseudonymity. The seer, who had like Daniel and others a message for his time, could only gain a hearing by issuing it under the name of some ancient worthy.

§ 13. THE AUTHOR—A PHARISEE WHO RECOGNIZED THE MACCABEAN PONTIFICATE AND WAS PROBABLY A PRIEST.

Since our author was an upholder of the everlasting validity of the law, and held the strictest views on circumcision, the Sabbath, and the duty of complete separation from the Gentiles, since he believed in angels and demons and a blessed immortality, he was unquestionably a Pharisee of the strictest sect. In the next place, he was a supporter of the Maccabean pontificate. He glorifies Levi's successors as high-priests and civil rulers, and applies to them the title 'priests of the Most High God'—the title assumed by the Maccabean princes (xxxii. 1). He was not, however, so thoroughgoing an admirer of this dynasty as the authors of Test. Lev. xviii. or Ps. cx, who expected the Messiah to come forth from the Maccabean family. Finally, that our author was a priest might reasonably be inferred from the exaltation of Levi over Judah (xxxii–xxxiii), and from the statement in xlv. 16 that the secret traditions, which our author claims to publish, were kept in the hands of Levi's descendants.

§ 14. INFLUENCE ON LATER LITERATURE.

On the influence of Jubilees on 1 Enoch i–v, xci–civ, Wisdom (?), 4 Ezra, Chronicles of Jerahmeel, Midrash Tadshe, Book of Jasher, the Samaritan Chronicle, on Patristic and other writings, and on the New Testament writers, see Charles's edition, pp. lxxiii–lxxxvi.

§ 15. THEOLOGY. SOME OF OUR AUTHOR'S VIEWS.

Freedom and determinism. The author of Jubilees is a true Pharisee in that he combines belief in Divine omnipotence and providence with the belief in human freedom and responsibility. He would have adopted heartily the statement of the Pss. Sol. ix. 7 (written some sixty years or more later) τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκλογῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν, τοῦ ποιῆσαι δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν ἐν ἔργοις χειρῶν ἡμῶν: v. 6 ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ μερὶς αὐτοῦ παρὰ σοὶ ἐν σταθμῷ, οὐ προσθήσει τοῦ πλεονάσαι παρὰ τὸ κρίμα σου, ὁ θεός. Thus the path in which a man should walk is ordained for him and the judgment of all men predetermined on the heavenly tablets: 'And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets in righteousness—even the judgment of all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in' (v. 13). This idea of an absolute determinism underlies many conceptions of the heavenly tablets (see Charles's edition, iii. 10 note). On the other hand, man's freedom and responsibility are fully recognized: 'If they walk not therein, judgment is written down for every creature' (v. 13): 'Beware lest thou walk in their ways, And tread in their paths, And sin a sin unto death before the Most High God. Else He will give thee back into the hand of thy transgression.' Even when a man has sinned deeply he can repent and be forgiven (xli. 24 seq.), but the human will needs the strengthening of a moral dynamic: 'May the Most High God . . . strengthen thee to do His will' (xxi. 25, xxii. 10).

The Fall. The effects of the Fall were limited to Adam and the animal creation. Adam was

INTRODUCTION

driven from the garden (iii. 17 seqq.) and the animal creation was robbed of the power of speech (iii. 28). But the subsequent depravity of the human race is not traced to the Fall but to the seduction of the daughters of men by the angels, who had been sent down to instruct men (v. 1-4), and to the solicitations of demonic spirits (vii. 27). The evil engendered by the former was brought to an end by the destruction of all the descendants of the angels and of their victims by the Deluge, but the incitement to sin on the part of the demons was to last to the final judgement (vii. 27, x. 1-15, xi. 4 seq., xii. 20). This last view appears in 1 Enoch and the N.T.

The Law. The law was of eternal validity. It was not the expression of the religious consciousness of one or of several ages, but the revelation in time of what was valid from the beginning and unto all eternity. The various enactments of the law, moral and ritual, were written on the heavenly tablets (iii. 31, vi. 17, &c.) and revealed to man through the mediation of angels (i. 27). This conception of the law, as I have already pointed out, made prophecy impossible unless under the guise of pseudonymity. Since the law was the ultimate and complete expression of absolute truth, there was no room for any further revelation: much less could any such revelation, were it conceivable, supersede a single jot or tittle of the law as already revealed. The ideal of the faithful Jew was to be realized in the fulfilment of the moral and ritual precepts of this law: the latter were of no less importance than the former. Though this view of morality tends to be mainly external, our author strikes a deeper note when he declares that, when Israel turned to God with their whole heart, He would circumcise the foreskin of their heart and create a right spirit within them and cleanse them, so that they would not turn away from Him for ever (i. 23). Our author specially emphasizes certain elements of the law such as circumcision (xvi. 14, xv. 26, 29), the Sabbath (ii. 18 seq., 31 seq.), eating of blood (vi. 14), tithing of the tithe (xxxii. 10), Feast of Tabernacles (xvi. 29), Feast of Weeks (vi. 17), the absolute prohibition of mixed marriages (xx. 4, xxii. 20, xxv. 1-10). In connexion with many of these he enunciates halacha which belong to an earlier date than those in the Mishnah, but which were either modified or abrogated by later authorities.

The Messiah. Although our author is an upholder of the Maccabean dynasty he still clings like the writer of 1 Enoch lxxxiii-xc to the hope of a Messiah sprung from Judah. He makes, however, only one reference to this Messiah, and no rôle of any importance is assigned to him (see Charles's edition, xxxi. 18 n.). The Messianic expectation showed no vigorous life throughout this century till it was identified with the Maccabean family. If we are right in regarding the Messianic kingdom as of temporary duration, this is the first instance in which the Messiah is associated with a temporary Messianic kingdom.

The Messianic kingdom. According to our author (i. 29, xxiii. 30) this kingdom was to be brought about gradually by the progressive spiritual development of man and a corresponding transformation of nature. Its members were to attain to the full limit of 1,000 years in happiness and peace. During its continuance the powers of evil were to be restrained (xxiii. 29). The last judgement was apparently to take place at its close (xxiii. 30). This view was possibly derived from Mazdeism.

The writer of Jubilees, we can hardly doubt, thought that the era of the Messianic kingdom had already set in. Such an expectation was often cherished in the prosperous days of the Maccabees. Thus it was entertained by the writer of 1 Enoch lxxxiii-xc in the days of Judas before 161 B. C. Whether Jonathan was looked upon as the divine agent for introducing the kingdom we cannot say, but as to Simon being regarded in this light there is no doubt. Indeed, his contemporaries came to regard him as the Messiah himself, as we see from Psalm cx, or Hyrcanus in the noble Messianic hymn in Test. Levi 18. The tame effusion in 1 Macc. xiv. 8-15 is a relic of such literature, which was emasculated by its Sadducean editor. Simon was succeeded by John Hyrcanus in 135 B. C. and this great prince seemed to his countrymen to realize the expectations of the past; for according to a contemporary writer (Test. Levi 8) he embraced in his own person the triple office of prophet, priest, and civil ruler (xxx. 15), while according to the Test. Reuben 6 he was to 'die on behalf of Israel in wars seen and unseen'. In both these passages he seems to be accorded the Messianic office, but not so in our author, as we have seen above. Hyrcanus is only to introduce the Messianic kingdom, over which the Messiah sprung from Judah is to rule.

Priesthood of Melchizedek. That there was originally an account of Melchizedek in our text we have shown in the note on xiii. 25, and, that the Maccabean high-priests deliberately adopted the title applied to him in Gen. xiv, we have pointed out in the note on xxxii. 1. It would be interesting to inquire how far the writer of Hebrews was indebted to the history of the great Maccabean king-priests for the idea of the Melchizedekian priesthood of which he has made so fruitful a use in chap. vii as applied to our Lord.

The Future Life. In our text all hope of a resurrection of the body is abandoned. The souls of the righteous will enjoy a blessed immortality after death (xxiii. 31). This is the earliest

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

attested instance of this expectation in the last two centuries B.C. It is next found in 1 Enoch xci-civ.

The Jewish Calendar. For our author's peculiar views see Charles's edition § 18 and the notes on vi. 29-30, 32, xv. 1.

Angelology. We shall confine our attention here to notable parallels between our author and the New Testament. Besides the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification there are the angels who are set over natural phenomena (ii. 2). These angels are inferior to the former. They do not observe the Sabbath as the higher orders; for they are necessarily always engaged in their duties (ii. 18). It is the higher orders that are generally referred to in the New Testament; but the angels over natural phenomena are referred to in Revelation: angels of the winds in vii. 1, 2, the angel of fire in xiv. 18, the angel of the waters in xvi. 5 (cf. Jub. ii. 2). Again, the guardian angels of *individuals*, which the New Testament refers to in Matt. xviii. 10 (Acts xii. 15), are mentioned, for the first time in Jubilees xxxv. 17. On the angelology of our author see Charles's edition.

Demonology. The demonology of our author reappears for the most part in the New Testament:

(a) The angels which kept not their first estate, Jude 6; 2 Peter ii. 4, are the angelic watchers who, though sent down to instruct mankind (Jub. iv. 15), fell from lusting after the daughters of men. Their fall and punishment are recorded in Jub. iv. 22, v. 1-9.

(b) The demons are the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants who were the children of the fallen angels, Jub. v. 7, 9. These demons attacked men and ruled over them (x. 3, 6). Their purpose is to corrupt and lead astray and destroy the wicked (x. 8). They are subject to the prince Mastêmâ (x. 9), or Satan. Men sacrifice to them as gods (xxii. 17). They are to pursue their work of moral ruin till the judgement of Mastêmâ (x. 8) or the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, when Satan will be no longer able to injure mankind (xxiii. 29).

So in the New Testament, the demons are disembodied spirits (Matt. xii. 43-5; Luke xi. 24-6). Their chief is Satan (Mark iii. 22). They are treated as divinities of the heathen (1 Cor. x. 20). They are not to be punished till the final judgement (Matt. viii. 29). On the advent of the Millennium Satan will be bound (Rev. xx. 2-3).

Judgement. The doctrine of retribution is strongly enforced by our author. It is to be individual and national in this world and in the next. As regards the individual the law of exact retribution is according to our author not merely an enactment of human justice—the ancient *lex talionis*, eye for eye, tooth for tooth; it is observed by God in His government of the world. The penalty follows in the line of the sin. This view is enforced in 2 Macc. v. 10, where it is said of Jason, that, as he robbed multitudes of the rites of sepulture, so he himself was deprived of them in turn, and in xv. 32 seq. it is recounted of Nicanor that he was punished in those members with which he had sinned. So also in our text in reference to Cain iv. 31 seq. and the Egyptians xlviii. 14. Taken crassly and mechanically the above law is without foundation, but spiritually conceived it represented the profound truth of the kinship of the penalty to the sin enunciated repeatedly in the New Testament: 'Whatsoever a man sows that shall he also reap' (Gal. vi. 7); 'he that doeth wrong shall receive again the wrong that he hath done' (Col. iii. 25, &c.). Again in certain cases the punishment was to follow instantaneously on the transgression (xxxvii. 17).

The final judgement was to take place at the close of the Messianic kingdom (xxiii. 30). This judgement embraces the human and superhuman worlds (v. 10 seq., 14). At this judgement there will be no respect of persons, but all will be judged according to their opportunities and abilities (v. 15 seq.). From the standpoint of our author there could be no hope for the Gentiles.

§ 16. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(a) Greek Version: see above, § 4 (a). Ethiopic Version: this text was first edited by Dillmann from two MSS. *ed* in 1859, and by R. H. Charles from four MSS. *abcd*. *The Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees . . . with the Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, and Latin Fragments*, Oxford, 1895. Latin Version: see above, § 4 (a).

(b) Translations. Dillmann, *Das Buch der Jubiläen . . . aus dem Aethiopischen übersetzt* (Ewald's Jahrbücher d. bibl. Wissensch., 1850-1, ii. 230-56; iii. 1-96). This translation is based on only one MS. Schodde, *The Book of Jubilees, translated from the Ethiopic* ('Bibliotheca Sacra,' 1885-7): Charles, *The Book of Jubilees, translated from a text based on two hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS.* (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1893, v. 703-8; 1894, vi. 184-217, 710-45; 1895, vii. 297-328): Littmann, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Kautzsch's *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. T.*, 1900, ii. 31-119). This translation is based on Charles's text.

(c) Commentaries. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 1902. Rönsch published a Commentary on the Latin Version. See above, § 4.

(d) *Critical Inquiries.* Dillmann, 'Pseudepigraphen des A. T.,' Herzog's *R. E.*², xii. 364-5; 'Beiträge aus dem Buche der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch-Textes' (*Sitzungsberichte der kgl. preussischen Akad.*, 1883); Beer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1856; Singer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 1898; Bohn, 'Die Bedeutung des Buches der Jubiläen' (*Theol. Stud. u. Kritiken*, 1900, 167-84). For a full bibliography see Charles's Commentary or Schürer.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

Moses receives the tables of the law and instruction on past and future history which he is to inscribe in a book, 1-4. Apostasy of Israel, 5-9. Captivity of Israel and Judah, 10-13. Return of Judah and rebuilding of the temple, 15-18. Moses' prayer for Israel, 19-21. God's promise to redeem and dwell with them, 22-5, 28. Moses bidden to write down the future history of the world (the Book of Jubilees?), 26. And an angel to write down the law, 27. This angel takes the heavenly chronological tablets to dictate therefrom to Moses, 29.

THIS is the history of the division of the days of the law and of the testimony, of the events of the years, of their (year) weeks, of their Jubilees throughout all the years of the world, as the Lord spake to Moses on Mount Sinai when he went up to receive the tables of the law and of the commandment, according to the voice of God as he said unto him, 'Go up to the top of the Mount.'

- 1 1 And it came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the 2450
third month, on the sixteenth day of the month, that God spake to Moses, saying: 'Come up to Me Anno
on the Mount, and I will give thee two tables of stone of the law and of the commandment, which Mundi.
2 I have written, that thou mayst teach them.' And Moses went up into the mount of God, and the
3 glory of the Lord abode on Mount Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days. And He called
to Moses on the seventh day out of the midst of the cloud, and the appearance of the glory of the
4 Lord was like a flaming fire on the top of the mount. And Moses was on the Mount forty days
and forty nights, and God taught him the earlier and the later history of the division of all the days
5 of the law and of the testimony. And He said: 'Incline thine heart to every word which I shall
speak to thee on this mount, and write them in a book in order that their generations may see how
I have not forsaken them for all the evil which they have wrought in transgressing the covenant
6 which I establish between Me and thee for their generations this day on Mount Sinai. And thus
it will come to pass when all these things come upon them, that they will recognise that I am more
righteous than they in all their judgments and in all their actions, and they will recognise that
7 I have been truly with them. And do thou write for thyself all these words which I declare unto
thee this day, for I know their rebellion and their stiff neck, before I bring them into the land
of which I swore to their fathers, to Abraham and to Isaac and to Jacob, saying: 'Unto your seed
8 will I give a land flowing with milk and honey. And they will eat and be satisfied, and
they will turn to strange gods, to (gods) which cannot deliver them from aught of their
9 tribulation: and this witness shall be heard for a witness against them. For they will
forget all My commandments, (even) all that I command them, and they will walk after the
Gentiles, and after their uncleanness, and after their shame, and will serve their gods, and these will
10 prove unto them an offence and a tribulation and an affliction and a snare. And many will perish

Prologue gives admirable account of contents of the book. At once a history and a chronological system dominated by sacred number 7. History extends from creation to legislation on Sinai. Thus it embraces Genesis and part of Exodus. All is re-written from standpoint of *strictest Judaism*.

throughout all the years of the world. These words imply intention of the author to write history up to time of Messianic kingdom. Cf. i. 26.

1. **third month, on the sixteenth day of the month.** Completes imperfect date of Exod. xix. 1. (Same day as God appears to Jacob on way to Egypt, xlv. 5.) For the rest of the verse cf. Exod. xxiv. 12.

2-4 *a.* Exod. xxiv. 15-18.

3. **out of.** Emended in accordance with Exod. xxiv. 26, *מִתּוֹךְ* by a change of one letter.

flaming. Change of one vowel would give 'devouring' as in Exod. xxiv. 17.

4. **God taught him the earlier and the later history.** Cf. i. 26; also Megilla 19 *b* 'The Holy One, blessed be his name, showed to Moses all the minutiae of the law and all that the Sopherim would renew in later times'; so also Shem. Rabb. 40 (Wiinsche, 282), Menachoth 29 *b*, Wajikra Rabb. 26 (Beer).

5-10. Ezra ix. 9, 10, 11; Exod. xxiii. 33, xxxiii. 1, 3; Deut. xxx. 1-20, xxxi. 19, 20, 24-6, 27; 2 Kings xvii. 7-17.

5. **write them, &c.** Cf. Exod. xxxiv. 27.

how I, &c. Cf. Ezra ix. 9.

transgressing. An emendation, *sāhētō* from 'āshētō of *bcd*.

6. Deut. xxx. 1.

7. **write.** See i. 27 (note). On verse cf. Deut. xxxi. 27; Exod. xxxiii. 3.

10. Captivity of Israel who had forsaken 'my sanctuary', &c. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 15-68, and Lev. xxvi. 14-39.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 1. 10-25

and they will be taken captive, and will fall into the hands of the enemy, because they have forsaken My ordinances and My commandments, and the festivals of My covenant, and My sabbaths, and My holy place which I have hallowed for Myself in their midst, and My tabernacle, and My sanctuary, which I have hallowed for Myself in the midst of the land, that I should set my name
11 upon it, and that it should dwell (there). And they will make to themselves high places and groves and graven images, and they will worship, each his own (graven image), so as to go astray, and they
12 will sacrifice their children to demons, and to all the works of the error of their hearts. And I will send witnesses unto them, that I may witness against them, but they will not hear, and will slay the witnesses also, and they will persecute those who seek the law, and they will abrogate and change
13 everything so as to work evil before My eyes. And I will hide My face from them, and I will deliver them into the hand of the Gentiles for captivity, and for a prey, and for devouring, and I will remove them from the midst of the land, and I will scatter them amongst the Gentiles.
14 And they will forget all My law and all My commandments and all My judgments, and will go
15 astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances. And after this they will turn to Me from amongst the Gentiles with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their strength, and I will gather them from amongst all the Gentiles, and they will seek me, so
16 that I shall be found of them, when they seek me with all their heart and with all their soul. And I will disclose to them abounding peace with righteousness, and I will †remove them the plant of
uprightness†, with all My heart and with all My soul, and they shall be for a blessing and not for
17 a curse, and they shall be the head and not the tail. And I will build My sanctuary in their midst, and I will dwell with them, and I will be their God and they shall be My people in truth and
18, 19 righteousness. And I will not forsake them nor fail them; for I am the Lord their God.' And Moses fell on his face and prayed and said, 'O Lord my God, do not forsake Thy people and Thy inheritance, so that they should wander in the error of their hearts, and do not deliver them into the hands of their enemies, the Gentiles, lest they should rule over them and cause them to sin against
20 Thee. Let thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people, and create in them an upright spirit, and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them to accuse them before Thee, and to ensnare them
21 from all the paths of righteousness, so that they may perish from before Thy face. But they are Thy people and Thy inheritance, which thou hast delivered with thy great power from the hands of the Egyptians: create in them a clean heart and a holy spirit, and let them not be ensnared in
22 their sins from henceforth until eternity.' And the Lord said unto Moses: 'I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stiffneckedness, and they will not be obedient till they confess
23 their own sin and the sin of their fathers. And after this they will turn to Me in all uprightness and with all (their) heart and with all (their) soul, and I will circumcise the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their seed, and I will create in them a holy spirit, and I will cleanse them so that they shall not turn away from Me from that day unto eternity.
24 And their souls will cleave to Me and to all My commandments, and they will fulfil My
25 commandments, and I will be their Father and they shall be My children. And they all shall be

- 11-13. Idolatry and captivity of Judah. Cf. Ezek. xx. 28, 31; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3, xxviii. 3; 1 En. xcix. 7.
12. **I will send witnesses . . . but they will not hear.** Cf. 2 Chron. xxiv. 19, xxxvi. 15-16; Jer. xxv. 4; Matt. xxiii. 34; Luke xi. 49.
but . . . will slay the witnesses. Neh. ix. 26.
work evil before My eyes. 2 Kings xxi. 15.
13. Cf. xxi. 22; Isa. i. 15; 2 Kings xxi. 14.
for a prey = *lahubl* emended from *lahebl*.
14. Captive Judah forgets service of God. Cf. Deut. iv. 28, xxviii. 36, 64.
15-17. Repentance of Judah will bring return and rebuilding of the Temple. 15. Deut. iv. 30, 29; Jer. xxix. 13, 14.
16. †**remove them the plant of uprightness**†. The expression 'Plant of uprightness' = Israel from the outset. Original perhaps is Jer. xxxii. 41. Cf. 1 En. x. 6, xciii. 2, 5, 10. Not improbably 'in this land' was lost after the verb. We might read וְהִסְעֵתִים וְנִמְעֵתִים = 'I will plant them in this land.' Cf. Jer. xxxii. 41. Reversal of the judgement in 13 is required here.
they shall be for a blessing and not for a curse. Zech. viii. 13.
the head and not the tail. Deut. xxviii. 13; 1 En. ciii. 11.
17. The second Temple. *a b* > 'their' before God. Cf. Exod. xxv. 8, xxix. 45; Lev. xxvi. 12; Ezek. xiv. 11; Jer. xxiv. 7, xxx. 22.
18. Cf. Deut. xxxi. 6.
19. **do not forsake . . . rule over them.** 2 Kings xxi. 14; Deut. ix. 26; Ps. cvi. 41.
20. Ps. li. 10. **Beliar**, see note on xv. 33.
21. Deut. ix. 26, 29. **a holy spirit.** Cf. i. 23 and xv. 14 (note).
22. Deut. xxxi. 27. **confess**, &c. Lev. xxvi. 40; Neh. ix. 2.
23. **turn**, &c. 2 Chron. vi. 38. **circumcise.** Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6. **I will cleanse them . . . eternity.** Implies no more exile for Israel.
24. **I will be their Father**, &c. From 2 Sam. vii. 14; used in 2 Cor. vi. 18 of all Christians. In 2 Sam. vii. 14 these words refer to Solomon. God is the Father of the nation in Deut. xxxii. 6; Isa. lxiii. 16; Jer. xxxi. 9;

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 1. 25—2. 2

called children of the living God, and every angel and every spirit shall know, yea, they shall know that these are My children, and that I am their Father in uprightness and righteousness, and that
 26 I love them. And do thou write down for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee on this mountain, the first and the last, which shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days in the law and in the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees unto eternity, until I descend and dwell
 27 with them throughout eternity.' And He said to the angel of the presence: 'Write for Moses from
 28 the beginning of creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity. And the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, and all shall know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all the children of Jacob, and King on Mount Zion for all eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem shall
 29 be holy.' And the angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel took the tables of the divisions of the years—from the time of the creation—of the law and of the testimony of the weeks of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees [according to the individual years], from the day of the [new] creation †when† the heavens and the earth shall be renewed and all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, and according to all the creation of the earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries be renewed for healing and for peace and for blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that thus it may be from that day and unto all the days of the earth.

The history of the twenty-two distinct acts of creation on the six days, 1–16. Institution of the Sabbath: its observance by the highest angels, with whom Israel is afterwards to be associated, 17–32. (Cf. Gen. i.–ii. 3.)

2 1 And the angel of the presence spake to Moses according to the word of the Lord, saying: Write the complete history of the creation, how in six days the Lord God finished all His works and all that He created, and kept Sabbath on the seventh day and hallowed it for all ages, and
 2 appointed it as a sign for all His works. For on the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before him—the angels of the

Cf. also Exod. iv. 22, 23; Deut. xiv. 1; Isa. xliii. 6; Judges ix. 4. In Sir. xxiii. 1; Wisd. ii. 16, &c., it is used of the righteous individual, elsewhere of righteous Israel. In Jubilees Israelites are God's children in virtue of their physical descent from Jacob. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 13. Also *Sayings of the Fathers*, iii. 22 (Taylor's ed.).

25. children of the living God. Hosea i. 10.

26. Moses receives 'Jubilees' as a secret revelation. Cf. esp. 4 Ezra xiv. 6, also Exod. xxxiv. 27–28; Deut. x. 2–4. Conclusion of this verse implies that history of 'Jubilees' is to be brought down to author's own time—that of the early Maccabees. Like 1 En. xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1; Ass. Mos. x; 1 En. xci–civ, he expected God would dwell with man. He lived in hourly expectation of the 'end of the times'. Like author of 'Beast Visions', 1 En. lxxxvii–xc, he believed this would be accomplished by a Messiah, but his Messiah was to spring from Judah, cf. xxxi. 18 n.

27. Angels only accompany Jahweh in Deut. xxxiii. 2, they mediate indirectly in Ezek. xl. 3. Zechariah and Daniel assign even a larger rôle to the angels. Test. Dan. vi further develops the idea. In N.T. times the ministry of angels has become the universal means of approaching or hearing from God. Expressly affirmed by Philo, *De Somniis*, i. 22, Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 5. 3; Paul (Gal. iii. 19), Stephen (Acts vii. 53), and author of 'Hebrews' ii. 2, also Samaritans (Gesenius, *Carm. Sam.* 15), De Sacy, xii. 16. Hostility to Christians caused Rabbis to revert to older view in Shabb. 88 b, Shem. Rabb. 28. The angel here writes, not the Pentateuch, but a history up to the Messianic kingdom, but Deut. xxviii–xxx may be meant.

28. Read this verse after 25. eyes of all. Cf. Rev. i. 7.

King on Mount Zion. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 23.

29. angel of the presence, derived from Isa. lxiii. 9. Cf. Test. Judah xxv.; 1 En. xl. 2; probably Michael, Israel's guardian angel; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*,² 168; Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1; 1 En. xx. 5; 2 En. xxii. 6.

went before, &c. Exod. xiv. 19.

from the day of the [new] creation > 'new', inserted wrongly.

†when† > b. Possibly an interpolation, or a mistake of *ōs* for *ēos*; translate 'until'.

Author as Isa. lkv. 17, lxvi. 22; Test. Levi xviii, believed in a *gradual* transformation of the world, moral and physical. Perhaps borrowed from Mazdeism (cf. Söderblom, *La Vie future d'après le Mazdéisme*, 254). From 100 B.C. this view was supplanted by the belief in a violent and sudden revolution of things (1 En. xci. 16, xlv. 4; Apoc. Bar. xxxii. 6, lvii. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 75; 2 Peter iii. 13; Rev. xxi. 1. The author divides this process of renewal into three periods: 1st, Deluge, v. 12, 13; 2nd, choice of Israel, i.e. foundation of Hebrew nation, xix. 25, cf. ii. 22; 3rd, establishment of Messianic kingdom, cf. i. 29, iv. 26, v. 12. This division is *unique*.

renewed for healing, as Rev. xxii. 2.

II. Cf. Epiphanius, *περὶ Μέρων καὶ Σταθμών*, xxii; Syncellus (ed. Dindorf, 4); Cedrenus (ed. Bekker, 7); Midrash Tadshe, vi. 11–16, all based on Jubilees, though the last, like other Jewish writings, postpones creation of angels to second day (so Ber. Rabb., others fifth, Philo seventh) in order to show gulf between them and God. For full notes see Charles' Commentary, pp. 10–12.

2. Cf. Job xxxviii. 7; Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 4; Epiph. *Haer.* lkv. 4; Rufinus, *Expos. in Symb.* 21.

the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification. These two superior classes of angels (i. 19, ii. 18, xv. 27, xxxi. 14) alone are superior to righteous Israelites. Cf. Sanh. 93 a; Tanchuma 13; Ber. Rabb. 8. Epiph. reads 'glory' for 'sanctification'. But the Lat. xv. 27 has 'sanctificationis'.

The inferior angels are over natural phenomena. Cf. Ps. lxxvii. 18, civ. 7; 1 En. lx. 12–21, lxxv, lxxx; 2 En. xix. 1–4; Rev. xiv. 18, iv. 5, vi. 1, vii. 1, &c.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 2. 2-20

presence, and the angels of sanctification, and the angels [of the spirit of fire and the angels] of the spirit of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth, (He created) the abysses and the darkness, eventide (and night), and the light, dawn and day, which He hath prepared in the knowledge of his heart. And thereupon we saw His works, and praised Him, and lauded before Him on account of all His works; for seven great works did He create on the first day. And on the second day He created the firmament in the midst of the waters, and the waters were divided on that day—half of them went up above and half of them went down below the firmament (that was) in the midst over the face of the whole earth. And this was the only work (God) created on the second day. And on the third day He commanded the waters to pass from off the face of the whole earth into one place, and the dry land to appear. And the waters did so as He commanded them, and they retired from off the face of the earth into one place outside of this firmament, and the dry land appeared. And on that day He created for them all the seas according to their separate gathering-places, and all the rivers, and the gatherings of the waters in the mountains and on all the earth, and all the lakes, and all the dew of the earth, and the seed which is sown, and all sprouting things, and fruit-bearing trees, and trees of the wood, and the garden of Eden, in Eden, and all (plants after their kind). These four great works God created on the third day. And on the fourth day He created the sun and the moon and the stars, and set them in the firmament of the heaven, to give light upon all the earth, and to rule over the day and the night, and divide the light from the darkness. And God appointed the sun to be a great sign on the earth for days and for sabbaths and for months and for feasts and for years and for sabbaths of years and for jubilees and for all seasons of the years. And it divideth the light from the darkness [and] for prosperity, that all things may prosper which shoot and grow on the earth. These three kinds He made on the fourth day. And on the fifth day He created great sea monsters in the depths of the waters, for these were the first things of flesh that were created by his hands, the fish and everything that moves in the waters, and everything that flies, the birds and all their kind. And the sun rose above them to prosper (them), and above everything that was on the earth, everything that shoots out of the earth, and all fruit-bearing trees, and all flesh. These three kinds He created on the fifth day. And on the sixth day He created all the animals of the earth, and all cattle, and everything that moves on the earth. And after all this He created man, a man and a woman created He them, and gave him dominion over all that is upon the earth, and in the seas, and over everything that flies, and over beasts and over cattle, and over everything that moves on the earth, and over the whole earth, and over all this He gave him dominion. And these four kinds He created on the sixth day. And there were altogether two and twenty kinds. And He finished all his work on the sixth day—all that is in the heavens and on the earth, and in the seas and in the abysses, and in the light and in the darkness, and in everything. And He gave us a great sign, the Sabbath day, that we should work six days, but keep Sabbath on the seventh day from all work. And all the angels of the presence, and all the angels of sanctification, these two great classes—He hath bidden us to keep the Sabbath with Him in heaven and on earth. And He said unto us: ‘Behold, I will separate unto Myself a people from among all the peoples, and these shall keep the Sabbath day, and I will sanctify them unto Myself as My people, and will bless them; as I have sanctified the Sabbath day and do sanctify (it) unto Myself, even so will I bless them, and they shall be My people and I will be their God. And I have chosen the seed of Jacob from amongst all that I have seen, and have written him down as

[of . . . angels] *b c d.* > *a*, Epiph.

of snow. So Epiph. *ab* read ‘of all’ > *cd*.

the. Eth. reads ‘all’, *kuellu* for *ellu* = ‘these’ = *ras* simply.

and night, added from Epiph.

4. Cf. Gen. i. 6-7; 2 En. xxvi-xxvii.

5-14. Cf. Gen. i. 9-28; 2 En. xxx. 1-8.

5. third day + ‘He made as’ MSS.

7. in Eden, or ‘for pleasure’: dittography. Eden created on third day as in ‘Conflict of Adam and Eve,’ i. 1.

Cf. 2 En. xxx. 1; Ber. rabb. 15.

4 Ezra iii. 6 taught it was ‘pre-existent’; this became the prevailing view among Jews and Christians. Cf. Weber, *J.T.* 198; Jerome, *Quaest. Heb. in Gen.* ii. 8.

plants after their kind. So Epiph.

9. Author avoids the moon, because it upsets his calendar.

16. on the sixth day. So Gen. ii. 2^a (Sam., LXX, Syr. against Mass.).

17-21. The two chief orders of angels like Israel observe the Sabbath: apparently the third order, like the Gentiles,

do not, as they are inferior to Israel.

20. Cf. Isa. xli. 8, xlv. 1, 2. I have chosen. ‘I will choose’, Epiph.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 2. 20–33

My first-born son, and have sanctified him unto Myself for ever and ever ; and I will teach them the
21 Sabbath day, that they may keep Sabbath thereon from all work.' And thus He created therein a
sign in accordance with which they should keep Sabbath with us on the seventh day, to eat and to
drink, and to bless Him who has created all things as He has blessed and sanctified unto Himself
22 a peculiar people above all peoples, and that they should keep Sabbath together with us. And He
caused His commands to ascend as a sweet savour acceptable before Him all the days. . . .
23 There (were) two and twenty heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, and two and twenty kinds of
work were made until the seventh day ; this is blessed and holy ; and the former also is blessed and
24 holy ; and this one serves with that one for sanctification and blessing. And to this (Jacob and
his seed) it was granted that they should always be the blessed and holy ones of the first testimony
25 and law, even as He had sanctified and blessed the Sabbath day on the seventh day. He created
heaven and earth and everything that He created in six days, and God made the seventh day holy,
for all His works ; therefore He commanded on its behalf that, whoever does any work thereon
26 shall die, and that he who defiles it shall surely die. Wherefore do thou command the children of
Israel to observe this day that they may keep it holy and not do thereon any work, and not to
27 defile it, as it is holier than all other days. And whoever profanes it shall surely die, and whoever
does thereon any work shall surely die eternally, that the children of Israel may observe this day
throughout their generations, and not be rooted out of the land ; for it is a holy day and a blessed
28 day. And every one who observes it and keeps Sabbath thereon from all his work, will be holy and
29 blessed throughout all days like unto us. Declare and say to the children of Israel the law of this
day both that they should keep Sabbath thereon, and that they should not forsake it in the error of
their hearts ; (and) that it is not lawful to do any work thereon which is **unseemly**, to do thereon
their own pleasure, and that they should not prepare thereon anything to be eaten or drunk, †and
(that it is not lawful) to draw water, or bring in or take out thereon through their gates any burden, ‡
30 which they had not prepared for themselves on the sixth day in their dwellings. And they shall
not bring in nor take out from house to house on that day ; for that day is more holy and blessed
than any jubilee day of the jubilees ; on this we kept Sabbath in the heavens before it was made
31 known to any flesh to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. And the Creator of all things blessed
it, but he did not sanctify all peoples and nations to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone : them
32 alone he permitted to eat and drink and to keep Sabbath thereon on the earth. And the Creator
of all things blessed this day which He had created for blessing and holiness and glory above all
33 days. This law and testimony was given to the children of Israel as a law for ever unto their
generations.

My first-born son. Cf. Exod. iv. 22 ; Ps. lxxxix. 27 ; Jer. xxxi. 9.

21. **a peculiar people.** Cf. Deut. vii. 6 ; Exod. xix. 5 ; Amos iii. 12. **peculiar.** So Eth. easily emended.

22. **commands** † †

sweet savour. Gen. viii. 21 ; Exod. xxix. 18 ; Ezek. xx. 41 ; 2 Cor. ii. 15 ; Eph. v. 2.

acceptable before Him. Rom. xii. 1 ; 1 Tim. ii. 3.

23. Agreement of all authorities proves a lacuna here. Restored text = 'as there were twenty-two letters and twenty-two sacred books and twenty-two heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, so there were made twenty-two kinds of work.' Combine twelve minor prophets, Judges and Ruth, Ezra and Nehemiah, Jeremiah and Lamentations, taking Kings, Chronicles, and Samuel as three books, hence twenty-two.

Jacob and the Sabbath are parallel in their exaltation.

25. Cf. Exod. xxxi. 14, 15, xxxv. 2 ; Numb. xv. 32–6.

27. **rooted out.** Cf. Deut. xxix. 28.

29. Cf. Isa. lvi. 2, 4 ; lviii. 13 ; Neh. xiii. 15–22. **Which is unseemly.** Like Littmann, I take za'jerkawen za'jāstar'i as = שְׁלֵא יִהְיֶה רָאִי. See also on iii. 15. Or we may connect 'unseemly' with the following infinitive, 'unseemly to do thereon, (even) their own pleasure', as this is the usual construction after רָאִי. Cf. Esther ii. 9 ; Chull. 83 b ; Nid. vi. 4.

Law against preparing food deduced from Exod. xvi. 23, xxxv. 3. The order is dislocated here. Either we have a dittography of 30 or else the law concerning burdens should precede law about preparing food. Latter law in Ber. 2 b, former in Jer. xvii. 21–7 ; Neh. xiii. 19 ; Shabb. vii. 2 ; esp. John v. 10.

30. Chief Jewish festivals observed in heaven. Cf. vi. 18.

31. **the Creator of all things blessed it, but He did not sanctify all peoples . . . to keep Sabbath thereon, but Israel alone.** The words or rather the thought of them recurs in the Jewish Prayer Book (ed. Singer), p. 124, 'O Lord our God . . . who hast sanctified us . . . and . . . hast given us this holy Sabbath ; ' 139, 'Thou didst not give it unto the nations of other lands,' &c.

31. **it.** Restored by a change of punctuation in one letter.

Israel alone privileged and for ever. Cf. Lev. vii. 36, xxiii. 14 ; Ex. xxvii. 21.

32. **He had created for blessing and holiness and glory.** Cf. Jewish Prayer Book, p. 150. 'This Sabbath day which Thou hast given us for holiness . . . for honour and for glory.'

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 3. 1-17

Adam names all creatures, 1-3. Creation of Eve and enactment of Levitical laws of purification, 4-14. Adam and Eve in Paradise: their sin and expulsion, 15-29. Law of covering one's shame enacted, 30-2. Adam and Eve live in Êldâ, 32-5. (Cf. Gen. ii. 18-25, iii.)

- 3** ¹ And on the six days of the second week we brought, according to the word of God, unto Adam all the beasts, and all the cattle, and all the birds, and everything that moves on the earth, and everything that moves in the water, according to their kinds, and according to their types: the beasts on the first day; the cattle on the second day; the birds on the third day; and all that which moves on the earth on the fourth day; and that which moves in the water on the fifth day.
² And Adam named them all by their respective names, and as he called them, so was their name.
³ And on these five days Adam saw all these, male and female, according to every kind that was on
⁴ the earth, but he was alone and found no helpmeet for him. And the Lord said unto us: 'It is not
⁵ good that the man should be alone: let us make a helpmeet for him.' And the Lord our God caused a deep sleep to fall upon him, and he slept, and He took for the woman one rib from amongst
⁶ his ribs, and this rib was the origin of the woman from amongst his ribs, and He built up the flesh in its stead, and built the woman. And He awaked Adam out of his sleep and on awaking he rose on the sixth day, and He brought her to him, and he knew her, and said unto her: 'This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called
⁷ [my] wife; because she was taken from her husband.' Therefore shall man and wife be one, and therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they shall be
⁸ one flesh. In the first week was Adam created, and the rib—his wife: in the second week He showed her unto him: and for this reason the commandment was given to keep in their defilement,
⁹ for a male seven days, and for a female twice seven days. And after Adam had completed forty days in the land where he had been created, we brought him into the garden of Eden to till and keep it, but his wife they brought in on the eightieth day, and after this she entered into the garden
¹⁰ of Eden. And for this reason the commandment is written on the heavenly tablets in regard to her that gives birth: 'if she bears a male, she shall remain in her uncleanness seven days according to the first week of days, and thirty and three days shall she remain in the blood of her purifying, and she shall not touch any hallowed thing, nor enter into the sanctuary, until she accomplishes these
¹¹ days which (are enjoined) in the case of a male child. But in the case of a female child she shall remain in her uncleanness two weeks of days, according to the first two weeks, and sixty-six days
¹² in the blood of her purification, and they will be in all eighty days.' And when she had completed these eighty days we brought her into the garden of Eden, for it is holier than all the earth besides,
¹³ and every tree that is planted in it is holy. Therefore, there was ordained regarding her who bears a male or a female child the statute of those days that she should touch no hallowed thing, nor
¹⁴ enter into the sanctuary until these days for the male or female child are accomplished. This is the law and testimony which was written down for Israel, in order that they should observe (it) all the
¹⁵ days. And in the first week of the first jubilee, Adam and his wife were in the garden of Eden for 1-7 A.M. seven years tilling and keeping it, and we gave him work and we instructed him to do everything
¹⁶ that is **suitable** for tillage. And he tilled (the garden), and was naked and knew it not, and was not ashamed, and he protected the garden from the birds and beasts and cattle, and gathered its fruit, and eat, and put aside the residue for himself and for his wife [and put aside that which was
¹⁷ being kept]. And after the completion of the seven years, which he had completed there, seven 8 A.M. years exactly, and in the second month, on the seventeenth day (of the month), the serpent came and approached the woman, and the serpent said to the woman, 'Hath God commanded you,

III. 1-16. Gen. ii. 19-25.

3. **found**, Mass., Sam.; against LXX, Syr., Vulg. of Gen. ii. 20, 'was found'.

4. **Let us make**. So Gen. ii. 18 (LXX, Vulg.). Mass., Sam., Syr., 'I will make'.

5, 6. Cf. Targ. Jon. on Gen. ii. 21, 'thirteenth rib.'

6. [my] interpolated from Eth. version, where alone it is found; Mass., Syr., Vulg. > 'her'.

7. Omits 'twain' as Mass., Onk.

8-14. Adopts ancient or invents new legend to explain origin of law of purification after child-birth in Lev. xii. 2-5. Cf. *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, i. 74; Anastasius Sinaita; Glycas, *Chron.* 392; Syncell. i. 8-9; Midrash Tadshe xv; Eppstein, *R. E. J.* (1890), xxxi. 92. For quotations see Charles' Commentary, 22-4.

10. **heavenly tablets**. Cf. 1 En. xlvii. 3, lxxxi. 1, xciii. 2, ciii. 2; Test. Levi v; Test. Asher ii, vii. In En. and Test. the idea wavers between absolute determinism and prediction pure and simple.

In Jubilees they are at times a record even for contemporary events (xiv. 9, xxx. 20, xxxi. 32), or a heavenly copy of levitical laws (iii. 8, 31, iv. 32, v. 13, vi. 17, xv. 25, xvi. 29, xxiv. 33, xxviii. 6, xxxii. 15, &c.).

15. Adam seven years in paradise. Sanh. 38 b, *Die Schatzhöhle* (trans. Bezold), p. 7, says six hours.

God instructs him. Cf. Isa. xxviii. 26-9; later assigned to Michael (Vit. Ad. xxii) or angels (Ber. Rabb. 24).

suitable. With Littmann I take zajâstar'î as = רְאִי. See on ii. 9. But the ord. sense 'revealed' may be right here.

17-22. Gen. iii. 1-7.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 3. 18—4. 3

18 saying, 'Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?' And she said to it, 'Of all the fruit of the trees of the garden God hath said unto us, Eat; but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden God hath said unto us, Ye shall not eat thereof, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die.'
19 And the serpent said unto the woman, 'Ye shall not surely die: for God doth know that on the day ye shall eat thereof, your eyes will be opened, and ye will be as gods, and ye will know good and evil.' And the woman saw the tree that it was agreeable and pleasant to the eye, and that its fruit
20 was good for food, and she took thereof and eat. And when she had first covered her shame with figleaves, she gave thereof to Adam and he eat, and his eyes were opened, and he saw that he was
21 naked. And he took figleaves and sewed (them) together, and made an apron for himself, and
22 covered his shame. And God cursed the serpent, and was wroth with it for ever. . . . And He was
23, 24 wroth with the woman, because she hearkened to the voice of the serpent, and did eat; and He said unto her: 'I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy pains: in sorrow thou shalt bring forth
25 children, and thy return shall be unto thy husband, and he will rule over thee.' And to Adam also he said, 'Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree of which I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat thereof, cursed be the ground for thy sake: thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat thy bread in the sweat of thy face, till thou returnest to the earth from whence thou **wast taken**; for earth thou art, and unto earth shalt
26 thou return.' And He made for them coats of skin, and clothed them, and sent them forth from
27 the Garden of Eden. And on that day on which Adam went forth from the Garden, he offered as a sweet savour an offering, frankincense, galbanum, and stacte, and spices in the morning with the
28 rising of the sun from the day when he covered his shame. And on that day was closed the mouth of all beasts, and of cattle, and of birds, and of whatever walks, and of whatever moves, so that they could no longer speak: for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and with one tongue.
29 And He sent out of the Garden of Eden all flesh that was in the Garden of Eden, and all flesh was scattered according to its kinds, and according to its types unto the places which had been created
30 for them. And to Adam alone did He give (the wherewithal) to cover his shame, of all the beasts and
31 cattle. On this account, it is prescribed on the heavenly tablets as touching all those who know the judgment of the law, that they should cover their shame, and should not uncover themselves as the
32 Gentiles uncover themselves. And on the new moon of the fourth month, Adam and his wife went 8 A.M.
33 forth from the Garden of Eden, and they dwelt in the land of Êldâ in the land of their creation. And
34 Adam called the name of his wife Eve. And they had no son till the first jubilee, and after this he
35 knew her. Now he tilled the land as he had been instructed in the Garden of Eden.

Cain and Abel and other children of Adam, 1-12. Enos, Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared, 13-15. Enoch and his history, 16-25. Four sacred places, 26. Methuselah, Lamech, Noah, 27, 28. Death of Adam and Cain, 29-32. Shem, Ham, and Japhet, 32. (Cf. Gen. iv-v.)

4 1 And in the third week in the second jubilee^a she gave birth to Cain, and in the fourth^b she 64-70 A.M.
2 gave birth to Abel, and in the fifth^c she gave birth to her daughter Âwân. And in the first (year) of 71-77 A.M.
the third jubilee,^d Cain slew Abel because (God) accepted the sacrifice of Abel, and did not accept 78-84 A.M.
3 the offering of Cain. And he slew him in the field: and his blood cried from the ground to heaven, 99-105 A.M.

23. Lacuna: supply from Syncell. i. 14; Targ., Ps.-Jon. on Gen. iii. 14, Midrash Koheleth some statement to the effect that the serpent's feet were cut off. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 4.

24. Follows Gen. iii. 16 (LXX).

25-6. Gen. iii. 17-19, 21, 24.

25. **thy bread.** So LXX. Mass., Sam. > 'thy'.

wast taken, *tanashêêka* corrupt, as often, for *tanashêêka*.

27. Adam's incense-offering antedates Exod. xxx. 34.

day . . . he covered his shame. Cf. Exod. xx. 26, xxviii. 42. Beer 41 suggests he was thinking of priests at the altar.

28. A common Jewish belief. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 1. 4; *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, i. 18; Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* i. 32. Our text is quoted by Syncell. i. 14; Cedren. i. 9, 10; Zonaras, i. 23. Original language was said to be Hebrew (xii. 25; cf. Jerus. Targ. on Gen. xi. 1; Ber. rabb. 18; Jerahmeel, xxxviii. 11); or Syriac (*Die Schatzhöhle*, Theodoret, Ephraem); or Greek (Eutychius; 2 En. xxx. 13; Or. Sibyll. iii. 24-6); or Aramaic, since Adam wrote Ps. cxxxix (Sanh. 38 b; but Shabb. 12 b says angels do not understand Aramaic).

31. Good indication of date. Author protests against following Greeks in stripping for the games. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 13, 14; 2 Macc. iv. 12-14; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1.

32. 'Êldâ, corrupt for מולדה, 'land of nativity,' as Onk. and Ps.-Jon. in Gen. iii. 23. So 'creation' is a rendering of 'Êldâ.

34. No marriage in Eden. Cf. *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 7.

IV. 1. No two early authorities agree in the names of Adam's daughters.

Syncell. i. 14 dates Cain's birth in 70 A. M., Abel's in 77, 'Asouam's' (= Âwân's) in 85, and puts Abel's sacrifice at 22 years of age, i. e. 99 A. M.

2-3. Cf. Gen. iv. 4, 5, 8, 10.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 4. 4-20

4 complaining because he had slain him. And the Lord reproveth Cain because of Abel, because he
 5 had slain him, and he made him a **fugitive** on the earth because of the blood of his brother, and he
 6 cursed him upon the earth. And on this account it is written on the heavenly tables, 'Cursed is
 7 he who smites his neighbour treacherously, and let all who have seen and heard say, So be it; and
 8 the man who has seen and not declared (it), let him be accursed as the other.' And for this reason
 9 we announce when we come before the Lord our God all the sin which is committed in heaven and
 10 on earth, and in light and in darkness, and everywhere. And Adam and his wife mourned for 99-127 A
 11 Abel four weeks of years, and in the fourth year of the fifth week they became joyful, and Adam 130 A.M.
 12 knew his wife again, and she bare him a son, and he called his name Seth; for he said 'GOD has
 13 raised up a second seed unto us on the earth instead of Abel; for Cain slew him.' And in the sixth
 14 week he begat his daughter Azûrâ. And Cain took Âwân his sister to be his wife and she bare 134-40 A
 15 him Enoch at the close of the fourth jubilee. And in the first year of the first week of the fifth 190-196 A
 16 jubilee, houses were built on the earth, and Cain built a city, and called its name after the name of 197 A.M.
 17 his son Enoch. And Adam knew Eve his wife and she bare yet nine sons. And in the fifth week 225-31 A
 18 of the fifth jubilee Seth took Azûrâ his sister to be his wife, and in the fourth (year of the sixth 235 A.M.
 19 week) she bare him Enos. He began to call on the name of the Lord on the earth. And in the
 20 seventh jubilee in the third week Enos took Nôâm his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son 309-15 A
 21 in the third year of the fifth week, and he called his name Kenan. And at the close of the eighth 325, 386-
 22 jubilee Kenan took Mûalêlêth his sister to be his wife, and she bare him a son in the ninth jubilee, 392 A.M.
 23 in the first week of the tenth jubilee Mahalalel took unto him to wife Dinâh, the daughter of Barâkî'êl 449-55 A
 24 the daughter of his **father's brother**, and she bare him a son in the third week in the sixth year, and 461 A.M.
 25 he called his name Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth, those who
 26 are named the Watchers, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do
 27 judgment and uprightness on the earth. And in the eleventh jubilee Jared took to himself a wife, 512-18 A
 28 and her name was Bâraka, the daughter of Râsûjâl, a daughter of his father's brother, in the fourth
 29 week of this jubilee, and she bare him a son in the fifth week, in the fourth year of the jubilee, and 522 A.M.
 30 he called his name Enoch. And he was the first among men that are born on earth who learnt
 31 writing and knowledge and wisdom and who wrote down the signs of heaven according to the order
 32 of their months in a book, that men might know the seasons of the years according to the order of
 33 their separate months. And he was the first to write a testimony, and he testified to the sons of
 34 men among the generations of the earth, and recounted the weeks of the jubilees, and made known
 35 to them the days of the years, and set in order the months and recounted the Sabbaths of the years
 36 as we made (them), known to him. And what was and what will be he saw in a vision of his sleep,
 37 as it will happen to the children of men throughout their generations until the day of judgment; he
 38 saw and understood everything, and wrote his testimony, and placed the testimony on earth for all
 39 the children of men and for their generations. And in the twelfth jubilee, in the seventh week 582-88 A

3. **complaining.** Cf. Gen. iv. 10; 1 En. xxii. 5, 6.
4. Eth. *nuh*, a bad transliteration of Hebrew נֹחַ, 'fugitive,' Gen. iv. 12.
6. Cf. Intr. to 2 Enoch xxxiv, Charles' edition.
- 7-8. Usually the mother names the child in Genesis, father in 'Jubilees', as Sam. in Gen. iv. 25. Exceptions are Gen. iv. 26, v. 29, xxv. 25, 26, Exod. ii. 22.
9. **Enoch.** Cf. Gen. iv. 17; Syncell. i. 16; Jashar, 96.
10. **nine sons**, quoted by Epiph. *Haer.* xxxix. 6. Jashar speaks of three; Syncell. i. 18 and Vit. Ad. of thirty-three.
11. () supplied acc. to Syncell. i. 17.
12. Gen. iv. 26. Originally as here הוֹחַל was taken in a good sense. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* i. 3. 1, LXX, Syr., but Jerome, and later Rabbis, e.g. Ber. Rabb. 23, Jashar ii. 1090, 'Chronicles of Jerahmeel' xxiv. 9, xxvi. 20, Shabb. 118 b, and Onk. take as implying ceasing from prayer or beginning idolatry.
15. Read 'father's brother' for 'father's sister' with Greek MS. r on Gen. v. 15 and Syriac Fragment.
- Jared . . . descended**, play on words in Hebrew.
- angels of the Lord descended on the earth.** Gen. vi. 1-4; Is. xxiv. 21. True interpretation here as in 1 Enoch vi. 2 (Greek), Test. of XII Patr., Philo, Jude, 2 Peter, and Epiphanius. Subsequently to Christians, 'sons of God' become 'children of Seth'; first in Julius Africanus, emphatically in Chrysostom, *Homilies*, Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv, Jerome, *Comm. in Ps.* cxxxii, Eutychius, Syncellus, *Die Schatzhöhle*, *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, esp. bk. iii, iv, Zonaras, Glycas. Later Jewish authors (Onkelos, Symmachus, Ps.-Jon., Ber. rabb., Jashar, &c.) made them into 'mighty men', 'judges', &c. By this means Enoch's greatness was transferred to Seth by Christians, just as to Moses, Ezra, Elijah, by Jews.
- Watchers**, as in Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23; 1 En. i. 5, xx. 1; 2 En. vii, xviii.
- 17-23. Shows the parts of Enoch books which were known to our author. Cf. 1 En. vi-xvi, xxiii-xxxvi, lxxii-xc.
17. For 'Enoch the scribe' see 1 En. xii. 3, 4. Contrast 1 En. lxix. 8.
18. Enoch does not deal with 'weeks of jubilees', &c. See Jub. vii. 37, xxi. 10 (note).
19. This vision is that in 1 En. lxxxiii-xc. Name of his wife and nature of his dream are the same in both, also ascetic tone (vision seen before marriage).

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 4. 20-33

thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was Ednî, the daughter of Dânel, the daughter of his father's brother, and in the sixth year in this week she bare him a son and he called his name 587 A.M.
21 Methuselah. And he was moreover with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens, the rule of the sun, and he wrote down
22 everything. And he testified to the Watchers, who had sinned with the daughters of men; for these had begun to unite themselves, so as to be defiled, with the daughters of men, and Enoch
23 testified against (them) all. And he was taken from amongst the children of men, and we conducted him into the Garden of Eden in majesty and honour, and behold there he writes down the con-
24 demnation and judgment of the world, and all the wickedness of the children of men. And on account of it (God) brought the waters of the flood upon all the land of Eden; for there he was set as a sign and that he should testify against all the children of men, that he should recount all the
25 deeds of the generations until the day of condemnation. And he burnt the incense of the sanctuary,
26 (even) sweet spices acceptable before the Lord on the Mount. For the Lord has four places on the earth, the Garden of Eden, and the Mount of the East, and this mountain on which thou art this day, Mount Sinai, and Mount Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for a sanctification of the earth; through it will the earth be sanctified from all (its) guilt and its uncleanness through-
27 out the generations of the world. And in the fourteenth jubilee Methuselah took unto himself 652 A.M.
a wife, Ednâ the daughter of 'Âzriâl, the daughter of his father's brother, in the third week, in the
28 first year of this week, and he begat a son and called his name Lamech. And in the fifteenth 701-7 A.M.
jubilee in the third week Lamech took to himself a wife, and her name was Bêtênôs the daughter of Bârâkî'il, the daughter of his father's brother, and in this week she bare him a son and he called his name Noah, saying, 'This one will comfort me for my trouble and all my work, and for the ground
29 which the Lord hath cursed.' And at the close of the nineteenth jubilee, in the seventh week in 930 A.M.
the sixth year thereof, Adam died, and all his sons buried him in the land of his creation, and he
30 was the first to be buried in the earth. And he lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are as one day in the testimony of the heavens and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge: 'On the day that ye eat thereof ye shall die.' For this reason he
31 did not complete the years of this day; for he died during it. At the close of this jubilee Cain was killed after him in the same year; for his house fell upon him and he died in the midst of his house, and he was killed by its stones; for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in
32 righteous judgment. For this reason it was ordained on the heavenly tablets: 'With the instrument with which a man kills his neighbour with the same shall he be killed; after the manner that
33 he wounded him, in like manner shall they deal with him.' And in the twenty-fifth jubilee Noah 1205 A.M.
took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Emzârâ, the daughter of Râké'el, the daughter of his father's brother, in the first year in the fifth week; and in the third year thereof she bare him 1207 A.M.
Shem, in the fifth year thereof she bare him Ham, and in the first year in the sixth week she bare 1209 A.M.
him Japheth. 1212 A.M.

21, 22. Refer to 1 En. xii-xvi, xxiii-xxxvi.

23. Points to tradition like that at base of 1 En. lxx. Enoch is heavenly scribe here as in 2 En. xxiii. 1-3.

Cf. also 1 En. xii. 3; 2 En. xl. 13; liii. 2; lxiv. 5.

Garden of Eden, as in 1 En. lxx. 1-3; 2 En. lxvii. 2.

24. Cf. 2 En. xxxiv. 3; Test. Naph. 4.

25. *quatr* corrupt for *quâtârê*, 'sweet spices.' Cf. Exod. xxx. 7.

26. Four abodes of God on earth. 'Mountain of the East', uncertain; either Mount Ephraim (Rapoport, *ZDMG*, xi. 730-33, implying Samaritan authorship) or Lubar on Ararat (Rönsch, pp. 505-6); or mount above Eden where Sethites live (in *Die Schatzhöhle, Conflict of Adam and Eve*, &c.); or 'throne of God' in 1 En. xviii. 6, xxiii. 1, xxxii. 1.

27. father's brother. Emended as in iv. 15.

28. Cf. Gen. v. 29. ? Noah born in 707 as Sam. Chron. The explanation of Noah's name is much elaborated in Jashar 13b; Ber. Rabb. 25.

29. Cf. iii. 32.

30. one thousand years . . . one day. 2 Pet. iii. 8; Ep. Barn. xv; 2 En. xxxiii; Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* lxxxi, and Lactant. *Institution.* vii. 14.

On the day, &c. Cf. Gen. ii. 17.

31-2. Two legends exist of Cain's death. This is the earlier, quoted in Syncell. i. 19; Cedren. i. 16. Law of exact retribution enforced by Cain's fate; cf. Exod. xxi. 24; Lev. xxiv. 19. Beer says this law was unknown to traditional Judaism in cases of murder; but cf. 2 Macc. v. 10, xv. 32. It reaches the ideal in Gal. vi. 7; Col. iii. 25 and Gospel parables of 'Dives and Lazarus' and 'Unforgiving Debtor'. The later legend makes Lamech slay Cain.

33. Shem really oldest in Gen. x. 21: so Vulg., Sanh. 69b.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 5. 22

The angels of God marry the daughters of men, 1. Corruption of all creation, 2-3. Punishment of the fallen angels and their children, 4-9 a. Final judgment announced, 9 b-16. Day of Atonement, 17-18. The deluge foretold, Noah builds the ark, the deluge, 19-32. (Cf. Gen. vi-viii. 19.)

5 ¹ And it came to pass when the children of men began to multiply on the face of the earth and daughters were born unto them, that the angels of God saw them on a certain year of this jubilee, that they were beautiful to look upon; and they took themselves wives of all whom they
² chose, and they bare unto them sons and they were giants. And lawlessness increased on the earth and all flesh corrupted its way, alike men and cattle and beasts and birds and everything that walks on the earth—all of them corrupted their ways and their orders, and they began to devour each other, and lawlessness increased on the earth and every imagination of the thoughts of all men
³ (was) thus evil continually. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, and all flesh had corrupted its orders, and all that were upon the earth had wrought all manner of evil
⁴ before His eyes. And He said that He would destroy man and all flesh upon the face of the earth
^{5, 6} which He had created. But Noah found grace before the eyes of the Lord. And against the angels whom He had sent upon the earth, He was exceedingly wroth, and He gave commandment to root them out of all their dominion, and He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth, and
⁷ behold they are bound in the midst of them, and are (kept) separate. And against their sons went forth a command from before His face that they should be smitten with the sword, and be removed
⁸ from under heaven. And He said 'My spirit shall not always abide on man; for they also are flesh
⁹ and their days shall be one hundred and twenty years'. And He sent His sword into their midst that each should slay his neighbour, and they began to slay each other till they all fell by the sword
¹⁰ and were destroyed from the earth. And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation, when judgment is executed on all those who have corrupted their ways and their works before
¹¹ the Lord. And He †destroyed† all from their places, and there †was† not left one of them whom
¹² He judged not according to all their wickedness. And he †made† for all his works a new and righteous nature, so that they should not sin in their whole nature for ever, but should be all
¹³ righteous each in his kind alway. And the judgment of all is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets in righteousness—even (the judgment of) all who depart from the path which is ordained for them to walk in; and if they walk not therein, judgment is written down for every creature and
¹⁴ for every kind. And there is nothing in heaven or on earth, or in light or in darkness, or in Sheol or in the depth, or in the place of darkness (which is not judged); and all their judgments are
¹⁵ ordained and written and engraved. In regard to all He will judge, the great according to his greatness, and the small according to his smallness, and each according to his way. And He is not
¹⁶ one who will regard the person (of any), nor is He one who will receive gifts, if He says that He will execute judgment on each: if one gave everything that is on the earth, He will not regard the
¹⁷ gifts or the person (of any), nor accept anything at his hands, for He is a righteous judge. [And of the children of Israel it has been written and ordained: If they turn to him in righteousness,
¹⁸ He will forgive all their transgressions and pardon all their sins. It is written and ordained that
¹⁹ He will show mercy to all who turn from all their guilt once each year.] And as for all those who corrupted their ways and their thoughts before the flood, no man's person was accepted save that of Noah alone; for his person was accepted in behalf of his sons, whom (God) saved from the waters of the flood on his account; for his heart was righteous in all his ways, according as it was com-
²⁰ manded regarding him, and he had not departed from aught that was ordained for him. And the Lord said that he would destroy everything which was upon the earth, both men and cattle, and
²¹ beasts, and fowls of the air, and that which moveth on the earth. And He commanded Noah to
²² make him an ark, that he might save himself from the waters of the flood. And Noah made the ark in all respects as He commanded him, in the twenty-seventh jubilee of years, in the fifth week 1307 A.M.

V. Parallel to Gen. vi-viii. 19. Cf. 1 En. vi. 1, 2, vii. 5, x. 12, lxxxix. 3.

3. wrought all manner of evil. See Ethiopic text.

4. that He would, &c. So MSS. *b c*.

11-12. Corruption of tense probable in Hebrew; the 'new creation' is still in the future.

16. Cf. Deut. x. 17; 2 Chron. xix. 7.

17-18. Interpolated, or transposed from xxxiv. 18-19.

18. The Day of Atonement blots out all sins for the truly penitent (contrary to Lev. xvi. 21; Yoma viii. 9).

19. Cf. Gen. xviii. 23-32.

22. Read 'twenty-seventh' for 'twenty-second'.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 5. 23—6. 10

- 23 in the fifth year (on the new moon of the first month). And he entered in the sixth (year) thereof, 1308 A.M.
in the second month, on the new moon of the second month, till the sixteenth; and he entered, and
all that we brought to him, into the ark, and the Lord closed it from without on the seventeenth
evening.
- 24 And the Lord opened seven flood-gates of heaven,
And the mouths of the fountains of the great deep, seven mouths in number.
- 25 And the flood-gates began to pour down water from the heaven forty days and forty nights,
And the fountains of the deep also sent up waters, until the whole world was full of water.
- 26 And the waters increased upon the earth:
Fifteen cubits did the waters rise above all the high mountains,
And the ark was lift up above the earth,
And it moved upon the face of the waters.
- 27 And the water prevailed on the face of the earth five months—one hundred and fifty days.
- 28, 29 And the ark went and rested on the top of Lûbâr, one of the mountains of Ararat. And (on the
new moon) in the fourth month the fountains of the great deep were closed and the flood-gates of
heaven were restrained; and on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of the abysses
30 of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below. And on the new
moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and on the new moon of the first 1309 A.M.
31 month the earth became visible. And the waters disappeared from above the earth in the fifth
week in the seventh year thereof, and on the seventeenth day in the second month the earth was dry.
- 32 And on the twenty-seventh thereof he opened the ark, and sent forth from it beasts, and cattle, and
birds, and every moving thing.

*Sacrifice of Noah, 1-3 (cf. Gen. viii. 20-2). God's covenant with Noah, eating of blood forbidden,
4-10 (cf. Gen. ix. 1-17). Moses bidden to renew this law against the eating of blood, 11-14.
Bow set in the clouds for a sign, 15-16. Feast of weeks instituted, history of its observance, 17-22.
Feasts of the new moons, 23-8. Division of the year into 364 days, 29-38.*

- 6 1 And on the new moon of the third month he went forth from the ark, and built an altar on
2 that mountain. And he made atonement for the earth, and took a kid and made atonement by its
blood for all the guilt of the earth; for everything that had been on it had been destroyed, save
3 those that were in the ark with Noah. And he placed the fat thereof on the altar, and he took an
ox, and a goat, and a sheep and kids, and salt, and a turtle-dove, and the young of a dove, and
placed a burnt sacrifice on the altar, and poured thereon an offering mingled with oil, and sprinkled
wine and strewed frankincense over everything, and caused a goodly savour to arise, **acceptable** before
4 the Lord. And the Lord smelt the goodly savour, and He made a covenant with him that there
should not be any more a flood to destroy the earth; that all the days of the earth seed-time and
harvest should never cease; cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night should not
5 change their order, nor cease for ever. 'And you, increase ye and multiply upon the earth, and
become many upon it, and be a blessing **upon** it. The fear of you and the dread of you I will
6 inspire in everything that is on earth and in the sea. And behold I have given unto you all beasts,
and all winged things, and everything that moves on the earth, and the fish in the waters, and all
7 things for food; as the green herbs, I have given you all things to eat. But flesh, with the life
thereof, with the blood, ye shall not eat; for the life of all flesh is in the blood, lest your blood of
your lives be required. At the hand of every man, at the hand of every (beast) will I require the
8 blood of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed; for in the image of
9, 10 God made He man. And you, increase ye, and multiply on the earth.' And Noah and his sons

28. Lûbâr, in Armenia (Sayce); the Babylonian Noah rested on Mount Nizir, in the Lulubi of the Assyrian inscriptions.

29. Gen. viii. 2. Cf. 1 En. lxxxix. 7.

30. Gen. viii. 5, 13.

31. The earth became dry exactly one year after Noah entered the ark. In Gen. viii. 14 this is on the twenty-seventh, not the seventeenth day. Lagarde's LXX MS. 2 on Gen. viii. 14 quotes part of 31 and 32; also the date in vi. 1.

VI. 1. Cf. xiv. 1, xlv. 1 (events on same date). Ber. Rabb. 34 placed Noah's altar at Jerusalem.

2. Cf. Lev. xviii. 26; Num. xxxv. 33, but they give no exact parallels.

3. Gen. viii. 20, expanded by Lev. ii. 2, 5; Exod. xxix. 40.

acceptable, *jâshamer* for text *jêshamer*.

4-7. God's covenant with Noah, as Gen. viii. ix.

5. **be a blessing** for 'multiply' in Gen. ix. 7.

upon. Text *mâ'ekala* corrupt for *lâ'elêhâ*.

10-14. Noah's covenant is completed and confirmed by the Mosaic one in same month. Cf. Exod. xix. 1.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 6. 11-31

swore that they would not eat any blood that was in any flesh, and he made a covenant before the
11 Lord God for ever throughout all the generations of the earth in this month. On this account He
spake to thee that thou shouldst make a covenant with the children of Israel in this month upon the
mountain with an oath, and that thou shouldst sprinkle blood upon them because of all the words
12 of the covenant, which the Lord made with them for ever. And this testimony is written concerning
you that you should observe it continually, so that you should not eat on any day any blood of beasts
or birds or cattle during all the days of the earth, and the man who eats the blood of beast or of
cattle or of birds during all the days of the earth, he and his seed shall be rooted out of the land.
13 And do thou command the children of Israel to eat no blood, so that their names and their seed
14 may be before the Lord our God continually. And for this law there is no limit of days, for it is
for ever. They shall observe it throughout their generations, so that they may continue suppli-
cating on your behalf with blood before the altar; every day and at the time of morning and
evening they shall seek forgiveness on your behalf perpetually before the Lord that they may keep
15 it and not be rooted out. And He gave to Noah and his sons a sign that there should not again
16 be a flood on the earth. He set His bow in the cloud for a sign of the eternal covenant that there
17 should not again be a flood on the earth to destroy it all the days of the earth. For this reason it
is ordained and written on the heavenly tablets, that they should celebrate the feast of weeks in this
18 month once a year, to renew the covenant every year. And this whole festival was celebrated in
heaven from the day of creation till the days of Noah—twenty-six jubilees and five weeks of years:
and Noah and his sons observed it for seven jubilees and one week of years, till the day of Noah's 1309-
death, and from the day of Noah's death his sons did away with (it) until the days of Abraham, and 1659 A.M.
19 they eat blood. But Abraham observed it, and Isaac and Jacob and his children observed it up to
thy days, and in thy days the children of Israel forgot it until ye celebrated it anew on this mountain.
20 And do thou command the children of Israel to observe this festival in all their generations for a
21 commandment unto them: one day in the year in this month they shall celebrate the festival. For
it is the feast of weeks and the feast of first fruits: this feast is twofold and of a double nature:
22 according to what is written and engraven concerning it, **celebrate** it. For I have written in the
book of the first law, in that which I have written for thee, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its
season, one day in the year, and I explained to thee its sacrifices that the children of Israel should
remember and should celebrate it throughout their generations in this month, one day in every year.
23 And on the new moon of the first month, and on the new moon of the fourth month, and on the
new moon of the seventh month, and on the new moon of the tenth month are the days of remem-
brance, and the days of the seasons in the four divisions of the year. These are written and ordained
24 as a testimony for ever. And Noah ordained them for himself as feasts for the generations for ever,
25 so that they have become thereby a memorial unto him. And on the new moon of the first month
he was bidden to make for himself an ark, and on that (day) the earth became dry and he opened
26 (the ark) and saw the earth. And on the new moon of the fourth month the mouths of the depths
of the abyss beneath were closed. And on the new moon of the seventh month all the mouths of
27 the abysses of the earth were opened, and the waters began to descend into them. And on the new
28 moon of the tenth month the tops of the mountains were seen, and Noah was glad. And on this
account he ordained them for himself as feasts for a memorial for ever, and thus are they ordained.
29 And they placed them on the heavenly tablets, each had thirteen weeks; from one to another
(passed) their memorial, from the first to the second, and from the second to the third, and from the
30 third to the fourth. And all the days of the commandment will be two and fifty weeks of days, and
(these will make) the entire year complete. Thus it is engraven and ordained on the heavenly
31 tablets. And there is no neglecting (this commandment) for a single year or from year to year.

11, 14. Proper use of blood in daily sacrifice. Cf. Num. xxviii. 3-8. "
17-18. **the feast of weeks** is connected with Noah's covenant here only. Later it is ascribed to Moses. The
name 'Pentecost' (2 Macc. xii. 32; Tobit ii. 1; 1 Cor. xvi. 8) is not yet in use.
21. Cf. Num. xxviii. 26.
celebrate, *gēbarā*, emended from *gēbrā*, 'its celebration.'
22. **one day** = first day (Eppstein), i. e. of the week. Pentecost was to be on a Sunday every year. Cf. xlix. 7, 8.
23. The four great days of the year have a religious significance here, but an astronomical one in 1 En. lxxv. 1, 2,
lxxxii. 11 (intercalary days). Cf. Ezek. xlvi. 6; Rosh ha-Shanah, i. 1. They are associated here with patriarchal
events. Cf. iii. 32, v. 29, vi. 26, xvi. 1, xxviii. 24, xlv. 1, xii. 16, xiii. 8, xxviii. 14, &c.
26-7. Gen. viii. 2, 5; 1 En. lxxxix. 7, 8.
29-30. Solar year of 364 days (cf. iv. 17, v. 27, xii. 16) = 12 months of 30 days and 4 intercalary days. Eppstein, on
vi. 32 (*Revue des Études Juives* xxii. 10-13), suggests that Jubilees uses two calendars—the second being a parallel
ecclesiastical year, a multiple of 7; i. e. 13 months of 28 days. Cf. vi. 22, 28. On the great difficulties connected
with the calendar of our author and of pre-Christian Judaism see my Commentary *in loc.*

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 6. 32—7. 11

32 And command thou the children of Israel that they observe the years according to this reckoning—
three hundred and sixty-four days, and (these) will constitute a complete year, and they will not
disturb its time from its days and from its feasts; for everything will fall out in them according to
33 their testimony, and they will not leave out any day nor disturb any feasts. But if they do neglect
and do not observe them according to His commandment, then they will disturb all their seasons,
and the years will be dislodged from this (order), [and they will disturb the seasons and the years
34 will be dislodged] and they will neglect their ordinances. And all the children of Israel will forget,
and will not find the path of the years, and will forget the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths,
35 and they will go wrong as to all the order of the years. For I know and from henceforth will I
declare it unto thee, and it is not of my own devising; for the book (lies) written before me, and
on the heavenly tablets the division of days is ordained, lest they forget the feasts of the covenant
36 and walk according to the feasts of the Gentiles after their error and after their ignorance. For
there will be those who will assuredly make observations of the moon—how (it) disturbs the
37 seasons and comes in from year to year ten days too soon. For this reason the years will come
upon them when they will disturb (the order), and make an abominable (day) the day of testimony,
and an unclean day a feast day, and they will confound all the days, the holy with the unclean, and
the unclean day with the holy; for they will go wrong as to the months and sabbaths and feasts and
38 jubilees. For this reason I command and testify to thee that thou mayst testify to them; for after
thy death thy children will disturb (them), so that they will not make the year three hundred and
sixty-four days only, and for this reason they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons and
sabbaths and festivals, and they will eat all kinds of blood with all kinds of flesh.

Noah plants a vineyard and offers a sacrifice, 1–5. Becomes drunk and exposes his person, 6–9. The cursing of Canaan and blessing of Shem and Japheth, 10–12 (cf. Gen. ix. 20–8). Noah's sons and grandsons and their cities, 13–19. Noah teaches his sons regarding the causes of the deluge and admonishes them to avoid the eating of blood and murder, to keep the law regarding fruit trees and let the land lie fallow every seventh year, as Enoch had directed, 20–39.

7 1 And in the seventh week in the first year thereof, in this jubilee, Noah planted vines on 1317 A.M.
the mountain on which the ark had rested, named Lûbâr, one of the Ararat Mountains, and they
produced fruit in the fourth year, and he guarded their fruit, and gathered it in this year in the 1320 A.M.
2 seventh month. And he made wine therefrom and put it into a vessel, and kept it until the fifth 1321 A.M.
3 year, until the first day, on the new moon of the first month. And he celebrated with joy the day
of this feast, and he made a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord, one young ox and one ram, and seven
sheep, each a year old, and a kid of the goats, that he might make atonement thereby for himself
4 and his sons. And he prepared the kid first, and placed some of its blood on the flesh that was on
the altar which he had made, and all the fat he laid on the altar where he made the burnt sacrifice,
5 and the ox and the ram and the sheep, and he laid all their flesh upon the altar. And he placed
all their offerings mingled with oil upon it, and afterwards he sprinkled wine on the fire which he
had previously made on the altar, and he placed incense on the altar and caused a sweet savour to
6 ascend **acceptable** before the Lord his God. And he rejoiced and drank of this wine, he and his
7 children with joy. And it was evening, and he went into his tent, and being drunken he lay down
8 and slept, and was uncovered in his tent as he slept. And Ham saw Noah his father naked, and
9 went forth and told his two brethren without. And Shem took his garment and arose, he and
Japheth, and they placed the garment on their shoulders and **went backward** and covered the shame
10 of their father, and their faces were backward. And Noah awoke from his sleep and knew all that
his younger son had done unto him, and he cursed his son and said: 'Cursed be Canaan; an
11 enslaved servant shall he be unto his brethren.' And he blessed Shem, and said: 'Blessed be the

32. The impossible number 364 as in 1 En. lxxiv. 10, lxxv. 2; 2 En. xlviii, is probably due to dogmatic considerations; to make the festivals fall on the same day of the week from year to year. Contrast 2 En. xiv. 1 ('365½ days'). Bacon, *Hebraica*, viii. 79–88, 124–39 (1891–2), shows that the same causes operated on the authors of the Deluge story in P. The flood lasted *one year* in the Chaldaean account—this was a lunar year of 354 days but P makes it last *one year and ten days*; i.e. a year of 364 days.

34. Cf. 1 En. lxxxii. 4–6.

35. **not of my own devising**. Cf. Num. xvi. 8; Apoc. Bar. xiv. 11.

36. Cf. ii. 9, iv. 21. Contrast 1 En. lxxiv. 12; Sam. Chronicle (Neubauer, *Journal Asiatique* (1869), xiv, no. lv. 421, seq.).

VII. 3. Cf. ritual of Num. xxix. 2, 5.

5. **acceptable**. Emended as in vi. 3.

6–12. Gen. ix. 21–7 (LXX).

9. Text restored by emending *gatsômû* into *gabî'ômû*.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 7. 12-33

- 12 Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and God shall
 13 dwell in the dwelling of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant.' And Ham knew that his father
 14 had cursed his younger son, and he was displeased that he had cursed his son, and he parted from
 15 his father, he and his sons with him, Cush and Mizraim and Put and Canaan. And he built for
 16 himself a city and called its name after the name of his wife Nê'êlâtamâ'ûk. And Japheth saw it,
 17 and became envious of his brother, and he too built for himself a city, and he called its name after
 18 the name of his wife 'Adâtânêsês. And Shem dwelt with his father Noah, and he built a city close
 19 to his father on the mountain, and he too called its name after the name of his wife Sêdêqêtêlêbâb.
 20 And behold these three cities are near Mount Lûbâr; Sêdêqêtêlêbâb fronting the mountain on its
 21 east; and Na'êltamâ'ûk on the south; 'Adatan'êsês towards the west. And these are the sons of
 22 Shem: Elam, and Asshur, and Arpachshad—this (son) **was born** two years after the flood—and
 23 **Lud, and Aram.** The sons of Japheth: Gomer and Magog and Madai and Javan, Tubal and
 24 Meshech and Tiras: these are the sons of Noah. And in the twenty-eighth jubilee Noah began to
 25 enjoin upon his sons' sons the ordinances and commandments, and all the judgments that he knew, 1324-
 26 and he exhorted his sons to observe righteousness, and to cover the shame of their flesh, and to
 27 bless their Creator, and honour father and mother, and love their neighbour, and guard their souls
 28 from fornication and uncleanness and all iniquity. For owing to these three things came the flood
 29 upon the earth, namely, owing to the fornication wherein the Watchers against the law of their
 30 ordinances went a whoring after the daughters of men, and took themselves wives of all which they
 31 chose: and they made the beginning of uncleanness. And they begat sons the Nâphîdîm, and
 32 †they were all unlike†, and they devoured one another: and the Giants slew the Nâphîl, and the
 33 Nâphîl slew the Eljô, and the Eljô mankind, and one man another. And every one sold himself
 34 to work iniquity and to shed much blood, and the earth was filled with iniquity. And after this
 35 **they sinned against** the beasts and birds, and all that moves and walks on the earth: and much
 36 blood was shed on the earth, and every imagination and desire of men imagined vanity and evil
 37 continually. And the Lord destroyed everything from off the face of the earth; because of the
 38 wickedness of their deeds, and because of the blood which they had shed in the midst of the earth
 39 He destroyed everything. 'And we were left, I and you, my sons, and everything that entered
 40 with us into the ark, and behold I see your works before me that ye do not walk in righteousness;
 41 for in the path of destruction ye have begun to walk, and ye are parting one from another, and are
 42 envious one of another, and (so it comes) that ye are not in harmony, my sons, each with his brother.
 43 For I see, and behold the demons have begun (their) seductions against you and against your children,
 44 and now I fear on your behalf, that after my death ye will shed the blood of men upon the earth,
 45 and that ye, too, will be destroyed from the face of the earth. For whoso sheddeth man's blood,
 46 and whoso eateth the blood of any flesh, shall all be destroyed from the earth. †
 47 And there shall not be left any man that eateth blood,
 48 Or that sheddeth the blood of man on the earth,
 49 Nor shall there be left to him any seed or descendants living under heaven;
 50 For into Sheol shall they go,
 51 And into the place of condemnation shall they descend,
 52 And into the darkness of the deep shall they all be removed by a violent death.
 53 There shall be no blood seen upon you of all the blood there shall be all the days in which ye
 54 have killed any beasts or cattle or whatever flies upon the earth, and work ye a good work to your
 55 souls by covering that which has been shed on the face of the earth. And ye shall not be like him
 56 who eats with blood, but guard yourselves that none may eat blood before you: cover the blood,
 57 for thus have I been commanded to testify to you and your children, together with all flesh. And
 58 suffer not the soul to be eaten with the flesh, that your blood, which is your life, may not be required
 59 at the hand of any flesh that sheds (it) on the earth. For the earth will not be clean from the blood

13. Gen. x. 6.

16. Shem is the good son.

18. Unintelligible text restored by a few slight changes.

20-39. Fragment of lost 'Book of Noah'. Cf. Epiph. *Ancorat.* cxii.

Our author has left unchanged the 1st persons of the verbs in verses 26-39.

21. **These three things.** Almost the three cardinal sins. Cf. Gen. vi. 2; 1 En. vii. 1; Ber. Rabb. 31.

22. Three classes of giants. Cf. 1 En. vii. 1 (Greek), lxxxvi. 4, lxxxviii. 2.

were unlike, perhaps better 'plundered' or 'strove' (by slight emendations).

23. 1 Kings xxi. 20; 1 En. ix. 1-9, vii. 5, lxxxvii. 1.

24. **they sinned against.** Cf. 1 En. vii. 5, by means of which the text is emended.

29. Used by 1 En. ciii. 7-8.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 7. 34—8. 11

which has been shed upon it; for (only) through the blood of him that shed it will the earth be
 34 purified throughout all its generations. And now, my children, hearken: work judgment and
 righteousness that ye **may be planted** in righteousness over the face of the whole earth, and your
 35 glory lifted up before my God, who saved me from the waters of the flood. And behold, ye will go
 and build for yourselves cities, and plant in them all the plants that are upon the earth, and moreover
 36 all fruit-bearing trees. For three years the fruit of everything that is eaten will not be gathered:
 and in the fourth year its fruit will be accounted holy [and they will offer the first-fruits], acceptable
 before the Most High God, who created heaven and earth and all things. Let them offer in
 abundance the first of the wine and oil (as) first-fruits on the altar of the Lord, who receives it, and
 37 what is left let the servants of the house of the Lord eat before the altar which receives (it). And
 in the fifth year

make ye the release so that ye release it in righteousness and uprightness, and ye shall be righteous,
 38 and all that you plant shall prosper. For thus did Enoch, the father of your father command
 Methuselah, his son, and Methuselah his son Lamech, and Lamech commanded me all the things
 39 which his fathers commanded him. And I also will give you commandment, my sons, as Enoch
 commanded his son in the first jubilees: whilst still living, the seventh in his generation, he com-
 manded and testified to his son and to his son's sons until the day of his death.'

*Kâinâm discovers an inscription relating to the sun and stars, 1-4. His sons, 5-8. Noah's sons and
 Noah divide the earth, 10-11. Shem's inheritance, 12-21: Ham's, 22-4: Japheth's, 25-30.
 (Cf. Gen. x.)*

- 8 ¹ In the twenty-ninth jubilee, in the first week, in the beginning thereof Arpachshad took to ^{1373 A.M.}
 himself a wife and her name was Râsû'ējâ, the daughter of Sûsân, the daughter of Elam, and she
² bare him a son in the third year in this week, and he called his name Kâinâm. And the son grew, ^{1375 A.M.}
 and his father taught him writing, and he went to seek for himself a place where he might seize for
³ himself a city. And he found a writing which former (generations) had carved on the rock, and he
 read what was thereon, and he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching
 of the Watchers in accordance with which they used to observe the omens of the sun and moon and
⁴ stars in all the signs of heaven. And he wrote it down and said nothing regarding it; for he was
⁵ afraid to speak to Noah about it lest he should be angry with him on account of it. And in the
 thirtieth jubilee, in the second week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name ^{1429 A.M.}
 was Mêlkâ, the daughter of **Madai**, the son of Japheth, and in the fourth year he begat a son, and ^{1432 A.M.}
⁶ called his name Shelah; for he said: 'Truly I have been sent.' [And in the fourth year he was
 born], and Shelah grew up and took to himself a wife, and her name was Mû'ak, the daughter of
 Kêsed, his father's brother, in the one and thirtieth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year ^{1499 A.M.}
⁷ thereof. And she bare him a son in the fifth year thereof, and he called his name Eber: and he ^{1503 A.M.}
 took unto himself a wife, and her name was 'Azûrâd, the daughter of Nêbrôd, in the thirty-second
⁸ jubilee, in the seventh week, in the third year thereof. And in the sixth year thereof, she bare him ^{1564 A.M.}
 a son, and he called his name Peleg; for in the days when he was born the children of Noah began ^{1567 A.M.}
⁹ to divide the earth amongst themselves: for this reason he called his name Peleg. And they
¹⁰ divided (it) secretly amongst themselves, and told it to Noah. And it came to pass in the
 beginning of the thirty-third jubilee that they divided the earth into three parts, for Shem and Ham ^{1569 A.M.}
 and Japheth, according to the inheritance of each, in the first year in the first week, when one of us,
¹¹ who had been sent, was with them. And he called his sons, and they drew nigh to him, they and
 their children, and he divided the earth into the lots, which his three sons were to take in possession,
 and they reached forth their hands, and took the writing out of the bosom of Noah, their father.

34. **who saved me**, &c. Probably read by 2 Peter ii. 5.

may be planted. Emended by Dillmann by a change of one vowel.

36. Beer says this was the view of Ibn Ezra, Caraites, and Samaritans, concerning the fruit of the fourth year. The law in Lev. xix. 23-4 seems rather exacting. Our translation agrees with it in reading 'will be accounted holy' (*b c*; 'will be gathered' *a d*), but this interpretation is contrary to the ordinary view of Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8. 19, &c.

37. Lacuna here. Laws about fruit should be continued.

39. **the seventh**. Cf. 1 En. lx. 8, xciii. 3; Jude 14. See on xxi. 10 for the attribution of halachoth to Enoch.

VIII. 5. Madai emended with Syr. Frag. and Lagarde's Greek MS. *τ: μελχα θυγατηρ μαδαι*. Text here corrupt.

Play on words Shelah, 'sent'. Cf. 'Peleg' in 8.

9-10. The secret division of the earth is followed by an authoritative compact. The object here is to vindicate the Hebrew invasion of Palestine, as the rightful inheritance of sons of Shem. Cf. similar accounts in Epiph. *Ancorat.* cxii; *Adv. Haer.* II. ii. 544; Chron. Paschale i. 53; Jerahmeel xxxi. 2; Syncell. i. 82; Cedren. i. 23.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 8. 12-29

12 And there came forth on the writing as Shem's lot the middle of the earth which he should take as an inheritance for himself and for his sons for the generations of eternity, from the middle of the mountain range of Râfâ, from the mouth of the water from the river Tinâ, and his portion goes towards the west through the midst of this river, and it extends till it reaches the water of the abysses, out of which this river goes forth and pours its waters into the sea Mē'at, and this river flows into the great sea. And all that is towards the north is Japheth's, and all that is towards the south belongs to Shem. And it extends till it reaches Kârâsô: this is in the bosom of the tongue which looks towards the south. And his portion extends along the great sea, and it extends in a straight line till it reaches the west of the tongue which looks towards the south; for this sea is named the tongue of the Egyptian Sea. And it turns from here towards the south towards the mouth of the great sea on the shore of (its) waters, and it extends to the west to 'Afrâ, and it extends till it reaches the waters of the river Gihon, and to the south of the waters of Gihon, to the banks of this river. And it extends towards the east, till it reaches the Garden of Eden, to the south thereof, [to the south] and from the east of the whole land of Eden and of the whole east, it turns to the east and proceeds till it reaches the east of the mountain named Râfâ, and it descends to the bank of the mouth of the river Tinâ. This portion came forth by lot for Shem and his sons, that they should possess it for ever unto his generations for evermore. And Noah rejoiced that this portion came forth for Shem and for his sons, and he remembered all that he had spoken with his mouth in prophecy; for he had said:

'Blessed be the Lord God of Shem,

And may the Lord dwell in the dwelling of Shem.'

19 And he knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies, and the dwelling of the Lord, and Mount Sinai the centre of the desert, and Mount Zion—the centre of the navel of the earth: these three were created as holy places facing each other. And he blessed the God of gods, who had put the word of the Lord into his mouth, and the Lord for evermore. And he knew that a blessed portion and a blessing had come to Shem and his sons unto the generations for ever—the whole land of Eden and the whole land of the Red Sea, and the whole land of the east, and India, and on the Red Sea and the mountains thereof, and all the land of Bashan, and all the land of Lebanon and the islands of Kaftûr, and all the mountains of Sanîr and 'Amânâ, and the mountains of Asshur in the north, and all the land of Elam, Asshur, and Bâbêl, and Sûsân and Mâ'êdâi, and all the mountains of Ararat, and all the region beyond the sea, which is beyond the mountains of Asshur towards the north, a blessed and spacious land, and all that is in it is very good. And for Ham came forth the second portion, beyond the Gihon towards the south to the right of the Garden, and it extends towards the south and it extends to all the mountains of fire, and it extends towards the west to the sea of 'Atêl and it extends towards the west till it reaches the sea of Mâ'ûk—that (sea) into which 23 everything which is not destroyed descends†. And it goes forth towards the north to the limits of Gâdîr, and it goes forth to the coast of the waters of the sea to the waters of the great sea till it draws near to the river Gihon, and goes along the river Gihon till it reaches the right of the Garden of Eden. And this is the land which came forth for Ham as the portion which he was to occupy 24 for ever for himself and his sons unto their generations for ever. And for Japheth came forth the third portion beyond the river Tinâ to the north of the outflow of its waters, and it extends north- 25 easterly to the whole region of Gog and to all the country east thereof. And it extends northerly to the north, and it extends to the mountains of Qêlt towards the north, and towards the sea of 26 Mâ'ûk, and it goes forth to the east of Gâdîr as far as the region of the waters of the sea. And it extends until it approaches the west of Fârâ and it returns towards 'Afêrâg, and it extends easterly 27 to the waters of the sea of Mē'at. And it extends to the region of the river Tinâ in a north-easterly direction until it approaches the boundary of its waters towards the mountain Râfâ, and it turns 28 round towards the north. This is the land which came forth for Japheth and his sons as the portion 29 of his inheritance which he should possess for himself and his sons, for their generations for ever;

12. Palestine, **middle of the earth**, as Ezek. xxxviii. 12; 1 En. xxvi. 1; Sanh. 37 *a*.

Râfâ = Ural Mountains. **Tinâ** = Tanais or Don. **Mē'at** = Maeotis or Sea of Azov.

13. **Kârâsô** = Chersonese (Dillmann), or Rhinocorura on Egyptian border, perhaps more likely.

15. **'Afrâ** = Africa in early limited sense. **Gihon** = the Nile, as Jer. ii. 18, Shihor; Sir. xxiv. 27.

16. Read 'north' for 'south'.

18-19. The three 'Abodes of God' are in Shem's portion. Cf. iv. 26.

21. **Kaftûr** or Kamâtûri, either Crete or Cyprus or Cilicia or Cappadocia (Amos ix. 7, LXX) or Coptos, a city in the upper Thebaid. **Sanîr** or Senir (Deut. iii. 9; Ezek. xxvii. 5) is Hermon. **'Amânâ** is Antilibanus or Mt. Amanus. **Mâ'êdâi** is Media.

22-24. Ham's portion: vague limits in Asia. **'Atêl** = Atlantic? **Mâ'ûk** = Oceanus. **Gâdîr** = Cadiz.

25-29. Japheth's portion. **Gog** = Scythians (Josephus). **Qêlt** = Celts. **'Afêrâg**? = Phrygia.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 8. 30—10. 3

30 five great islands, and a great land in the north. But it is cold, and the land of Ham is hot, and the land of Shem is neither hot nor cold, but it is of blended cold and heat.

Subdivision of the three portions amongst the grandchildren of Noah. Amongst Ham's children, 1 : Shem's 2-6: Japheth's, 7-13. Oath taken by Noah's sons, 14-15.

- 9 ¹ And Ham divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Cush towards the east, and to the west of him for Mizraim, and to the west of him for Put, and to the west of him ² [and to the west thereof] on the sea for Canaan. And Shem also divided amongst his sons, and the first portion came forth for Elam and his sons, to the east of the river Tigris till it approaches the east, the whole land of India, and on the Red Sea on its coast, and the waters of Dédân, and all the mountains of Mebrî and 'Elâ, and all the land of Sûsân and all that is on the side of Pharnâk ³ to the Red Sea and the river Tinâ. And for Asshur came forth the second portion, all the land of ⁴ Asshur and Nineveh and Shinar and to the border of India, and it ascends **and skirts** the river. And for Arpachshad came forth the third portion, all the land of the region of the Chaldees to the east of the Euphrates, bordering on the Red Sea, and all the waters of the desert close to the tongue of the sea which looks towards Egypt, all the land of Lebanon and Sanîr and 'Amânâ to the border of the ⁵ Euphrates. And for Aram there came forth the fourth portion, all the land of Mesopotamia between the Tigris and the Euphrates to the north of the Chaldees to the border of the mountains ⁶ of Asshur and the land of 'Arârâ. And there came forth for Lud the fifth portion, the mountains of Asshur and all appertaining to them till it reaches the Great Sea, and till it reaches the east of ^{7, 8} Asshur his brother. And Japheth also divided the land of his inheritance amongst his sons. And the first portion came forth for Gomer to the east from the north side to the river Tinâ; and in the north there came forth for Magog all the inner portions of the north until it reaches to the sea of ⁹ Mê'at. And for Madai came forth as his portion that he should possess from the west of his two ¹⁰ brothers to the islands, and to the coasts of the islands. And for Javan came forth the fourth ¹¹ portion every island and the islands which are towards the border of Lud. And for Tubal there came forth the fifth portion in the midst of the tongue which approaches towards the border of the portion of Lud to the second tongue, to the region beyond the second tongue unto the third tongue. ¹² And for Meshech came forth the sixth portion, all the region beyond the third tongue till it ¹³ approaches the east of Gâdir. And for Tiras there came forth the seventh portion, four great islands in the midst of the sea, which reach to the portion of Ham [and the islands of Kamâtûrî ¹⁴ came out by lot for the sons of Arpachshad as his inheritance]. And thus the sons of Noah divided unto their sons in the presence of Noah their father, and he bound them all by an oath, imprecating ¹⁵ a curse on every one that sought to seize the portion which had not fallen (to him) by his lot. And they all said, 'So be it; so be it,' for themselves and their sons for ever throughout their generations till the day of judgment, on which the Lord God shall judge them with a sword and with fire, for all the unclean wickedness of their errors, wherewith they have filled the earth with transgression and uncleanness and fornication and sin.

Evil spirits lead astray the sons of Noah, 1-2. Noah's prayer, 3-6. Mastêmâ allowed to retain one-tenth of his subject spirits, 7-11. Noah taught the use of herbs by the angels for resisting the demons, 12-14. Noah dies, 15-17. Building of Babel and the confusion of tongues, 18-27. Canaan seizes on Palestine, 29-34. Madai receives Media, 35-6.

- 10 ¹ And in the third week of this jubilee the unclean demons began to lead astray †the children of † ² the sons of Noah, and to make to err and destroy them. And the sons of Noah came to Noah their father, and they told him concerning the demons which were leading astray and blinding and ³ slaying his sons' sons. And he prayed before the Lord his God, and said :

29. five islands, as 1 En. lxxvii. 8.

30. Epiphanius makes this heat of his country Canaan's reason for seizing Palestine.

IX. 1. Cf. Gen. x. 6. **Cush** = Ethiopia. **Mizraim** = Egypt. **Put** = Libya.

2. **Elam**, from Red Sea to Pontus, includes India.

3. **skirts**. Text corrupt, but easily emended.

9. Madai's lot embraces Britain (Epiph., Syncell., Jerahmeel).

10. **Javan** = Ionia, here all islands of Aegean.

12. 'Three tongues.' Probably Italy, Greece, Thrace.

13. **Tiras** = Aegean sea-coast, or Thracians (Josephus). [] interpolated from ix. 4.

X. Another fragment of 'Apocalypse of Noah', part of Hebrew original in Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, iv. 155.

1. **unclean demons**: cf. 1 En. xv-xvi; souls of children of disobedient 'watchers'.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 10. 3-22

'God of the spirits of all flesh, who hast shown mercy unto me,
And hast saved me and my sons from the waters of the flood,
And hast not caused me to perish as Thou didst the sons of perdition;

For Thy grace has been great towards me,
And great has been Thy mercy to my soul;

Let Thy grace be lift up upon my sons,
And let not wicked spirits rule over them
Lest they should destroy them from the earth.

4 But do Thou bless me and my sons, that we may increase and multiply and replenish the earth.
5 And Thou knowest how Thy Watchers, the fathers of these spirits, acted in my day: and as for
these spirits which are living, imprison them and hold them fast in the place of condemnation, and
let them not bring destruction on the sons of thy servant, my God; for these are malignant, and
6 created in order to destroy. And let them not rule over the spirits of the living; for Thou alone
canst exercise dominion over them. And let them not have power over the sons of the righteous
7, 8 from henceforth and for evermore.' And the Lord our God bade us to bind all. And the chief of
the spirits, Mastêmâ, came and said: 'Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, and let
them hearken to my voice, and do all that I shall say unto them; for if some of them are not left
to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men; for these are for
corruption and leading astray before my judgment, for great is the wickedness of the sons of men.'
9 And He said: 'Let the tenth part of them remain before him, and let nine parts descend into the
10 place of condemnation.' And one of us He commanded that we should teach Noah all their
11 medicines; for He knew that they would not walk in uprightness, nor strive in righteousness. **C**And
we did according to all His words: all the malignant evil ones we bound in the place of condemna-
12 tion, and a tenth part of them we left that they might be subject before Satan on the earth. **I** And
we explained to Noah all the medicines of their diseases, together with their seductions, how he
13 might heal them with herbs of the earth. And Noah wrote down all things in a book as we
instructed him concerning every kind of medicine. Thus the evil spirits were precluded from
14 (hurting) the sons of Noah. And he gave all that he had written to Shem, his eldest son; for he
15 loved him exceedingly above all his sons. And Noah slept with his fathers, and was buried on
16 Mount Lûbâr in the land of Ararat. Nine hundred and fifty years he completed in his life, nineteen ^{1659 A.M.}
17 jubilees and two weeks and five years. And in his life on earth he excelled the children of men
save Enoch because of the righteousness, wherein he was perfect. For Enoch's office was ordained
for a testimony to the generations of the world, so that he should recount all the deeds of generation
18 unto generation, till the day of judgment. And in the three and thirtieth jubilee, in the first year
in the second week, Peleg took to himself a wife, whose name was Lômnâ the daughter of Sînâ'ar,
and she bare him a son in the fourth year of this week, and he called his name Reu; for he said:
'Behold the children of men have become evil through the wicked purpose of building for themselves
19 a city and a tower in the land of Shinar.' For they departed from the land of Ararat eastward to
Shinar; for in his days they built the city and the tower, saying, 'Go to, let us ascend thereby into
20 heaven.' And they began to build, and in the fourth week they **made brick** with fire, and the bricks
served them for stone, and the clay with which they cemented them together was asphalt which
21 comes out of the sea, and out of the fountains of water in the land of Shinar. And they built it: ¹⁶⁴⁵⁻
forty and three years were they building it; **its breadth was 203 bricks, and the height (of a brick)** ^{1688 A.M.}
was the third of one; its height amounted to 5433 cubits and 2 palms, and (the extent of one wall
22 was) thirteen stades (and of the other thirty stades). And the Lord our God said unto us: 'Behold,
they are one people, and (this) they begin to do, and now nothing will be withholden from them.
Go to, let us go down and confound their language, that they may not understand one another's
speech, and they may be dispersed into cities and nations, and one purpose will no longer abide with

3. **God of the spirits of all flesh.** Cf. Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16. **sons of perdition:** 2 Thess. ii. 3.

6. **canst . . . them:** *kuânnenô lômû* emended from *kuennanôhômû*.

8. **Mastêmâ** (Hos. ix. 7, 8) = 'enmity' = Mastiphat (-m) (Syncell., Cedren.), Mansemat (Acts of Philip, ed. Tisch. p. 98). The demons, as in 1 Enoch, are accusers, seducers, and destroyers. In xv. 32, xvi. 18, xix. 28, Israel is declared free from them; here he falls from this hope to talk of spells, charms, &c. Shem, as priest, receives these from Noah; cf. xlv. 16.

9. The **tenth** here is a modification of 1 En. xv-xvi ('all').

18. **Reu . . . evil.** A play on words in the Hebrew.

19. Cf. Gen. xi. 2; Epiph. *Haer.* i. 1. 5.

20, 21. Text without emendations unintelligible.

21. Quoted by Eutychius 51, Glycas 240, Nicephorus i. 175, &c. For the emendations see my text, pp. 36-7.

22. Gen. xi. 6.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 10. 23—11. 9

23 them till the day of judgment.' And the Lord descended, and we descended with him to see the
 24 city and the tower which the children of men had built. And he confounded their language, and
 they no longer understood one another's speech, and they ceased then to build the city and the
 25 tower. For this reason the whole land of Shinar is called Babel, because the Lord did there
 confound all the language of the children of men, and from thence they were dispersed into their
 26 cities, each according to his language and his nation. And the Lord sent a mighty wind against
 the tower and overthrew it upon the earth, and behold it was between Asshur and Babylon in the
 27 land of Shinar, and they called its name 'Overthrow'. In the fourth week in the first year in the 1688 A.M.
 beginning thereof in the four and thirtieth jubilee, were they dispersed from the land of Shinar.
 28 And Ham and his sons went into the land which he was to occupy, which he acquired as his portion
 29 in the land of the south. And Canaan saw the land of Lebanon to the river of Egypt, that it was
 very good, and he went not into the land of his inheritance to the west (that is to) the sea, and he
 dwelt in the land of Lebanon, eastward and westward from the border of Jordan and from the border
 30 of the sea. And Ham, his father, and Cush and Mizraim, his brothers said unto him: 'Thou hast
 settled in a land which is not thine, and which did not fall to us by lot: do not do so; for if thou
 dost do so, thou and thy sons will fall in the land and (be) accursed through sedition; for by sedition
 31 ye have settled, and by sedition will thy children fall, and thou shalt be rooted out for ever. Dwell
 32 not in the dwelling of Shem; for to Shem and to his sons did it come by their lot. Cursed art
 thou, and cursed shalt thou be beyond all the sons of Noah, by the curse by which we bound our-
 33 selves by an oath in the presence of the holy judge, and in the presence of Noah our father.' But
 he did not hearken unto them, and dwelt in the land of Lebanon from Hamath to the entering of
 34 35 Egypt, he and his sons until this day. And for this reason that land is named Canaan. And
 Japheth and his sons went towards the sea and dwelt in the land of their portion, and Madai saw
 the land of the sea and it did not please him, and he begged a (portion) from Elam and Asshur and
 Arpachshad, his wife's brother, and he dwelt in the land of Media, near to his wife's brother until
 36 this day. And he called his dwelling-place, and the dwelling-place of his sons, Media, after the
 name of their father Madai.

*Reu and Serug, 1 (cf. Gen. xi. 20, 21). Rise of war and bloodshed and eating of blood and
 idolatry, 2-7. Nachor and Terali, 8-14 (cf. Gen. xi. 22-30). Abami's knowledge of God and
 wonderful deeds, 15-24.*

11 1. And in the thirty-fifth jubilee, in the third week, in the first year thereof, Reu took to himself 1681 A.M.
 a wife, and her name was 'Ôrá, the daughter of 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, and she bare him a son, and
 2 he called his name Sérôh, in the seventh year of this week in this jubilee. And the sons of Noah 1687 A.M.
 began to war on each other, to take captive and to slay each other, and to shed the blood of men
 on the earth, and to eat blood, and to build strong cities, and walls, and towers, and individuals
 (began) to exalt themselves above the nation, and to found the beginnings of kingdoms, and to go
 to war people against people, and nation against nation, and city against city, and all (began) to do
 evil, and to acquire arms, and to teach their sons war, and they began to capture cities, and to sell
 3 male and female slaves. And 'Ûr, the son of Kêsêd, built the city of 'Arâ of the Chaldees, and
 4 called its name after his own name and the name of his father. And they made for themselves
 molten images, and they worshipped each the idol, the molten image which they had made for
 themselves, and they began to make graven images and unclean simulacra, and malignant spirits
 5 assisted and seduced (them) into committing transgression and uncleanness. And the prince
 Mastêmâ exerted himself to do all this, and he sent forth other spirits, those which were put under
 his hand, to do all manner of wrong and sin, and all manner of transgression, to corrupt and destroy,
 6 and to shed blood upon the earth. For this reason he called the name of Sérôh, Serug, for every one
 7 turned to do all manner of sin and transgression. And he grew up, and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees,
 near to the father of his wife's mother, and he worshipped idols, and he took to himself a wife in the
 thirty-sixth jubilee, in the fifth week, in the first year thereof, and her name was Mêlkâ, the daughter 1744 A.M.
 8 of Kâbêr, the daughter of his father's brother. And she bare him Nahor, in the first year of this
 week, and he grew and dwelt in Ur of the Chaldees, and his father taught him the researches of the
 9 Chaldees to divine and augur, according to the signs of heaven. And in the thirty-seventh jubilee, 1800 A.M.

25. Gen. xi. 9.

26. This story occurs also in Orac. Sibyl. iii. 98-103; Joseph. *Ant.* i. 4. 3, &c.; Syncell. i. 77; Cedren. i. 22.

29. This story comes only here and in dependent authorities; e.g. Clem. *Recogn.* i. 30.

XI. 1. Sérôh. Heb. סֵרוֹחַ, 'turn aside'.

2-6. Cf. Book of Adam and Eve iii. 24 for corruption of mankind.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 11. 10—12. 3

in the sixth week, in the first year thereof, he took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ījāskā, the
 10 daughter of Nêstâg of the Chaldees. And she bare him Terah in the seventh year of this week. 1806 A.M.
 11 And the prince Mastêmâ sent ravens and birds to devour the seed which was sown in the land, in
 order to destroy the land, and rob the children of men of their labours. Before they could plough
 12 in the seed, the ravens picked (it) from the surface of the ground. And for this reason he called
 his name Terah because the ravens and the birds reduced them to destitution and devoured their
 13 seed. And the years began to be barren, owing to the birds, and they devoured all the fruit of the
 trees from the trees: it was only with great effort that they could save a little of all the fruit of the
 14 earth in their days. And in this thirty-ninth jubilee, in the second week in the first year, Terah 1870 A.M.
 took to himself a wife, and her name was 'Ednâ, the daughter of 'Abrâm, the daughter of his father's
 15 sister. And in the seventh year of this week she bare him a son, and he called his name Abram, 1876 A.M.
 by the name of the father of his mother; for he had died before his daughter had conceived a son.
 16 And the child began to understand the errors of the earth that all went astray after graven images
 and after uncleanness, and his father taught him writing, and he was two weeks of years old, and he 1890 A.M.
 17 separated himself from his father, that he might not worship idols with him. And he began to pray
 to the Creator of all things that He might save him from the errors of the children of men, and that
 18 his portion should not fall into error after uncleanness and vileness. And the seed time came for
 the sowing of seed upon the land, and they all went forth together to protect their seed against the
 19 ravens, and Abram went forth with those that went, and the child was a lad of fourteen years. And
 a cloud of ravens came to devour the seed, and Abram ran to meet them before they settled on the
 ground, and cried to them before they settled on the ground to devour the seed, and said, 'Descend
 20 not: return to the place whence ye came,' and they proceeded to turn back. And he caused the
 clouds of ravens to turn back that day seventy times, and of all the ravens throughout all the land
 21 where Abram was there settled there not so much as one. And all who were with him throughout
 all the land saw him cry out, and all the ravens turn back, and his name became great in all the
 22 land of the Chaldees. And there came to him this year all those that wished to sow, and he went
 with them until the time of sowing ceased: and they sowed their land, and that year they brought
 23 enough grain home and eat and were satisfied. And in the first year of the fifth week Abram taught 1891 A.M.
 those who made implements for oxen, the artificers in wood, and they made a vessel above the
 ground, facing the frame of the plough, in order to put the seed thereon, and the seed fell down
 therefrom upon the share of the plough, and was hidden in the earth, and they no longer feared the
 24 ravens. And after this manner they made (vessels) above the ground on all the frames of the
 ploughs, and they sowed and tilled all the land, according as Abram commanded them, and they
 no longer feared the birds.

Abram seeks to turn Terah from idolatry, 1-8. Marries Sarai, 9. Haran and Nachor, 9-11. Abram burns the idols: death of Haran, 12-14 (cf. Gen. xi. 28). Terah and his family go to Haran, 15. Abram observes the stars and prays, 16-21. Is bidden to go to Canaan and blessed, 22-4. Power of speaking Hebrew given to him, 25-7. Leaves Haran for Canaan, 28-31. (Cf. Gen. xi. 31-xii. 3.)

- 12¹ And it came to pass in the sixth week, in the seventh year thereof, that Abram said to Terah his 1904 A.M.
 2 father, saying, 'Father!' And he said, 'Behold, here am I, my son.' And he said,
 'What help and profit have we from those idols which thou dost worship,
 And before which thou dost bow thyself?
 3 For there is no spirit in them,
 For they are dumb forms, and a misleading of the heart.
 Worship them not:

10. Gen. xi. 25.

11-20. Legends of Abram's boyhood, quoted by Jerome, *Epist.* lxxviii, *ad Fabiolam*, mansione 24.

12. reduced . . . to destitution i.e. תרע, 'lay waste'—a play on Terah (תרח).

16-17. Cf. Beer, *Leben Abrahams* 102-4; Fabricius, i. 422.

20. caused. The causal form is needed.

XII. 1-14. The extravagant legend of Abram in fiery furnace, common in the later Rabbis, is apparently unknown to our author; Haran's fate in 14 is a relic of this idea based on Gen. xv. 7; Exod. xx. 2; Isa. xxix. 22.

2. Epiph. *Haer.* i. 1. 38, makes Terah inventor of image-worship. For help and profit cf. 1 Sam. xii. 21.

3. Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 17.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 12. 4-21

- 4 Worship the God of heaven,
Who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth
And does everything upon the earth,
And has created everything by His word,
And all life is from before His face.
- 5 Why do ye worship things that have no spirit in them?
For they are the work of (men's) hands,
And on your shoulders do ye bear them,
And ye have no help from them,
But they are a great cause of shame to those who make them,
And a misleading of the heart to those who worship them:
Worship them not.'
- 6 And his father said unto him, 'I also know it, my son, but what shall I do with a people who have
7 made me to serve before them? And if I tell them the truth, they will slay me; for their soul
8 cleaves to them to worship them and honour them. Keep silent, my son, lest they slay thee.' And
9 these words he spake to his two brothers, and they were angry with him and he kept silent. And
in the fortieth jubilee, in the second week, in the seventh year thereof, Abram took to himself a wife, 1925 A.M.
10 and her name was Sarai, the daughter of his father, and she became his wife. And Haran, his
brother, took to himself a wife in the third year of the third week, and she bare him a son in the 1928 A.M.
11 seventh year of this week, and he called his name Lot. And Nahor, his brother, took to himself 1932 A.M.
12 a wife. And in the sixtieth year of the life of Abram, that is, in the fourth week, in the fourth year 1936 A.M.
thereof, Abram arose by night, and burned the house of the idols, and he burned all that was in the
13 house, and no man knew it. And they arose in the night and sought to save their gods from the
14 midst of the fire. And Haran hastened to save them, but the fire flamed over him, and he was burnt
in the fire, and he died in Ur of the Chaldees before Terah his father, and they buried him in Ur of
15 the Chaldees. And Terah went forth from Ur of the Chaldees, he and his sons, to go into the land
of Lebanon and into the land of Canaan, and he dwelt in the land of Haran, and Abram dwelt with
16 Terah his father in Haran two weeks of years. And in the sixth week, in the fifth year thereof, 1951 A.M.
Abram sat up throughout the night on the new moon of the seventh month to observe the stars
from the evening to the morning, in order to see what would be the character of the year with regard
17 to the rains, and he was alone as he sat and observed. And a word came into his heart and he said:
'All the signs of the stars, and the signs of the moon and of the sun are all in the hand of the Lord.
Why do I search (them) out?
- 18 If He desires, He causes it to rain, morning and evening;
And if He desires, He withholds it,
And all things are in his hand.'
- 19 And he prayed that night and said,
'My God, God Most High, Thou alone art my God,
And Thee and Thy dominion have I chosen.
And Thou hast created all things,
And all things that are are the work of thy hands.
- 20 Deliver me from the hands of evil spirits who have dominion over the thoughts of men's hearts,
And let them not lead me astray from Thee, my God.
And stablish Thou me and my seed for ever
That we go not astray from henceforth and for evermore.'
- 21 And he said, 'Shall I return unto Ur of the Chaldees who seek my face that I may return to them,
or am I to remain here in this place? The right path before Thee prosper it in the hands of Thy
servant that he may fulfil (it) and that I may not walk in the deceitfulness of my heart, O my God.'

4. Cf. Jer. xiv. 22; Matt. v. 45; Acts xiv. 17.

5. Jer. x. 3, 9; Am. v. 26; Isa. xlvi. 7; Ass. Mos. viii. 4; Ep. Jer. 4, 26.

9. Follows Gen. xx. 12. Abram's action is contrary to law of Lev. xviii. 9, xx. 17; evasions of later writers unknown apparently to our author; e.g. Josephus i. 6. 5, 7. 1 turns Sarah into Abraham's niece.

16-18. Abram is rebuked for star-gazing. Cf. Philo, *De Migr. Abrah.* xxxii; Ber. rabb. 44 and later authors.

21. he; MSS. read 'I'.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 12. 22—13. 10

- 22 And he made an end of speaking and praying, and behold the word of the Lord was sent to him through me, saying: 'Get thee up from thy country, and from thy kindred and from the house of thy father unto a land which I will show thee, and I shall make thee a great and numerous nation.
- 23 And I will bless thee
And I will make thy name great,
And thou shalt be blessed in the earth,
And in Thee shall all families of the earth be blessed,
And I will bless them that bless thee,
And curse them that curse thee.
- 24 And I will be a God to thee and thy son, and to thy son's son, and to all thy seed: fear not, from henceforth and unto all generations of the earth I am thy God.' And the Lord God said: 'Open his mouth and his ears, that he may hear and speak with his mouth, with the language which has been revealed'; for it had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the overthrow (of Babel). And I opened his mouth, and his ears and his lips, and I began to speak with him in Hebrew in the tongue of the creation. And he took the books of his fathers, and these were written in Hebrew, and he transcribed them, and he began from henceforth to study them, and I made known to him that which he could not (understand), and he studied them during the six rainy months. And it came to pass in the seventh year of the sixth week that he spoke to his father and informed him, that he would leave Haran to go into the land of Canaan to see it and return to him. And Terah his father said unto him; 'Go in peace:
May the eternal God make thy path straight,
And the Lord [(be) with thee, and] protect thee from all evil,
And grant unto thee grace, mercy and favour before those who see thee,
And may none of the children of men have power over thee to harm thee;
Go in peace.
- 30 And if thou seest a land pleasant to thy eyes to dwell in, then arise and take me to thee and take
31 Lot with thee, the son of Haran thy brother as thine own son: the Lord be with thee. And Nahor thy brother leave with me till thou returnest in peace, and we go with thee all together.'

Abram journeys from Haran to Shechem in Canaan, thence to Hebron and thence to Egypt, 1-14a. Returns to Canaan where Lot separates from him, and receives the promise of Canaan and journeys to Hebron, 14b-21. Chedorlaomer's attack on Sodom and Gomorrah: Lot taken captive, 22-4. Law of tithes enacted, 25-9. (Cf. Gen. xii. 4-10, 15-17, 19-20; xiii. 11-18; xiv. 8-14; 21-4.)

- 13 1 And Abram journeyed from Haran, and he took Sarai, his wife, and Lot, his brother Haran's son, to the land of Canaan, and he came into †Asshur†, and proceeded to Shechem, and dwelt near
2 a lofty oak. And he saw, and, behold, the land was very pleasant from the entering of Hamath to
3 the lofty oak. And the Lord said to him: 'To thee and to thy seed will I give this land.' And
4 he built an altar there, and he offered thereon a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, who had appeared to
5 him. And he removed from thence unto the mountain . . . Bethel on the west and Ai on the
6 east, and pitched his tent there. And he saw and behold, the land was very wide and good, and
everything grew thereon—vines and figs and pomegranates, oaks and ilexes, and terebinths and oil
trees, and cedars and cypresses and date trees, and all trees of the field, and there was water on the
7 mountains. And he blessed the Lord who had led him out of Ur of the Chaldees, and had brought
8 him to this land. And it came to pass in the first year, in the seventh week, on the new moon of
the first month, that he built an altar on this mountain, and called on the name of the Lord: 'Thou,
9 the eternal God, art my God.' And he offered on the altar a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord that He
10 should be with him and not forsake him all the days of his life. And he removed from thence and
went towards the south, and he came to Hebron, and Hebron was built at that time, and he dwelt
there two years, and he went (thence) into the land of the south, to Bealoth, and there was a famine

25-26. Abram at 75 taught the sacred language (Hebrew), quoted by Syncell, i. 185; Clem. *Recogn.* i. 30.

27. **six rainy months** = winter; as Talmud (Ta'an. 3 b, Erub. 56 a).

29. This blessing protects Abram from the reproach of leaving his aged father. (Singer, *Jubiläen*, 170; Ber. Rabb. 39).

XIII. 2. **the lofty oak**. So LXX. Gen. xii. 6 (Mass. = 'oak of Moreh').

3-10. Gen. xii. 7-10.

6. **date trees**: *blānōs* for *lābānōs* (a).

10. **Bealoth** = Josh. xv. 24.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 13. 11—14. 4

11 in the land. And Abram went into Egypt in the third year of the week, and he dwelt in Egypt
12 five years before his wife was torn away from him. Now Tanais in Egypt was at that time built—
13 seven years after Hebron. And it came to pass when Pharaoh seized Sarai, the wife of Abram,
that the Lord plagued Pharaoh and his house with great plagues because of Sarai, Abram's wife.
14 And Abram was very glorious by reason of possessions in sheep, and cattle, and asses, and horses,
and camels, and menservants, and maidservants, and in silver and gold exceedingly. And Lot also,
15 his brother's son, was wealthy. And Pharaoh gave back Sarai, the wife of Abram, and he sent
him out of the land of Egypt, and he journeyed to the place where he had pitched his tent at the
beginning, to the place of the altar, with Ai on the east, and Bethel on the west, and he blessed the
16 Lord his God who had brought him back in peace. And it came to pass in the forty-first jubilee,
in the third year of the first week, that he returned to this place and offered thereon a burnt sacrifice, 1963 A.M.
and called on the name of the Lord, and said: 'Thou, the most high God, art my God for ever
17 and ever.' And in the fourth year of this week Lot parted from him, and Lot dwelt in Sodom, and 1964 A.M.
18 the men of Sodom were sinners exceedingly. And it grieved him in his heart that his brother's
19 son had parted from him; for he had no children. In that year when Lot was taken captive, the
Lord said unto Abram, after that Lot had parted from him, in the fourth year of this week: 'Lift
up thine eyes from the place where thou art dwelling, northward and southward, and westward and
20 eastward. For all the land which thou seest I will give to thee and to thy seed for ever, and I
will make thy seed as the sand of the sea: though a man may number the dust of the earth, yet
21 thy seed shall not be numbered. Arise, walk (through the land) in the length of it and the breadth
of it, and see it all; for to thy seed will I give it.' And Abram went to Hebron, and dwelt there.
22 And in this year came Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, and Amraphel, king of Shinar, and Arioch,
king of Sêllâsar, and Têrgâl, king of nations, and slew the king of Gomorrah, and the king of Sodom
23 fled, and many fell through wounds in the **vale of Siddim**, by the Salt Sea. And they took captive
Sodom and Adam and Zeboim, and they took captive Lot also, the son of Abram's brother, and
24 all his possessions, and they went to Dan. And one who had escaped came and told Abram that
25 his brother's son had been taken captive and (Abram) armed his household servants.
. for Abram, and for his seed, a tenth of the first fruits to
the Lord, and the Lord ordained it as an ordinance for ever that they should give it to the priests
26 who served before Him, that they should possess it for ever. And to this law there is no limit of
days; for He hath ordained it for the generations for ever that they should give to the Lord the
tenth of everything, of the seed and of the wine and of the oil and of the cattle and of the sheep.
27, 28 And He gave (it) unto His priests to eat and to drink with joy before Him. And the king of
Sodom came to him and bowed himself before him, and said: 'Our Lord Abram, give unto us the
29 souls which thou hast rescued, but let the booty be thine.' And Abram said unto him: 'I lift up
my hands to the Most High God, that from a thread to a shoe-latchet I shall not take aught that
is thine lest thou shouldst say, I have made Abram rich; save only what the young men have
eaten, and the portion of the men who went with me—Aner, Eschol, and Mamre. These shall take
their portion.'

*Abram receives the promise of a son and of innumerable descendants, 1-7. Offers a sacrifice and is
told of his seed being in Egypt, 8-17. God's covenant with Abram, 18-20. Hagar bears
Ishmael, 21-4. (Cf. Gen. xv.; xvi. 1-4, 11.)*

14 1. After these things, in the fourth year of this week, on the new moon of the third month, the
word of the Lord came to Abram in a dream, saying: 'Fear not, Abram; I am thy defender, and
2 thy reward will be exceeding great.' And he said: 'Lord, Lord, what wilt thou give me, seeing I
go hence childless, and the son of Mâsêq, the son of my handmaid, is the Dammasek Eliezer: he
3 will be my heir, and to me thou hast given no seed.' And he said unto him: 'This (man) will not
4 be thy heir, but one that will come out of thine own bowels; he will be thine heir.' And He

12. **Tanais** = Zoan (Num. xiii. 22).
13-15. Gen. xii. 15-20; but 18 and Abraham's deception are cut out.
17. Gen. xiii. 11.
19-21. Gen. xiii. 14-18.
22. Names as LXX.
22. **vale of Siddim**: an easy emendation.
25. This lacuna told of the pursuit, and the meeting with Melchizedek. Our author would naturally be interested
in the first man who bore the title assumed by his heroes, the Maccabees.
26. He finds precedent in Gen. xiv. 20 for law of universal tithing.
28-9. Gen. xiv. 21-4.
XIV. 1-16. Gen. xv. 1-16.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 14. 4—15. 2

brought him forth abroad, and said unto him: 'Look toward heaven and number the stars, if thou
5 art able to number them.' And he looked toward heaven, and beheld the stars. And He said
6 unto him: 'So shall thy seed be.' And he believed in the Lord, and it was counted to him for
7 righteousness. And He said unto him: 'I am the Lord that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees,
to give thee the land of the Canaanites to possess it for ever; and I will be God unto thee and to
8 thy seed after thee.' And he said: 'Lord, Lord, whereby shall I know that I shall inherit (it)?'
9 And He said unto him: 'Take Me an heifer of three years, and a goat of three years, and a sheep
10 of three years, and a turtle-dove, and a pigeon.' And he took all these in the middle of the month;
11 and he dwelt at the oak of Mamre, which is near Hebron. And he built there an altar, and
sacrificed all these; and he poured their blood upon the altar, and divided them in the midst, and
12 laid them over against each other; but the birds divided he not. And birds came down upon the
13 pieces, and Abram drove them away, and did not suffer the birds to touch them. And it came to
pass, when the sun had set, that an ecstasy fell upon Abram, and lo! an horror of great darkness
fell upon him, and it was said unto Abram: 'Know of a surety that thy seed shall be a stranger in
a land (that is) not theirs, and they shall bring them into bondage, and afflict them four hundred
14 years. And the nation also to whom they will be in bondage will I judge, and after that they shall
15 come forth thence with much substance. And thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace, and be buried
16 in a good old age. But in the fourth generation they shall return hither; for the iniquity of the
17 Amorites is not yet full.' And he awoke from his sleep, and he arose, and the sun had set; and
there was a flame, and behold! a furnace was smoking, and a flame of fire passed between the
18 pieces. And on that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: 'To thy seed will I give
this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates, the Kenites, the Keniz-
19 zites, the Kadmonites, the Perizzites, and the Rephaim, the Phakorites, and the Hivites, and the
Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites. And the day passed,
and Abram offered the pieces, and the birds, and their fruit offerings, and their drink offerings, and
20 the fire devoured them. And on that day we made a covenant with Abram, according as we had
covenanted with Noah in this month; and Abram renewed the festival and ordinance for himself
21 for ever. And Abram rejoiced, and made all these things known to Sarai his wife; and he believed
22 that he would have seed, but she did not bear. And Sarai advised her husband Abram, and said
unto him: 'Go in unto Hagar, my Egyptian maid: it may be that I shall build up seed unto thee
23 by her.' And Abram hearkened unto the voice of Sarai his wife, and said unto her, 'Do (so).'
And Sarai took Hagar, her maid, the Egyptian, and gave her to Abram, her husband, to be his
24 wife. And he went in unto her, and she conceived and bare him a son, and he called his name
Ishmael, in the fifth year of this week; and this was the eighty-sixth year in the life of Abram. 1965 A.M.

Abram celebrates the feast of first fruits, 1-2: his name changed and circumcision instituted, 3-14. Sarai's name changed and Isaak promised, 15-21. Abraham, Ishmael, and all his household circumcised, 22-4. Circumcision an eternal ordination, 25, 26. Israel shares this honour with the highest angels who were created circumcised, 27-9. Israel subject to God alone: other nations to angels, 30-2. Future faithlessness of Israel, 33-4. (Cf. Gen. xvii.)

15¹ And in the fifth year of the †fourth† week of this jubilee, in the third month, in the middle of the 1979 A.M.
2 month, Abram celebrated the feast of the first-fruits of the grain harvest. And he offered new offerings on the altar, the first-fruits of the produce, unto the Lord, an heifer and a goat and a sheep

12, 17, 19. Text = *καθέρντα* corrupt for *τμηθέντα* = **the pieces**: or corrupt for *καθέρντα* = פִּנְיִם as in Mass. = 'carcases'.
12. and . . . away as Mass. Aquila.

13. **four hundred years**: Gen. xv. 13; contradicts (a) Exod. xii. 40 (430 years); (b) Period calculated from Exod. vi. 18, 20 and vii. 7 (ages of Kohath, Amram, and Moses at Exodus). Author like Philo and Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 9. 1; *Bell.* v. 9. 4) avoids later attempts to reconcile them, e.g. Ber. Rabb. 39. See Beer, *Leben Abr.* 118-20.

16. Cf. Gen. xxi. 5. A generation was one hundred years.

18. **Hivites**: Gen. xv. 20, Sam. LXX.

20. **that day** = Sivan 15; day of Noah's covenant.

21-4. Gen. xvi. 1-4, 11.

XV. 1. †**Fourth**† (*a c d*). *b* reads 'seventh'. It should be 'third', here and in xvi. 15, as Dillmann recognized. Cf. xvii. 1.

In the third month, in the middle of the month. From a comparison of xv. 1 and xlv. 4, 5 (see notes also on i. 1, vi. 17-18, xiv. 20) it follows that the feast of weeks was celebrated on the fifteenth of the third month (Sivan). Since this reckoning deviates from that of the Pharisees about the beginning of the Christian era, and as there were many divergent views in Judaism about, before, and after that period, we must here inquire briefly into the origin and nature of these views.

First of all it is clear that they all arose from the various meanings attached to the word 'Sabbath' in Lev. xxiii. 15, 16. In these verses it is ordained that the feast of weeks should fall on the fiftieth day after the offering of the

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 15. 2-12

on the altar as a burnt sacrifice unto the Lord; their fruit offerings and their drink offerings he
 3 offered upon the altar with frankincense. And the Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him:
 4 'I am God Almighty; approve thyself before me and be thou perfect. And I will make My
 5 covenant between Me and thee, and I will multiply thee exceedingly.' And Abram fell on his face,
 and God talked with him, and said:

- 6 'Behold my ordinance is with thee,
 And thou shalt be the father of many nations.
- 7 Neither shall thy name any more be called Abram,
 But thy name from henceforth, even for ever, shall be Abraham.
 For the father of many nations have I made thee.
- 8 And I will make thee very great,
 And I will make thee into nations,
 And kings shall come forth from thee.

9 And I shall establish My covenant between Me and thee, and thy seed after thee, throughout their
 generations, for an eternal covenant, so that I may be a God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee.
 10 <And I will give to thee and to thy seed after thee> the land where thou hast been a sojourner,
 11 the land of Canaan, that thou mayst possess it for ever, and I will be their God.' And the Lord
 said unto Abraham: 'And as for thee, do thou keep my covenant, thou and thy seed after thee;
 and circumcise ye every male among you, and circumcise your foreskins, and it shall be a token of
 12 an eternal covenant between Me and you. And the child on the eighth day ye shall circumcise,

Paschal wave-sheaf. Now this sheaf was waved 'on the morrow after the Sabbath' (Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, מחרת השב, *mmhrt hshb*). In what sense, then, are we to take the word 'Sabbath'? Two ways are possible:—(1) It may be taken to mean merely a feast day. (2) It may be taken in its strict sense as the weekly Sabbath.

First the word 'Sabbath' is taken in the general sense of a feast-day. Now the first day of unleavened bread (Lev. xxiii. 7) was such a day; but the seventh (Lev. xxiii. 8) was no less so. Hence two different computations arise from this interpretation of the word, (i) the first of which interprets the first day of unleavened bread as the Sabbath, and (ii) the second which interprets it of the seventh day. (i) The first interpretation, which took the Sabbath to be the first day of unleavened bread (Nisan 15), naturally understood the phrase 'the morrow after the Sabbath' to designate Nisan 16, without regard to the day of the week. This was the interpretation of the Pharisees in our Lord's time. This view is first attested in the LXX, where the phrase in question is rendered by τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης (here ἡ πρώτη = חשבת), exactly as in Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xxiii. 15, מחרת יומא טבא קמאח, *mmhrt yoma tba qmaha*; in the Targum of Onkelos (מחרת יומא טבא) where 'the Sabbath' is simply rendered the 'feast day': in Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 10. 5, τῇ δὲ δευτέρῃ τῶν ἁζύμων ἡμέρῃ: in Philo, *de Septenar.* 20, where the day for waving the sheaf is said to be the second day of unleavened bread: 'Εορτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθὺς ἡμέρα. The Mishna, also (Chag. ii. 4; Menach. x. 1-3), maintains this interpretation against conflicting expositions.

Since on this view the sheaf-waving took place on Nisan 16, the feast of weeks, fifty days later, was usually celebrated on Sivan 6, without regard in either case to the day of the week.

(ii) But others took the Sabbath to mean the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was also a day of rest. As the Sabbath in this case was Nisan 21, the morrow after the Sabbath was Nisan 22. This is actually the course pursued by the (a) Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. They reckon the fifty days from Nisan 22 and thus the feast of weeks falls on Sivan 12 as they use alternate months of thirty and twenty-nine days (see d'Abbadie in *Univ. Isr.* Juillet 1851, p. 482). (b) Again this view is attested by the Syriac version of Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, as existing before 100 A. D. Thus it renders the Hebrew phrase מחרת השב = 'after the second (feast) day', that is Nisan 21. (c) But the usage is as early as the second century B. C.; for it appears in our text. At the beginning of this note we found that the feast of weeks took place on the Sivan 15. If we count back fifty days (reckoning the second month at twenty-eight days), we arrive at Nisan 22 when the wave-sheaf was offered. Thus Jubilees also interpreted the phrase 'the morrow after the Sabbath' as meaning the day after the seventh day of unleavened bread, which was a special day of rest.

(2) But on the fact that the simple term 'Sabbath' stands elsewhere only as the weekly Sabbath are based other early uses among the Jews as well as certain modern speculations. Thus the Baithusians (Menachoth 65 a) took 'the morrow after the Sabbath' to be the day after the weekly Sabbath which occurred during the feast of unleavened bread. Frankel (*Einfluss d. Pal. Exeg.*, 1851, pp. 136-7) holds that the τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης of the LXX is directed against this view. The Karaite Jews (Trigland, *Diatriba de Secta Karaeorum*, 1703; Fürst, *Geschichte des Karäerthums*, 1865) and likewise the Samaritans follow the strict interpretation of the term Sabbath in this connexion. Very many modern scholars hold strongly to some form of this theory, as Hitzig (*Ostern u. Pfingsten*, 1837 and *Ostern u. Pfingsten im zweiten Dekalog*, 1838), who maintained that in the Hebrew calendar Nisan 14 and 21 were always Sabbaths and that 'the morrow after the Sabbath' was Nisan 22. Knobel (on Lev. xxiii. 11) agreed with Hitzig, save that he identified the day of the sheaf-waving with Nisan 15. Saalschütz (*Das Mos. Recht*,² 1853, p. 420), Fürst (*Hebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, 1863, under word שבת), Wellhausen (*Jahr. f. deutsch. Theol.* xxii), Dillmann (on Lev. xxiii. 11), von Orelli (Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*² xi. 264) accept in one form or another the Sadducean interpretation. In addition to the above literature, see the Articles on Pentecost (*Pfingstfest*) in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*; Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*² and Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexicon*.

1-27. Gen. xvii. 1-27.

2. Not as Lev. xxiii. 18-20.

10. Words restored from Gen. xvii. 8 were lost through hmt.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 15. 12-26

every male throughout your generations, him that is born in the house, or whom ye have bought
¹³ with money from any stranger, whom ye have acquired who is not of thy seed. He that is born in
thy house shall surely be circumcised, and those whom thou hast bought with money shall be circum-
¹⁴ cised, and My covenant shall be in your flesh for an eternal ordinance. And the uncircumcised male
who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin on the eighth day, that soul shall be cut off from
¹⁵ his people, for he has broken My covenant.' And God said unto Abraham: 'As for Sarai thy wife,
¹⁶ her name shall no more be called Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name. And I will bless her, and give
thee a son by her, and I will bless him, and he shall become a nation, and kings of nations shall
¹⁷ proceed from him.' And Abraham fell on his face, and rejoiced, and said in his heart: 'Shall a son
be born to him that is a hundred years old, and shall Sarah, who is ninety years old, bring forth?'
^{18, 19} And Abraham said unto God: 'O that Ishmael might live before thee!' And God said: 'Yea,
and Sarah also shall bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Isaac, and I will establish My
²⁰ covenant with him, an everlasting covenant, and for his seed after him. And as for Ishmael also
have I heard thee, and behold I will bless him, and make him great, and multiply him exceedingly,
²¹ and he shall beget twelve princes, and I will make him a great nation. But My covenant will
²² I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear to thee, in these days, in the next year.' And He left
²³ off speaking with him, and God went up from Abraham. And Abraham did according as God had
said unto him, and he took Ishmael his son, and all that were born in his house, and whom he had
²⁴ bought with his money, every male in his house, and circumcised the flesh of their foreskin. And
on the selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and all the men of his house, (and those born in the
house), and all those, whom he had bought with money from the children of the stranger, were
²⁵ circumcised with him. This law is for all the generations for ever, and there is no circumcision of
the days, and no omission of one day out of the eight days; for it is an eternal ordinance, ordained
²⁶ and written on the heavenly tablets. And every one that is born, the flesh of whose foreskin is not
circumcised on the eighth day, belongs not to the children of the covenant which the Lord made
with Abraham, but to the children of destruction; nor is there, moreover, any sign on him that he
is the Lord's, but (he is destined) to be destroyed and slain from the earth, and to be rooted out of

14. **on the eighth day.** These words, which are not found in the Mass., Syr., and Vulg., are, however, attested by the Sam. and LXX. Also in Origen's Commentary *in Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 13 (Lommatzsch, vi. 123-4): Incircumciscus masculus, qui non fuerit circumciscus in carne praepitui sui die octavo, exterminabitur anima illa: and in Ambrose, *Epist.* 72, who remarks on Aquila's statement that this clause is wanting in the Hebrew. See on ver. 26.

As the Sabbath is the first, so circumcision is the second cardinal command of Judaism. In opposition to the laxity introduced by Greek culture the command in Gen. xv. 14 is enunciated afresh and the requirement added that it should be performed on the eighth day of the child's life. Owing to Greek influences, even before the reign of Antiochus IV, many Jews of noble birth had undergone surgical operations in order to appear like Greeks when undressed (1 Macc. i. 15; Assumpt. Mos. viii. 3; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1). Subsequently Antiochus had taken the severest measures to prohibit circumcision (1 Macc. i. 48, 60, ii. 46). To withstand the Hellenizing attitude towards circumcision our author emphasizes what was apparently the current view of his time, i. e., that circumcision should be performed on the eighth day—the current view; for the words enjoining it were in both Jewish and Samaritan copies of the Hebrew text of Gen. xvii. 14 (see above). This strict view was subsequently relaxed. Thus, according to Shabb. xix. 5: 'A child could be circumcised on the 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, or 12th day, neither earlier nor later. How so? Usually it is circumcised on the 8th day. Should it be born on the evening, it is circumcised on the 9th: should it be born on Friday evening it is circumcised on the 10th: should the Sunday be a festival, on the 11th: should the Sunday and Monday be New Year's days, on the 12th. If the child is ill, it is not circumcised till well.' But the Samaritans have held fast to the severer regulation to the present day. In letters of the Samaritans communicated by de Sacy to T. Scaliger (*Eichhorn's Repertor*, xiii. 261) it is said: 'We circumcise the male on the eighth day and do not defer circumcision a single day (לֹא נִחְתְּרוּ יוֹם אֶחָד) . . . but the Jews defer it one day or more.' That the severer form of the halachah prevailed among the Jews themselves as late as the second century A. D. might be inferred from Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 27): 'Did God wish those to sin who are circumcised or do circumcise on the Sabbaths? for He commands that on the eighth day—even though it happen to be a Sabbath—those who are born should always be circumcised (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνεσθαι τοὺς γεννηθέντας ὁμοίως ἀν' ἣν ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων;). Could not He have the infants circumcised one day before or one day after the Sabbath, if He knew that it was a sinful act on the Sabbath?' This custom is also regarded as obligatory by the Falashas or Abyssinian Jews. Cf. Abbadie, *Univ. Isr.* Avr. p. 481, 1851 (quoted by Singer, p. 289 note). We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the later traditions that the patriarchs such as Adam, Seth, Enoch, Noah, Shem, Terah, Jacob and six others were born circumcised (Midrash Tillin 10 b, Sotah 10 b, quoted by Hershon, *Treasures of Talmud*, 238, 240, 241). Ber. rabba 43 affirms this of Melchizedek. For other references see Singer, p. 301 note.

We might observe here that our book knows nothing of the barbarous mode of circumcision ordered by the Talmudists and Bar Cochba in order to make it impossible to obliterate the signs of it by any such surgical operation as is referred to above. This mode was known as the פְּרִיעָה, 'or the laying bare'. This mutilation after the removal of the foreskin is still practised. See Hershon, *Genesis*, p. 304.

17. **rejoiced.** Nestle has pointed out that Jub. here as Targ. Onk. on Gen. xvii. 17 read יִתְּרִי, while Targ. Jon. has וְתִמְחָה. Hence he explains John viii. 56.

24. **and those . . . house:** restored with Lat.

26. **on:** MSS. and Lat. wrongly 'till'.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 15. 27—16. 13

27 the earth, for he has broken the covenant of the Lord our God. For all the angels of the presence and all the angels of sanctification have been so created from the day of their creation, and before the angels of the presence and the angels of sanctification He hath sanctified Israel, that they should be with Him and with His holy angels. And do thou command the children of Israel and let them observe the sign of this covenant for their generations as an eternal ordinance, and they will not be rooted out of the land. For the command is ordained for a covenant, that they should observe it for ever among all the children of Israel. For Ishmael and his sons and his brothers and Esau, the Lord did not cause to approach Him, and he chose them not because they are the children of Abraham, because He knew them, but He chose Israel to be His people. And He sanctified it, and gathered it from amongst all the children of men; for there are many nations and many peoples, and all are His, and over all hath He placed spirits in authority to lead them astray from Him. But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit, for He alone is their ruler, and He will preserve them and require them at the hand of His angels and His spirits, and at the hand of all His powers in order that He may preserve them and bless them, and that they may be His and He may be theirs from henceforth for ever. And now I announce unto thee that the children of Israel will not keep true to this ordinance, and they will not circumcise their sons according to all this law; for in the flesh of their circumcision they will omit this circumcision of their sons, and all of them, sons of Beliar, will leave their sons uncircumcised as they were born. And there will be great wrath from the Lord against the children of Israel, because they have forsaken His covenant and turned aside from His word, and provoked and blasphemed, inasmuch as they do not observe the ordinance of this law; for they have treated their members like the Gentiles, so that they may be removed and rooted out of the land. And there will no more be pardon or forgiveness unto them [so that there should be forgiveness and pardon] for all the sin of this eternal error.

Angels appear to Abraham in Hebron and Isaac again promised, 1-4. Destruction of Sodom and Lot's deliverance, 5-9. Abraham at Beersheba: birth of and circumcision of Isaac, whose seed was to be the portion of God, 10-19. Institution of the feast of Tabernacles, 20-31. (Cf. Gen. xviii. 1, 10, 12; xix. 24, 29, 33-7; xx. 1, 4, 8; xxi. 1-4.)

16 1 And on the new moon of the fourth month we appeared unto Abraham, at the oak of Mamre, and we talked with him, and we announced to him that a son would be given to him by Sarah his wife. 2 And Sarah laughed, for she heard that we had spoken these words with Abraham, and we admonished her, and she became afraid, and denied that she had laughed on account of the words. And we told her the name of her son, as his name is ordained and written in the heavenly tablets (i. e.) Isaac, 4, 5 And (that) when we returned to her at a set time, she would have conceived a son. And in this month the Lord executed his judgments on Sodom, and Gomorrah, and Zeboim, and all the region of the Jordan, and He burned them with fire and brimstone, and destroyed them until this day, even as [10] I have declared unto thee all their works, that they are wicked and sinners exceedingly, and that they defile themselves and commit fornication in their flesh, and work uncleanness on the earth. 6 And, in like manner, God will execute judgment on the places where they have done according to the uncleanness of the Sodomites, like unto the judgment of Sodom. But Lot we saved; for God remembered Abraham, and sent him out from the midst of the overthrow. And he and his daughters committed sin upon the earth, such as had not been on the earth since the days of Adam till his time; for the man lay with his daughters. And, behold, it was commanded and engraven concerning all his seed, on the heavenly tablets, to remove them and root them out, and to execute judgment upon them like the judgment of Sodom, and to leave no seed of the man on earth on the day of condemnation. And in this month Abraham moved from Hebron, and departed and dwelt between 10 Kadesh and Shur in the mountains of Gerar. And in the middle of the fifth month he moved from 11 thence, and dwelt at the Well of the Oath. And in the middle of the sixth month the Lord visited 12 Sarah and did unto her as He had spoken and she conceived. And she bare a son in the third 13

27. Latin wrongly makes four orders of angels—really two, as in ii. 18. Cf. Weber, *J. T.* 25.

31-2. Dependent on Deut. xxxii. 8, 9 (LXX). Cf. Sir. xvii. 17; Dan. x. 13, 20, 21; 1 En. lxxxix.; cf. also 1 Cor. x. 19; Gal. iv. 3, 9; Col. ii. 20.

lead them astray. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 21, 22; 1 En. xc. 22. Ultimate result treated as immediate purpose of God's action, but cf. Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, i. 805-20.

33. Shows great strength of Hellenist movement in second century B.C. Sons of Beliar cf. Test. Dan. 5; 1 Sam. ii. 12.

34. Our prophet has here become a mere writer of annals.

XVI. Cf. Gen. xviii, xix. The story of the angels' visit is curtailed (perhaps their eating shocked him) and Abram's unseemly conduct to Abimelech is passed over.

12-14. Gen. xxi. 1-4. Isaac born on Sivan 15, but according to Rosh ha-Shanah 10 b on the Passover Feast, and according to Midrash Tanchuma on Nisan.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 16. 13-30

month, and in the middle of the month, at the time of which the Lord had spoken to Abraham, on
14 the festival of the first fruits of the harvest, Isaac was born. And Abraham circumcised his son on
the eighth day: he was the first that was circumcised according to the covenant which is ordained
15 for ever. And in the sixth year of the †fourth† week we came to Abraham, to the Well of the Oath,
and we appeared unto him [as we had told Sarah that we should return to her, and she would have
16 conceived a son. And we returned in the seventh month, and found Sarah with child before us] and
we blessed him, and we announced to him all the things which had been decreed concerning him,
that he should not die till he should beget six sons more, and should see (them) before he died; but
17 (that) in Isaac should his name and seed be called: And (that) all the seed of his sons should be
Gentiles, and be reckoned with the Gentiles; but from the sons of Isaac one should become a holy
18 seed, and should not be reckoned among the Gentiles. For he should become the portion of the
Most High, and all his seed had fallen into the possession of God, that it should be unto the Lord
a people for (His) possession above all nations and that it should become a kingdom and priests and
19 a holy nation. And we went our way, and we announced to Sarah all that we had told him, and
20 they both rejoiced with exceeding great joy. And he built there an altar to the Lord who had
delivered him, and who was making him rejoice in the land of his sojourning, and he celebrated
a festival of joy in this month seven days, near the altar which he had built at the Well of the Oath.
21 And he built booths for himself and for his servants on this festival, and he was the first to celebrate
22 the feast of tabernacles on the earth. And during these seven days he brought each day to the
altar a burnt offering to the Lord, two oxen, two rams, seven sheep, one he-goat, for a sin offering,
23 that he might atone thereby for himself and for his seed. And, as a thank-offering, seven rams, seven
kids, seven sheep, and seven he-goats, and their fruit offerings and their drink offerings; and he
burnt all the fat thereof on the altar, a chosen offering unto the Lord for a sweet smelling savour.
24 And morning and evening he burnt fragrant substances, frankincense and galbanum, and stackte,
and nard, and myrrh, and spice, and costum; all these seven he offered, crushed, mixed together in
25 equal parts (and) pure. And he celebrated this feast during seven days, rejoicing with all his heart
and with all his soul, he and all those who were in his house, and there was no stranger with him,
26 nor any that was uncircumcised. And he blessed his Creator who had created him in his generation,
for He had created him according to His good pleasure; for He knew and perceived that from him
would arise the plant of righteousness for the eternal generations, and from him a holy seed, so that it
27 should become like Him who had made all things. And he blessed and rejoiced, and he called the
28 name of this festival the festival of the Lord, a joy acceptable to the Most High God. And we
blessed him for ever, and all his seed after him throughout all the generations of the earth, because
29 he celebrated this festival in its season, according to the testimony of the heavenly tablets. For this
reason it is ordained on the heavenly tablets concerning Israel, that they shall celebrate the feast of
tabernacles seven days with joy, in the seventh month, acceptable before the Lord—a statute for
30 ever throughout their generations every year. And to this there is no limit of days; for it is ordained

15. †fourth†. Read 'third'. [] a gloss.
16. him = Lat., Eth. = 'her'; six sons more: cf. Gen. xxv. 2.
17. Cf. Sanh. 59 b.
18. Read *terit* ('possession') for *tersit* ('magnificence') (*a b c*); cf. Exod. xix. 6; Deut. vii. 6; *d* has *rest* ('inheritance'); cf. Deut. iv. 20. Latin, *populum sanctificatum*.
a kingdom and priests (cf. xxxiii. 20) = βασιλεία καὶ ἱερεῖς, whereas the Latin has *regnum sacerdotale* = βασιλεία ἱερατική = מְמִלְכַּת כֹּהֲנִים. The phrase is from Exod. xix. 6, of which the Latin gives the correct rendering and not the Ethiopic version. Yet the latter seems to represent the Hebrew original of our text, as we shall see presently. First of all we observe that it is incorrectly translated in the LXX and it is reproduced in two forms in the N.T. closely akin to those above. The LXX translates it incorrectly by βασιλειον ἱεράτευμα (a hierarchy consisting of kings), and this rendering is adopted in 1 Pet. ii. 9. In Rev. v. 10 we have βασιλείαν καὶ ἱερεῖς exactly as in our Ethiopic text, and in i. 6 βασιλείαν ἱερεῖς. Thus our Ethiopic text and Rev. i. 6, v. 10 agree in giving practically the same rendering of מְמִלְכַּת כֹּהֲנִים in Exod. xix. 6, and in inserting either the copula or a pause between the two Hebrew words. This is an ancient Jewish way of treating this phrase. Thus we find it given in Onkelos as מְלַכִּין כֹּהֲנִים (as in Rev. i. 6); in Ps.-Jon. מְלַכִּין קְטִירֵי כִלְיָא וְכֹהֲנִין מְשֻׁמְשֵׁי (= kings with crowns and ministering priests); in the Jer. Targ. מְלַכִּין וְכֹהֲנִים; and the Syr. version مَلِكِيَا كَهَنِيَا; exactly as in our Ethiopic text and in Rev. v. 10. Thus we conclude that the Ethiopic text represents the Hebrew original and that the Latin *regnum sacerdotale* is borrowed by the Latin translator of Jubilees from the Vulgate.
19. rejoiced: cf. xv. 17.
20-31. Contrast Num. xxix. 12-40. This peculiar account of the Feast of 'Tabernacles' is quoted by Cedrenus, i. 50.
24. Uses Exod. xxx. 34; cf. Sir. xxiv. 15. These seven *spices* are as Jer. Joma iv. 5; Kerithoth 6a b; Nowack, *Hebr. Archäologie*, ii. 248.
26. plant of righteousness, cf. 1 En. x. 16, lxxxiv. 6, xciii. 2, 5, 10.
29, 30. Cf. Lev. xxiii. 40-1.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 16. 30—18. 2

for ever regarding Israel that they should celebrate it and dwell in booths, and set wreaths upon
 31 their heads, and take leafy boughs, and willows from the brook. And Abraham took **branches** of
 palm trees, and the fruit of goodly trees, and every day going round the altar with the branches
 seven times [a day] in the morning, he praised and gave thanks to his God for all things in joy.

*Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, 1-14. Mastêmâ proposes that God should require Abraham to
 sacrifice Isaac in order to test his love and obedience: Abraham's ten trials, 15-18. (Cf. Gen.
 xxi. 8-21.)*

- 17** ¹ And in the first year of the †fifth† week Isaac was weaned in this jubilee, and Abraham made ^{1982 A.M.}
² a great banquet in the third month, on the day his son Isaac was weaned. And Ishmael, the son of
 Hagar, the Egyptian, was before the face of Abraham, his father, in his place, and Abraham rejoiced
³ and blessed God because he had seen his sons and had not died childless. And he remembered the
 words which He had spoken to him on the day on which Lot had parted from him, and he rejoiced
 because the Lord had given him seed upon the earth to inherit the earth, and he blessed with all his
⁴ mouth the Creator of all things. And Sarah saw Ishmael playing †and dancing,† and Abraham
 rejoicing with great joy, and she became jealous of Ishmael and said to Abraham, 'Cast out this
⁵ bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman will not be heir with my son, Isaac.' And
 the thing was grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his maidservant and because of his son,
⁶ that he should drive them from him. And God said to Abraham 'Let it not be grievous in thy
 sight, because of the child and because of the bondwoman; in all that Sarah hath said unto thee,
⁷ hearken to her words and do (them); for in Isaac shall thy name and seed be called. But as for
⁸ the son of this bondwoman I will make him a great nation, because he is of thy seed.' And Abraham
 rose up early in the morning, and took bread and a bottle of water, and placed them on the shoulders
⁹ of Hagar and the child, and sent her away. And she departed and wandered in the wilderness of
 Beersheba, and the water in the bottle was spent, and the child thirsted, and was not able to go on,
¹⁰ and fell down. And his mother took him and cast him under an olive tree, and went and sat her
 down over against him, at the distance of a bow-shot; for she said, 'Let me not see the death of my
¹¹ child,' and as she sat she wept. And an angel of God, one of the holy ones, said unto her, 'Why
 weepest thou, Hagar? Arise take the child, and hold him in thine hand; for God hath heard thy
¹² voice, and hath seen the child.' And she opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water, and she
 went and filled her bottle with water, and she gave her child to drink, and she arose and went towards
¹³ the wilderness of Paran. And the child grew and became an archer, and God was with him, and his
¹⁴ mother took him a wife from among the daughters of Egypt. And she bare him a son, and he called
¹⁵ his name Nebaioth; for she said, 'The Lord was nigh to me when I called upon him.' And it came ^{2003 A.M.}
 to pass in the seventh week, in the first year thereof, in the first month in this jubilee, on the twelfth
 of this month, there were voices in heaven regarding Abraham, that he was faithful in all that He
¹⁶ told him, and that he loved the Lord, and that in every affliction he was faithful. And the prince
 Mastêmâ came and said before God, 'Behold, Abraham loves Isaac his son, and he delights in him
 above all things else; bid him offer him as a burnt-offering on the altar, and Thou wilt see if he will
 do this command, and Thou wilt know if he is faithful in everything wherein Thou dost try him.
¹⁷ And the Lord knew that Abraham was faithful in all his afflictions; for He had tried him through
 his country and with famine, and had tried him with the wealth of kings, and had tried him again
 through his wife, when she was torn (from him), and with circumcision; and had tried him through
¹⁸ Ishmael and Hagar, his maid-servant, when he sent them away. And in everything wherein He
 had tried him, he was found faithful, and his soul was not impatient, and he was not slow to act;
 for he was faithful and a lover of the Lord.

*Sacrifice of Isaac: Mastêmâ put to shame, 1-13. Abraham again blessed: returns to Beersheba
 14-19. (Cf. Gen. xxii. 1-19.)*

- 18** ^{1, 2} And God said to him, 'Abraham, Abraham'; and he said, Behold, (here) am I.' And he said,

30. Wreaths only here in connexion with this Feast; but cf. Wisd. ii. 7: Joseph. *Ant.* xix. 9. 1; and Gittin 7 a;
 Sota 49 b, a practice at weddings.

31. **branches.** MSS. and Lat. 'heart'. לולב was taken as לבב.

XVII. 1-13. Cf. Gen. xxi. 8-21.

1. †fifth†. Read 'fourth'.

4. **and dancing** (wa-yezafen): ? corrupt for 'with Isaac' (ba-yeshaq) (LXX, Vulg.).

7. **a great nation**: as Sam., Syr., LXX, Vulg.; Ps.-Jon. 'a nation of robbers'. Mass., Onk. > 'great'.

11. An angel takes the place of God here: as Mastêmâ does in 16. In both cases, due to reverence.

17. Abraham's ten trials. The number nearly always the same; the contents different. Here concludes with Sarah's
 burial, xix. 3-8; usually with sacrifice of Isaac. See my Comm., 121, 122.

XVIII. 1-17. Gen. xxii. 1-19.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 18. 2—19. 2

‘Take thy beloved son whom thou lovest, (even) Isaac, and go unto the high country, and offer him
 3 on one of the mountains which I will point out unto thee.’ And he rose early in the morning and
 saddled his ass, and took his two young men with him, and Isaac his son, and clave the wood of the
 4 burnt offering, and he went to the place on the third day, and he saw the place afar off. And he
 came to a well of water, and he said to his young men, ‘Abide ye here with the ass, and I and the
 5 lad shall go (yonder), and when we have worshipped we shall come again to you.’ And he took the
 wood of the burnt-offering and laid it on Isaac his son, and he took in his hand the fire and the
 6 knife, and they went both of them together to that place. And Isaac said to his father, ‘Father;’
 and he said, ‘Here am I, my son.’ And he said unto him, ‘Behold the fire, and the knife, and the
 7 wood; but where is the sheep for the burnt-offering, father?’ And he said, ‘God will provide for
 himself a sheep for a burnt-offering, my son.’ And he drew near to the place of the mount of
 8 God. And he built an altar, and he placed the wood on the altar, and bound Isaac his son, and
 placed him on the wood which was upon the altar, and stretched forth his hand to take the knife
 9 to slay Isaac his son. And I stood before him, and before the prince Mastêmâ, and the Lord said,
 ‘Bid him not to lay his hand on the lad, nor to do anything to him, for I have shown that he fears
 10 the Lord.’ And I called to him from heaven, and said unto him: ‘Abraham, Abraham;’ and he
 11 was terrified and said: ‘Behold, (here) am I.’ And I said unto him: ‘Lay not thy hand upon the
 lad, neither do thou anything to him; for now I have shown that thou fearest the Lord, and hast
 12 not withheld thy son, thy first-born son, from me.’ And the prince Mastêmâ was put to shame;
 and Abraham lifted up his eyes and looked, and, behold a ram caught . . . by his horns, and Abraham
 13 went and took the ram and offered it for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son. And Abraham
 called that place ‘The Lord hath seen’, so that it is said (in the mount) the Lord hath seen: that is
 14 Mount Sion. And the Lord called Abraham by his name a second time from heaven, as he caused
 15 us to appear to speak to him in the name of the Lord. And he said: ‘By Myself have I sworn,
 saith the Lord,

Because thou hast done this thing,
 And hast not withheld thy son, thy beloved son, from Me,
 That in blessing I will bless thee,
 And in multiplying I will multiply thy seed
 As the stars of heaven,
 And as the sand which is on the seashore.

And thy seed shall inherit the cities of its enemies,
 16 And in thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed;

Because thou hast obeyed My voice,
 And I have shown to all that thou art faithful unto Me in all that I have said unto thee:
 Go in peace.’

17 And Abraham went to his young men, and they arose and went together to Beersheba, and Abraham 2010 A.M.
 18 dwelt by the Well of the Oath. And he celebrated this festival every year, seven days with joy,
 and he called it the festival of the Lord according to the seven days during which he went and
 19 returned in peace. And accordingly has it been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets regarding
 Israel and its seed that they should observe this festival seven days with the joy of festival.

*Return of Abraham to Hebron. Death and burial of Sarah, 1-9. Marriage of Isaac and second
 marriage of Abraham. Birth of Esau and Jacob, 10-14. Abraham commends Jacob to Rebecca
 and blesses him, 15-31. (Cf. Gen. xxiii. 1-4, 11-16; xxiv. 15; xxv. 1-2, 25-7; xiii. 16.)*

19 1 And in the first year of the first week in the forty-second jubilee, Abraham returned and dwelt
 2 opposite Hebron, that is Kirjath Arba, two weeks of years. And in the first year of the †third† week

2. **thy beloved son.** As in LXX.

11. **I have shown** = Lat. version *manifestavi*. The Eth. could also be rendered ‘I have known’, as Mass. and Sam. of Gen. xxii. 12 יָדַעְתִּי, but ‘shown’ is supported by both Lat. and Eth. in ver. 16. Cf. also Syr. of Gen. *l. c.*

13. **in the mount**: added from Latin = Gen. xxii. 14 (Mass.-LXX).

15. **thy beloved son** (*a d*) = τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ σου = יְדִידִי. Lat. has, however, *tuo unigenito* = τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου = יְחִידִי. For similar divergences perhaps due to a dittography in the Hebrew cf. LXX (A) of Judges xi. 34: αὐτῇ μονογενῆς αὐτῆς ἀγαπητή, and LXX and Vulg. of Gen. xxii. 2, 12, 16. But here *c d* have ‘thy first-born son’ (ver. 11), and add (like Lat. *quem dilexisti*) ‘whom thou hast loved’, which addition may go back to Gen. xxii. 2, or to יְדִידִי (the variant or dittograph of יְחִידִי) in Gen. xxii. 16.

cities. So Onk., Sam. Vers., LXX in Gen. xxii. 17, where Mass. and Sam. have ‘gate’.

16. **Go in peace**: 1 Sam. i. 17.

XIX. 2. Read ‘second’ for ‘third’. This chapter uses much of Gen. xxiii, xxv.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 19. 3-24

- 3 of this jubilee the days of the life of Sarah were accomplished, and she died in Hebron. And Abraham went to mourn over her and bury her, and we tried him [to see] if his spirit were patient and he were not indignant in the words of his mouth; and he was found patient in this, and was not
4 disturbed. For in patience of spirit he conversed with the children of Heth, to the intent that they
5 should give him a place in which to bury his dead. And the Lord gave him grace before all who saw him, and he besought in gentleness the sons of Heth, and they gave him the land of the double
6 cave over against Mamre, that is Hebron, for four hundred pieces of silver. And they besought him, saying, We shall give it to thee for nothing; but he would not take it from their hands for nothing, for he gave the price of the place, the money in full, and he bowed down before them twice, and after
7 this he buried his dead in the double cave. And all the days of the life of Sarah were one hundred and twenty-seven years, that is, two jubilees and four weeks and one year: these are the days of the
8 years of the life of Sarah. This is the tenth trial wherewith Abraham was tried, and he was found
9 faithful, patient in spirit. And he said not a single word regarding the rumour in the land how that God had said that He would give it to him and to his seed after him, and he begged a place there to bury his dead; for he was found faithful, and was recorded on the heavenly tablets as the friend of
10 God. And in the fourth year thereof he took a wife for his son Isaac and her name was Rebecca 2020 A.M. [the daughter of Bethuel, the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham] the sister of Laban and daughter of Bethuel; and Bethuel was the son of Mēlcā, who was the wife of Nahor, the brother of Abraham.
11 And Abraham took to himself a third wife, and her name was Keturah, from among the daughters of his household servants, for Hagar had died before Sarah. And she bare him six sons, Zimram,
12 and Jokshan, and Medan, and Midian, and Ishbak, and Shuah, in the two weeks of years. And in
13 the sixth week, in the second year thereof, Rebecca bare to Isaac two sons, Jacob and Esau, and 2046 A.M. Jacob was a smooth and upright man, and Esau was fierce, a man of the field, and hairy, and Jacob
14 dwelt in tents. And the youths grew, and Jacob learned to write; but Esau did not learn, for he
15 was a man of the field and a hunter, and he learnt war, and all his deeds were fierce. And Abraham
16 loved Jacob, but Isaac loved Esau. And Abraham saw the deeds of Esau, and he knew that in Jacob should his name and seed be called; and he called Rebecca and gave commandment regarding
17 Jacob, for he knew that she (too) loved Jacob much more than Esau. And he said unto her:
My daughter, watch over my son Jacob,
For he shall be in my stead on the earth,
And for a blessing in the midst of the children of men,
And for the glory of the whole seed of Shem.
18 For I know that the Lord will choose him to be a people for possession unto Himself, above all
19 peoples that are upon the face of the earth. And behold, Isaac my son loves Esau more than Jacob, but I see that thou truly lovest Jacob.
20 Add still further to thy kindness to him,
And let thine eyes be upon him in love;
For he shall be a blessing unto us on the earth from henceforth unto all generations of the earth.
21 Let thy hands be strong
And let thy heart rejoice in thy son Jacob;
For I have loved him far beyond all my sons.
He shall be blessed for ever,
And his seed shall fill the whole earth.
22 If a man can number the sand of the earth,
His seed also shall be numbered.
23 And all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and my seed shall belong to Jacob and
24 his seed alway. And in his seed shall my name be blessed, and the name of my fathers, Shem, and

5. double-cave: as LXX.
four hundred: as Latin; Eth. gives 40.
9. friend of God: cf. xxx. 20 and xxiv. 15; Isa. xli. 8; 2 Chr. xx. 7; Dan. iii. 35 (LXX); James ii. 23; Clem. Rom. x. 1, xvii. 2; Targ.-Jer. on Gen. xviii. 17 and Philo, *De Sobrietate* 11.
10. daughter . . . Bethuel, emended with help of Latin.
11. daughters: Lat.; Eth. has 'sons'. Author explains why Abraham did not take Hagar back. Later view identified Hagar and Keturah. Cf. Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr.* in Gen. xxv. 1; Beer, *Leben Abrahams*, 83-198.
16. According to later Jewish tradition Abraham did not live to see Esau's sin; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxv. 9; Ber. rabba 63.
18. possession. See xvi. 18; Deut. vii. 6.
peoples restored from Latin.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 19. 24—20. 8

25 Noah, and Enoch, and Mahalalel, and Enos, and Seth, and Adam. And these shall serve
To lay the foundations of the heaven,
And to strengthen the earth,
And to renew all the luminaries which are in the firmament.

26 And he called Jacob before the eyes of Rebecca his mother, and kissed him, and blessed him, and
27 said: 'Jacob, my beloved son, whom my soul loveth, may God bless thee from above the firmament,
and may He give thee all the blessings wherewith He blessed Adam, and Enoch, and Noah, and
Shem; and all the things of which He told me, and all the things which He promised to give me,
may he cause to cleave to thee and to thy seed for ever, according to the days of heaven above the
28 earth. And the spirits of Mastêmâ shall not rule over thee or over thy seed to turn thee from the
29 Lord, who is thy God from henceforth for ever. And may the Lord God be a father to thee and
30 thou the first-born son, and to the people alway. Go in peace, my son.' And they both went forth
31 together from Abraham. And Rebecca loved Jacob, with all her heart and with all her soul, very
much more than Esau; but Isaac loved Esau much more than Jacob.

*Abraham admonishes his sons and his sons' sons to work righteousness, observe circumcision, and
refrain from impurity and idolatry, 1-10. Dismisses them with gifts, 11. Dwelling-places of
the Ishmaelites and of the sons of Keturah, 12-13. (Cf. Gen. xxv. 5-6.)*

20 1 And in the forty-second jubilee, in the first year of the †seventh† week, Abraham called Ishmael, 2052
2 and his twelve sons, and Isaac and his two sons, and the six sons of Keturah, and their sons. And he (? 2045)
commanded them that they should observe the way of the Lord; that they should work righteous- A.M.
ness, and love each his neighbour, and act on this manner amongst all men; that they should each
3 so walk with regard to them as to do judgment and righteousness on the earth. That they should
circumcise their sons, according to the covenant which He had made with them, and not deviate to the
right hand or the left of all the paths which the Lord had commanded us; and that we should keep
ourselves from all fornication and uncleanness, [and renounce from amongst us all fornication and
4 uncleanness]. And if any woman or maid commit fornication amongst you, burn her with fire,
and let them not commit fornication with her after their eyes and their heart; and let them not take
to themselves wives from the daughters of Canaan; for the seed of Canaan will be rooted out of
5 the land. And he told them of the judgment of the giants, and the judgment of the Sodomites,
how they had been judged on account of their wickedness, and had died on account of their forni-
cation, and uncleanness, and mutual corruption through fornication.
6 'And guard yourselves from all fornication and uncleanness,
And from all pollution of sin,
Lest ye make our name a curse,
And your whole life a hissing,
And all your sons to be destroyed by the sword,
And ye become accursed like Sodom,
And all your remnant as the sons of Gomorrah.
7 I implore you, my sons, love the God of heaven,
And cleave ye to all His commandments.
And walk not after their idols, and after their uncleannesses,
8 And make not for yourselves molten or graven gods;
For they are vanity,
And there is no spirit in them;
For they are work of (men's) hands,
And all who trust in them, trust in nothing.

24. List of 'righteous patriarchs'. Why is Methuselah omitted and Adam and Mahalalel inserted? Opinion
about Adam varied. Erubin 18 b held him a saint. Sanh. 38 b an atheist!

25. Cf. Isa. li. 16.

28. Cf. xv. 31-2.

XX. 1. Read 'sixth' for 'seventh'.

twelve sons: Gen. xxv. 13-15.

2. *šab'ē* ('war') emended to *šab'ē* ('men').

4. Cf. xli. 25. This punishment was restricted to priests' daughters in Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 33; Ezek. xvi. 40.

6. **make our name a curse, and your whole life a hissing**: based on Isa. lxxv. 15; Jer. xxix. 18; 1 En. v. 6.

8. Deut. xxvii. 15; Exod. xx. 5.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 20. 9—21. 8

- 9 Serve them not, nor worship them,
But serve ye the most high God, and worship Him continually :
And hope for His countenance always,
And work uprightness and righteousness before Him,
That He may have pleasure in you and grant you His mercy,
And send rain upon you morning and evening,
And bless all your works which ye have wrought upon the earth,
And bless thy bread and thy water,
And bless the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land,
And the herds of thy cattle, and the flocks of thy sheep.
- 10 And ye will be for a blessing on the earth,
And all nations of the earth will desire you,
And bless your sons in my name,
That they may be blessed as I am.
- 11 And he gave to Ishmael and to his sons, and to the sons of Keturah, gifts, and sent them away
12 from Isaac his son, and he gave everything to Isaac his son. And Ishmael and his sons, and the
sons of Keturah and their sons, went together and dwelt from Paran to the entering in of Babylon in
13 all the land which is towards the East facing the desert. And these mingled with each other, and
their name was called Arabs, and Ishmaelites.

Abraham's last words to Isaac regarding idolatry, the eating of blood, the offering of various sacrifices and the use of salt, 1-11. Also regarding the woods to be used in sacrifice and the duty of washing before sacrifice and of covering blood etc., 12-25.

- 21 ¹ And in the sixth year of the †seventh† week of this jubilee Abraham called Isaac his son, and ²⁰⁵⁷
commanded him : saying, ' I am become old, and know not the day of my death, and am full of my (? 2050)
² days. And behold, I am one hundred and seventy-five years old, and throughout all the days of my ^{A.M.}
life I have remembered the Lord, and sought with all my heart to do His will, and to walk uprightly
³ in all His ways. My soul has hated idols, (and I have despised those that served them, and I have
⁴ given my heart and spirit) that I might observe to do the will of Him who created me. For He is
the living God, and He is holy and faithful, and He is righteous beyond all, and there is with Him
no accepting of (men's) persons and no accepting of gifts ; for God is righteous, and executeth judg-
⁵ ment on all those who transgress His commandments and despise His covenant. And do thou, my
son, observe His commandments and His ordinances and His judgments, and walk not after the
⁶ abominations and after the graven images and after the molten images. And eat no blood at all of
⁷ animals or cattle, or of any bird which flies in the heaven. And if thou dost slay a victim as an
acceptable peace offering, slay ye it, and pour out its blood upon the altar, and all the fat of the
offering offer on the altar with fine flour and the meat offering mingled with oil, with its drink
offering—offer them all together on the altar of burnt offering ; it is a sweet savour before the Lord.
⁸ And thou wilt offer the fat of the sacrifice of thank offerings on the fire which is upon the altar, and
the fat which is on the belly, and all the fat on the inwards and the two kidneys, and all the fat that

9. have pleasure in. Read *diligat* for *dirigat* in Latin. The blessings are those of Deut. vii. 13, xxviii. 8, Exod. xxiii. 25.

10. Cf. Gen. xii. 2.

13. Latin 'clave to the Arabs, and (they are) Ishmaelites, to this day'.

XXI. These dying commands of Abraham about the ritual of sacrifice occur also in Test. Levi. ix, where, however, they are put into the mouth of Isaac. Both accounts come from a common source, as has been made clear from the recent discovery of the Aramaic and Greek Fragments relating to Levi. These deal with, among other things, the avoidance of fornication (Frag., verses 16, 17 = T. Levi ix. 9, not explicitly in Jub.), ablutions of the sacrificing priest (19-21, 26, 53-4 = T. L. ix. 11, Jub. xxi. 16), words to be used in sacrifice (23-4 = T. L. ix. 12, Jub. xxi. 12) and salting the sacrifice (26, 29, 37-40 = T. L. ix. 14, Jub. xxi. 11). There is a reference back to Abraham in T. Levi. ix. 12 and Frag. 22, 50, 57.

1. For 'seventh' read 'sixth', i. e. 2050 A. M.

I am . . . death. Isaac's words to Esau in Gen. xxvii. 2.

3. () added from the Latin ; lost in Eth. through hmt.

4. Deut. x. 17.

6. Lev. vii. 26.

7. Cf. 1 Sam. x. 8, xi. 15 ; Lev. iii. 7-10.

and the meat offering. Omitted in Latin. Cf. also Lev. ii. 4.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 21. 8-24

9 is upon them, and upon the loins and liver **thou shalt remove**, together with the kidneys. And offer all these for a sweet savour acceptable before the Lord, with its meat-offering and with its drink-offering, for a sweet savour, the bread of the offering unto the Lord. And eat its meat on that day and on the second day, and let not the sun on the second day go down upon it till it is eaten, and let nothing be left over for the third day; for it is not acceptable [for it is not approved] and let it no longer be eaten, and all who eat thereof will bring sin upon themselves; for thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers, and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah.

11 And on all thy oblations thou shalt strew salt, and let not the **salt of the covenant** be lacking in all thy oblations before the Lord. And as regards the wood of the sacrifices, beware lest thou bring (other) wood for the altar in addition to these: cypress, bay, almond, fir, pine, cedar, savin, fig, olive, myrrh, laurel, aspalathus. And of these kinds of wood lay upon the altar under the sacrifice, such as have been tested as to their appearance, and do not lay (thereon) any split or dark wood, (but) hard and clean, without fault, a sound and new growth; and do not lay (thereon) old wood, [for its fragrance is gone] for there is no longer fragrance in it as before. Besides these kinds of wood there is none other that thou shalt place (on the altar), for the fragrance is dispersed, and the smell of its fragrance goes not up to heaven. Observe this commandment and do it, my son, that thou mayst be upright in all thy deeds. And at all times be clean in thy body, and wash thyself with water before thou approachest to offer on the altar, and wash thy hands and thy feet before thou drawest near to the altar; and when thou art done sacrificing, wash again thy hands and thy feet. And let no blood appear upon you nor upon your clothes; be on thy guard, my son, against blood, be on thy guard exceedingly; cover it with dust. And do not eat any blood, for it is the soul; eat no blood whatever. And take no gifts for the blood of man, lest it be shed with impunity, without judgment; for it is the blood that is shed that causes the earth to sin, and **the earth** cannot be cleansed from the blood of man save by the blood of him who shed it. And take no present or gift for the blood of man: blood for blood, that **thou mayest be accepted** before the Lord, the Most High God; for He is the defence of the good: and that thou mayest be preserved from all evil, and that He may save thee from every kind of death.

- 21 I see, my son,
That all the works of the children of men are sin and wickedness,
And all their deeds are uncleanness and an abomination and a pollution,
And there is no righteousness with them.
- 22 Beware, lest thou shouldest walk in their ways
And tread in their paths,
And sin a sin unto death before the Most High God.
- Else He will [hide His face from thee,
And] give thee back into the hands of thy transgression,
And root thee out of the land, and thy seed likewise from under heaven,
And thy name and thy seed shall perish from the whole earth.
- 23 Turn away from all their deeds and all their uncleanness,
And observe the ordinance of the Most High God,
And do His will and be upright in all things.
- 24 And He will bless thee in all thy deeds,
And will raise up from thee a plant of righteousness through all the earth, throughout all generations of the earth,
And my name and thy name shall not be forgotten under heaven for ever.

8. **shalt remove**: emended with Latin, *tēblēl* for *teblāl*.
9. **the bread**, &c. Lev. iii. 11.
10. [] dittography. **the books of my forefathers**, handed by Shem to Abraham according to Pirke R. Eliezer viii.
11. **salt of the covenant**. Cf. Lev. ii. 13. MSS. read 'covenant of salt'.
12. Explains Exod. xxv. 5, 10. Cf. Greek Fragment 23-4 for a full discussion of this list of trees in my edition of the Test. XII Patr., pp. 248-9.
13. Stricter than any known halachah; Tamid. ii. 3 allows all but vine and olive.
14. **goes not up**: negative inserted (Littmann).
16. Exod. xxx. 19-21.
17, 18. Lev. xvii. 13, 14; Deut. xii. 23.
19. Cf. Num. xxxv. 33.
the earth: emended by Dillmann from 'its blood'.
20. **thou mayest be accepted**: MSS. vary. See Eth. Text.
21-4. Written originally in Hebrew verse.
22. **sin unto death**: Num. xviii. 22; 1 John v. 16. Cf. xxvi. 34.
[] omitted as it spoils the parallelism.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 21. 25—22. 13

- 25 Go, my son, in peace.
May the Most High God, my God and thy God, strengthen thee to do His will,
And may He bless all thy seed and the residue of thy seed for the generations for ever, with all
righteous blessings,
That thou mayest be a blessing on all the earth.'
- 26 And he went out from him rejoicing.

Isaac, Ishmael, and Jacob celebrate the feast of first fruits at Beersheba with Abraham, 1-5. Prayer of Abraham, 6-9. Abraham's last words to and blessings of Jacob, 10-30.

- 22 ¹ And it came to pass in the †first† week in the †forty-fourth† jubilee, in the †second† year, that is, the year in which Abraham died, that Isaac and Ishmael came from the Well of the Oath to celebrate the feast of weeks—that is, the feast of the first fruits of the harvest—to Abraham, their
² father, and Abraham rejoiced because his two sons had come. For Isaac had many possessions in
³ Beersheba, and Isaac was wont to go and see his possessions and to return to his father. And in those days Ishmael came to see his father, and they **both** came together, and Isaac offered a sacrifice
⁴ for a burnt offering, and presented it on the altar of his father which he had made in Hebron. And he offered a thank offering and made a feast of joy before Ishmael, his brother: and Rebecca made new cakes from the new grain, and gave them to Jacob, her son, to take them to Abraham, his father, from the first fruits of the land, that he might eat and bless the Creator of all things before he died.
⁵ And Isaac, too, sent by the hand of Jacob to Abraham a best thank offering, that he might eat and
⁶ drink. And he eat and drank, and blessed the Most High God,
Who hath created heaven and earth,
Who hath made all the fat things of the earth,
And given them to the children of men
That they might eat and drink and bless their Creator.
⁷ 'And now I give thanks unto Thee, my God, because thou hast caused me to see this day: behold, I am one hundred three score and fifteen years, an old man and full of days, and all my days have
⁸ been unto me peace. The sword of the adversary has not overcome me in all that Thou hast given
⁹ me and my children all the days of my life until this day. My God, may Thy mercy and Thy peace be upon Thy servant, and upon the seed of his sons, that they may be to Thee a chosen nation and an inheritance from amongst all the nations of the earth from henceforth unto all the days of the
¹⁰ generations of the earth, unto all the ages.' And he called Jacob and said: 'My son Jacob, may the God of all bless thee and strengthen thee to do righteousness, and His will before Him, and may He choose thee and thy seed that ye may become a people for His inheritance according to His will
¹¹ alway. And do thou, my son, Jacob, draw near and kiss me.' And he drew near and kissed him, and he said:
'Blessed be my son Jacob
And all the sons of God Most High, unto all the ages:
May God give unto thee a seed of righteousness;
And some of thy sons may He sanctify in the midst of the whole earth;
May nations serve thee,
And all the nations bow themselves before thy seed.
¹² Be strong in the presence of men,
And exercise authority over all the seed of Seth.
Then thy ways and the ways of thy sons will be justified,
So that they shall become a holy nation.
¹³ May the Most High God give thee all the blessings
Wherewith He has blessed me

XXII. 1. All dates wrong. Read 'sixth week, forty-second jubilee, seventh year', i.e. 2051 A.M.

3. 'both' = Lat. *utrique* easily emended from Eth. Cf. xxxi. 11.

4. **Creator of all things**: Sir. xxiv. 8; 2 Macc. i. 24, vii. 23.

6-9. Abraham's thanksgiving and prayer.

8. **sword of the adversary**: Jer. vi. 25; Ps. ix. 7 (LXX).

11. **may nations**, &c. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 29.

12. **seed of Seth**: mankind. But in Num. xxiv. 17, 'children of Sheth' = 'children of confusion'.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 22. 13-22

- And wherewith He blessed Noah and Adam ;
May they rest on the sacred head of thy seed from generation to generation for ever.
- 14 And may He cleanse thee from all **unrighteousness** and impurity,
That thou mayest be forgiven all the transgressions ; which thou hast committed ignorantly.
And may He strengthen thee,
And bless thee.
And mayest thou inherit the whole earth,
- 15 And may He renew His covenant with thee,
That thou mayest be to Him a nation for His inheritance for all the ages,
And that He may be to thee and to thy seed a God in truth and righteousness throughout all the
days of the earth.
- 16 And do thou, my son Jacob, remember my words,
And observe the commandments of Abraham, thy father :
Separate thyself from the nations,
And eat not with them :
And do not according to their works,
And become not their associate ;
For their works are unclean,
And all their ways are a pollution and an abomination and uncleanness.
- 17 They offer their sacrifices to the dead
And they worship evil spirits,
And they eat over the graves,
And all their works are vanity and nothingness.
- 18 They have no heart to understand
And their eyes do not see what their works are,
And how they err in saying to a piece of wood : ' Thou art my God,'
And to a stone : ' Thou art my Lord and thou art my deliverer.'
[And they have no heart.]
- 19 And as for thee, my son Jacob,
May the Most High God help thee
And the God of heaven bless thee
And remove thee from their uncleanness and from all their error.
- 20 Be thou ware, my son Jacob, of taking a wife from any seed of the daughters of Canaan ;
For all his seed is to be rooted out of the earth.
- 21 For, owing to the transgression of Ham, Canaan erred,
And all his seed shall be destroyed from off the earth and all the residue thereof,
And none springing from him shall be saved on the day of judgment.
- 22 And as for all the worshippers of idols and the profane
(b) There shall be no hope for them in the land of the living ;
(c) And there shall be no remembrance of them on the earth ;

13. **rest on the sacred head.** Cf. Gen. xlix. 26 (Syr.). It implies נָזַר for נָזַר.
14. **unrighteousness** : emended with Latin where Eth. reads 'defilement'.
16. Jewish exclusiveness here traced to Abraham ; needed in second century B.C. A Jew could not eat with a Gentile, because of (1) Law of 'unclean meats' ; cf. Deut. xii. 23 ; Lev. xi. 4, 7, 10-12, 13-20. (2) Idol sacrifices ; cf. 1 Cor. x. 20-9. See also Dan. i. 8-10 ; 1 Macc. i. 47, 62 ; 2 Macc. vi. 18-21. Cf. Mark ii. 16 for the Pharisaic attitude.
16. **a pollution.** An outstanding feature of Antiochus' persecution ; 1 Macc. i. 46, 48, 63, iv. 43-8, iii. 51 ; 2 Macc. v. 27, xiv. 3, vi. 2, 19, 25.
17. **sacrifices to the dead** : cf. Deut. xxvi. 14 ; Ps. cvi. 28 ; Sir. vii. 33 ; Tobit, iv. 17. They are attacked in Sir. xxx. 18 ; Wisd. xiv. 15, xix. 3 ; *Or. Sibyl.* viii. 382-4 ; Ep. Jer. 31, 32.
evil spirits : idols, as Deut. xxxii. 17 ; Lev. xvii. 7 ; Ps. cvi. 37 ; 1 En. xix. 1 ; 1 Macc. i. 43 ; Baruch, iv. 7.
eat over the graves : cf. Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 21-4.
18. Cf. Jer. ii. 27.
[] Dittography spoils parallelism.
20. Gen. xxviii. 1 ; Test. Lev. ix ; Jub. xxv. 5, xxviii. 10, xxx. 7.
21. **the day of judgment.** Cf. xxiii. 11, xxxvi. 10.
22. **the profane** or 'the adversaries'. Both are easy emendations from the reading of *a b d*.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 22. 22—23. 9

- (c) For they shall descend into Sheol,
(d) And into the place of condemnation shall they go,

As the children of Sodom were taken away from the earth
So will all those who worship idols be taken away.

- 23 Fear not, my son Jacob,
And be not dismayed, O son of Abraham :
May the Most High God preserve thee from destruction,
And from all the paths of error may he deliver thee.
- 24 This house have I built for myself that I might put my name upon it in the earth : [it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever], and it will be named the house of Abraham ; it is given to thee and to thy seed for ever ; for thou wilt build my house and establish my name before God for ever : thy seed and thy name will stand throughout all generations of the earth.'
- 25, 26 And he ceased commanding him and blessing him. And the two lay together on one bed, and Jacob slept in the bosom of Abraham, his father's father and he kissed him seven times, and his affection and his heart rejoiced over him. And he blessed him with all his heart and said : ' The Most High God, the God of all, and Creator of all, who brought me forth from Ur of the Chaldees, that he might give me this land to inherit it for ever, and that I might establish a holy seed—blessed be the Most High for ever.' And he blessed Jacob and said : ' My son, over whom with all my heart and my affection I rejoice, may Thy grace and Thy mercy be lift up upon him and upon his seed alway. And do not forsake him, nor set him at nought from henceforth unto the days of eternity, and may Thine eyes be opened upon him and upon his seed, that Thou mayst preserve him, and bless him, and mayest sanctify him as a nation for Thine inheritance ; And bless him with all Thy blessings from henceforth unto all the days of eternity, and renew Thy covenant and Thy grace with him and with his seed according to all Thy good pleasure unto all the generations of the earth.'

Abraham's death and burial, 1–8 (cf. Gen. xxv. 7–10). Decreasing years and increasing corruption of mankind : Messianic woes : universal strife : the faithful rise up in arms to bring back the faithless : Israel invaded by sinners of the Gentiles, 11–25. Renewed study of the law and renewal of mankind : Messianic kingdom : blessed immortality of the righteous, 26–31.

- 23 1 And he placed two fingers of Jacob on his eyes, and he blessed the God of gods, and he covered his face and stretched out his feet and slept the sleep of eternity, and was gathered to his fathers. 2 And notwithstanding all this Jacob was lying in his bosom, and knew not that Abraham, his father's father, was dead. And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and behold Abraham was cold as ice, and he 3 said : ' Father, father ' ; but there was none that spake, and he knew that he was dead. And he 4 arose from his bosom and ran and told Rebecca, his mother ; and Rebecca went to Isaac in the night, and told him ; and they went together, and Jacob with them, and a lamp was in his hand, and 5 when they had gone in they found Abraham lying dead. And Isaac fell on the face of his father, 6 and wept and kissed him. And the voices were heard in the house of Abraham, and Ishmael his son arose, and went to Abraham his father, and wept over Abraham his father, he and all the house 7 of Abraham, and they wept with a great weeping. And his sons Isaac and Ishmael buried him in the double cave, near Sarah his wife, and they wept for him forty days, all the men of his house, and Isaac and Ishmael, and all their sons, and all the sons of Keturah in their places ; and the days of 8 weeping for Abraham were ended. And he lived three jubilees and four weeks of years, one hundred 9 and seventy-five years, and completed the days of his life, being old and full of days. For the days

25. **commanding** : from Hebrew צוה, used technically of a man's last will and testament (2 Sam. xvii. 23 ; 2 Kings xx. 1 ; Isa. xxxviii. 1 ; Test. Reub. 1 ; Baba Bathra, 147 a, 151 b).

27. Probably an interpolation—Jacob is not mentioned till the next verse.

28. **I rejoice** : c d ; ' rejoices ', a b.

be lift up upon him : from Num. vi. 26 ; Ps. iv. 6.

29. **eyes be opened** : Neh. i. 6 ; Dan. ix. 18 ; 1 Kings viii. 29, 52.

XXIII. 1. Cf. Gen. xlv. 4. Closing the eyes strictly forbidden till death had ensued in Shabb. 151 b.

stretched out : as Gen. xlix. 33 Eth. and Syr., but Mass., LXX, Vulg. = gathered up.

slept the sleep of eternity : as Jer. li. 39, 57.

5. Gen. i. 1.

7. **days of** inserted. Cf. Deut. xxxiv. 8. MSS. vary. b = ' the lamentation of ' ; d = ' lamentation and ' ; a c omit.

8. Cf. Gen. xxv. 8. See xxi. 1 of our text.

9. Men grow old quicker owing to the increasing degeneration.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 23. 9-23

of the forefathers, of their life, were nineteen jubilees; and after the Flood they began to grow less than nineteen jubilees, and to decrease in jubilees, and to grow old quickly, and to be full of their days by reason of manifold tribulation and the wickedness of their ways, with the exception of

¹⁰ Abraham. For Abraham was perfect in all his deeds with the Lord, and well-pleasing in righteousness all the days of his life; and behold, he did not complete four jubilees in his life, **when** he had

¹¹ grown old by reason of the wickedness, and was full of his days. And all the generations which shall arise from this time until the day of the great judgment shall grow old quickly, before they complete two jubilees, and their knowledge shall forsake them by reason of their old age [and all their knowledge shall vanish away]. And in those days, if a man live a jubilee and a-half of years, they shall say regarding him: 'He has lived long, and the greater part of his days are pain and sorrow and

¹² tribulation, and there is no peace: For calamity follows on calamity, and wound on wound, and tribulation on tribulation, and evil tidings on evil tidings, and illness on illness, and all evil judgments such as these, one with another, illness and overthrow, and snow and frost and ice, and fever, and chills, and torpor, and famine, and death, and sword, and captivity, and all kinds of calamities and

¹³ pains.' And all these shall come on an evil generation, which transgresses **on the earth**: their works

¹⁴ are **uncleanness** and fornication, and pollution and abominations. Then they shall say: 'The days of the forefathers were many (even), unto a thousand years, and were good; but, behold, the days of our life, if a man has lived many, are three score years and ten, and, if he is strong, four score years,

¹⁵ and **those** evil, and there is no peace in the days of this evil generation.' And in that generation the sons shall convict their fathers and their elders of sin and unrighteousness, and of the words of their mouth and the great wickednesses which they perpetrate, and concerning their forsaking the covenant which the Lord made between them and Him, that they should observe and do all His commandments and His ordinances and all His laws, without departing either to the right hand or the left.

¹⁶ For all have done evil, and every mouth speaks iniquity and all their works are an uncleanness and an abomination, and all their ways are pollution, uncleanness and destruction. Behold the earth shall be destroyed on account of all their works, and there shall be no seed of the vine, and no oil; for their works are altogether faithless, and they shall all perish together, beasts and cattle and birds, and

¹⁷ all the fish of the sea, on account of the children of men. And they shall strive one with another, the young with the old, and the old with the young, the poor with the rich, the lowly with the great, and the beggar with the prince, on account of the law and the covenant; for they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months, and Sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgments.

¹⁸ And they shall stand <with bows and> swords and war to turn them back into the way; but they shall

¹⁹ not return until much blood has been shed on the earth, one by another. And those who have escaped shall not return from their wickedness to the way of righteousness, but they shall all exalt themselves to deceit and wealth, that they may each take all that is his neighbour's, and they **shall** name the great name, but not in truth and not in righteousness, and they shall defile the holy of

²⁰ holies with their uncleanness and the corruption of their pollution. And a great punishment shall befall the deeds of this generation from the Lord, and He will give them over to the sword and to

²¹ judgment and to captivity, and to be plundered and devoured. And He will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, who have neither mercy nor compassion, and who shall respect the person of none, neither old nor young, nor any one, for they are more wicked and strong to do evil than all the children of men.

And they shall use violence against Israel and transgression against Jacob,
And much blood shall be shed upon the earth,
And there shall be none to gather and none to bury.

10. **when**: 'until', text.
 11. Here the Messianic kingdom seems to follow the judgment. But see ver. 30.
 12. **the greater part . . . sorrow**. Ps. xc. 10 (LXX, Syr., Vulg.).
 13-14. Melancholy account of Judah's plight in his own day, i.e. early decades of second century B.C.
 14. **on the earth**, &c. Emended with Lat.
 15. **those**. Eth. reads *kuëllä* corrupt for *'ellä*.
 16. An account of the rise of the Chasids exactly parallel with 1 En. xc. 6, 7. 'Lambs' there are 'sons' here.
forsaking the covenant: cf. Hellenizers in Dan. xi. 30; 1 Macc. i. 15. Cf. Bousset, *ZNTW*, 1900, p. 199.
 17. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 52, ii. 6.
 18-24. The woes before the Messianic Age are a feature of all Apocalypse. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 20; Hos. iv. 3; Zeph. i. 3; 4 Ezra v. 7, *Or. Sibyl.* iii. 796; Apoc. Bar. xxvii, xlviii. 31-7, lxx. 2-10; 4 Ezra vi. 14-18, 21-4; Matth. xxiv. 6-29; Sota ix. 15.
 20. < > supplied from Lat.
the way: cf. Isa. xxx. 21; Acts ix. 2, xiv. 9, xxiv. 22.
 21. **shall name**: So Lat. Eth. is easily emended.
 23. Describes religious wars of Judas Maccabaeus. The Syrian invasion is described in the language of Jer. vi. 23. After 162 B.C. there was civil war in Judah, and peace with Syria. Thus this passage cannot be later than that date.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 23. 24—24. 7

- 24 In those days they shall cry aloud,
And call and pray that they may be saved from the hand of the sinners, the Gentiles;
But none shall be saved.
- 25 And the heads of the children shall be white with grey hair,
And a child of three weeks shall appear old like a man of one hundred years,
And their stature shall be destroyed by tribulation and oppression.
- 26 And in those days the children shall begin to study the laws,
And to seek the commandments,
And to return to the path of righteousness.
- 27 And the days shall begin to grow many and increase amongst those children of men
Till their days draw nigh to one thousand years,
And to a greater number of years than (before) was the number of the days.
- 28 And there shall be no old man
Nor one who is (not) satisfied with his days,
For all shall be (as) children and youths.
- 29 And all their days they shall complete and live in peace and in joy,
And there shall be no Satan nor any evil destroyer;
For all their days shall be days of blessing and healing.
- 30 And at that time the Lord will heal His servants,
And they shall rise up and see great peace,
And drive out their adversaries.
- And the righteous shall see and be thankful,
And rejoice with joy for ever and ever,
And shall see all their judgments and all their curses on their enemies.
- 31 And their bones shall rest in the earth,
And their spirits shall have much joy,
And they shall know that it is the Lord who executes judgment,
And shows mercy to hundreds and thousands and to all that love Him
- 32 And do thou, Moses, write down these words; for thus are they written, and they record (them)
on the heavenly tablets for a testimony for the generations for ever.

Isaac at the Well of Vision, 1 (cf. Gen. xxv. 11). *Esau sells his birthright*, 2-7 (cf. Gen. xxv. 29-34).
Isaac goes down to Gerar, 8. *Dealings between Isaac and Abimelech*, 9-27. *Isaac curses the Philistines*, 28-32. (Cf. Gen. xxvi. 1-6, 11, 13-25, 32, 33.)

- 24¹ And it came to pass after the death of Abraham, that the Lord blessed Isaac his son, and he
arose from Hebron and went and dwelt at the Well of the Vision in the first year of the third week 2073 A.M.
2 of this jubilee, seven years. And in the first year of the fourth week a famine began in the land, 2080 A.M.
3 besides the first famine, which had been in the days of Abraham. And Jacob sod lentil pottage,
and Esau came from the field hungry. And he said to Jacob his brother: 'Give me of this red
pottage.' And Jacob said to him: 'Sell to me thy [primogeniture, this] birthright and I will give
4 thee bread, and also some of this lentil pottage.' And Esau said in his heart: 'I shall die; of
5 what profit to me is this birthright?' And he said to Jacob: 'I give it to thee.' And Jacob said:
6 'Swear to me, this day,' and he swore unto him. And Jacob gave his brother Esau bread and pottage,
and he eat till he was satisfied, and Esau despised his birthright; for this reason was Esau's name
7 called Edom, on account of the red pottage which Jacob gave him for his birthright. And Jacob became

24. sinners and gentiles practically synonymous. Cf. Gal. ii. 15.
26. Renewed study of the law brings spiritual transformation.
27. nigh to one thousand years: cf. iv. 30. As in Test. Levi. xviii all change is gradual.
28. Cf. Isa. lxx. 20, whence 'not' is inserted here.
29. no Satan: cf. Ass. Mos. x. 1, Jub. xl. 9, xlv. 1, 2, 5.
30. Probably does not refer to a Resurrection to the Messianic kingdom. Our author's eschatology is that of 1 En.
xci-civ. Judgement will be at the end of the Messianic kingdom, and precedes the spiritual bliss of the righteous.
31. Cf. 1 En. xci. 10, xcii. 3, ciii. 3, 4. The bodies rest, but the spirits rise.
XXIV. Cf. Gen. xxv. 11, 29-34, xxvi. 1-6, 13-25, 32, 33. No reference is made in 13 to Isaac's lie regarding
Rebecca. For derivation of name of Edom in 6 cf. Gen. xxv. 29.
3. red pottage. Text = 'wheaten pottage', i.e. *πυρρόν* for *πυρρόν*. Sell = *ἀπόδου*, which here means 'sell' 'agbe'e.
1105.2 49 E

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 24. 8-30

8 the elder, and Esau was brought down from his dignity. And the famine was over the land, and Isaac departed to go down into Egypt in the second year of this week, and went to the king of the Philistines to Gerar, unto Abimelech. And the Lord appeared unto him and said unto him: 'Go not down into Egypt; dwell in the land that I shall tell thee of, and sojourn in this land, and I will be with thee and bless thee. For to thee and to thy seed will I give all this land, and I will establish My oath which I swore unto Abraham thy father, and I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and will give unto thy seed all this land. And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thy father obeyed My voice, and kept My charge and My commandments, and My laws, and My ordinances, and My covenant; and now obey My voice and dwell in this land.' And he dwelt in Gerar three weeks of years. And Abimelech charged concerning him, and concerning all that was his, saying: 'Any man that shall touch him or aught that is his shall surely die.' And Isaac waxed strong among the Philistines, and he got many possessions, oxen and sheep and camels and asses and a great household. And he sowed in the land of the Philistines and brought in a hundred-fold, and Isaac became exceedingly great, and the Philistines envied him. Now all the wells which the servants of Abraham had dug during the life of Abraham, the Philistines had stopped them after the death of Abraham, and filled them with earth. And Abimelech said unto Isaac: 'Go from us, for thou art much mightier than we'; and Isaac departed thence in the first year of the seventh week, and sojourned in the valleys of Gerar. And they digged again the wells of water which the servants of Abraham, his father, had digged, and which the Philistines had closed after the death of Abraham his father, and he called their names as Abraham his father had named them. And the servants of Isaac dug a well in the valley, and found living water, and the shepherds of Gerar strove with the shepherds of Isaac, saying: 'The water is ours'; and Isaac called the name of the well 'Perversity', because they had been perverse with us. And they dug a second well, and they strove for that also, and he called its name 'Enmity'. And he arose from thence and they digged another well, and for that they strove not, and he called the name of it 'Room', and Isaac said: 'Now the Lord hath made room for us, and we have increased in the land.' And he went up from thence to the Well of the Oath, in the first year of the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee. And the Lord appeared to him that night, on the new moon of the first month, and said unto him: 'I am the God of Abraham thy father; fear not, for I am with thee, and shall bless thee and shall surely multiply thy seed as the sand of the earth, for the sake of Abraham my servant.' And he built an altar there, which Abraham his father had first built, and he called upon the name of the Lord, and he offered sacrifice to the God of Abraham his father. And they digged a well and they found living water. And the servants of Isaac digged another well and did not find water, and they went and told Isaac that they had not found water, and Isaac said: 'I have sworn this day to the Philistines and this thing has been announced to us.' And he called the name of that place the Well of the Oath; for there he had sworn to Abimelech and Ahuzzath his friend and Phicol the prefect of his host. And Isaac knew that day that under constraint he had sworn to them to make peace with them. And Isaac on that day cursed the Philistines and said: 'Cursed be the Philistines unto the day of wrath and indignation from the midst of all nations; may God make them a derision and a curse and an object of wrath and indignation in the hands of the sinners the Gentiles and in the hands of the Kittim. And whoever escapes the sword of the enemy and the Kittim, may the righteous nation root out in judgment from under heaven; for they shall be the enemies and foes of my children throughout their generations upon the earth.

And no remnant shall be left to them,
Nor one that shall be saved on the day of the wrath of judgment;
For for destruction and rooting out and expulsion from the earth is the whole seed of the Philistines (reserved),
And there shall no longer be left for these Caphtorim a name or a seed on the earth.

14. **household**: *ministerium* Lat. = עֲבָדָה. Eth. has 'possession'.

19. **The**: 'this' in Eth. = def. article.

20. **Enmity** = *ṣēṭā* emended from *ṣabāb* = 'narrow'. Lat. has *inimicitias*. An Ethiopic scribe has introduced the antithesis of 'narrow' as opposed to 'room'.

Room = *sefā* emended from *sefāh*; so Lat. *capacitas*.

26. **the prefect of his host**. So Lat. Eth. has only 'his prefect'.

28-32. Only intelligible during Maccabean wars; fierce hatred of Philistines; cf. 1 Macc. x. 89, v. 68, x. 84, xvi. 10, xi. 62; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 13. 3. Cf. Bousset, *ZNTW*, 1890, 200.

28. Cf. Hdt. i. 205, ii. 157-9 for the Philistines' suffering at the hands of the Egyptians.

Kittim = Macedonians. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 1, viii. 5; Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8. 4.

29. **righteous nation**: Judah under Maccabees.

generations: Lat.; 'days', Eth.

30. **these** = *ʾellā* emended from *kuʾellā* = 'all'. Lat. = 'these'.

Caphtorim = Philistines; cf. Amos. ix. 7; Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xlvii. 4.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 24. 31—25. 14

- 31 For though he ascend unto heaven,
Thence shall he be brought down,

†And though he make himself strong on earth,†
Thence shall he be dragged forth,

And though he hide himself amongst the nations,
Even from thence shall he be rooted out ;

And though he descend into Sheol,
There also shall his condemnation be great,
And there also he shall have no peace.
32 And if he go into captivity,
By the hands of those that seek his life shall they slay him on the way,
And neither name nor seed shall be left to him on all the earth ;
For into eternal malediction shall he depart.’
33 And thus is it written and engraved concerning him on the heavenly tablets, to do unto him on the
day of judgment, so that he may be rooted out of the earth.

Rebecca admonishes Jacob not to marry a Canaanitish woman, 1-3. Jacob promises to marry a daughter of Laban despite the urgent requests of Esau that he should marry a Canaanitish woman, 4-10. Rebecca blesses Jacob, 11-23. (Cf. Gen. xxviii. 1-4.)

- 25 1 And in the second year of this week in this jubilee, Rebecca called Jacob her son, and spake unto 2109 A.M.
him, saying: ‘My son, do not take thee a wife of the daughters of Canaan, as Esau, thy brother,
who took him two wives of the daughters of Canaan, and they have embittered my soul with all their
unclean deeds: for all their deeds are fornication and lust, and there is no righteousness with them,
2 for (their deeds) are evil. And I, my son, love thee exceedingly, and my heart and my affection
3 bless thee every hour of the day and watch of the night. And now, my son, hearken to my voice,
and do the will of thy mother, and do not take thee a wife of the daughters of this land, but only of
the house of my father, and of my father’s kindred. Thou shalt take thee a wife of the house of my
father, and the Most High God will bless thee, and thy children shall be a righteous generation and
4 a holy seed.’ And then spake Jacob to Rebecca, his mother, and said unto her: ‘Behold, mother,
I am nine weeks of years old, and I neither know nor have I touched any woman, nor have I betrothed
5 myself to any, nor even think of taking me a wife of the daughters of Canaan. For I remember,
mother, the words of Abraham, our father, for he commanded me not to take a wife of the daughters
6 of Canaan, but to take me a wife from the seed of my father’s house and from my kindred. I have
heard before that daughters have been born to Laban, thy brother, and I have set my heart on them
7 to take a wife from amongst them. And for this reason I have guarded myself in my spirit against
sinning or being corrupted in all my ways throughout all the days of my life; for with regard to lust
8 and fornication, Abraham, my father, gave me many commands. And, despite all that he has com-
manded me, these two and twenty years my brother has striven with me, and spoken frequently to
me and said: ‘My brother, take to wife a sister of my two wives’; but I refuse to do as he has done.
9 I swear before thee, mother, that all the days of my life I will not take me a wife from the daughters
10 of the seed of Canaan, and I will not act wickedly as my brother has done. Fear not, mother; be
11 assured that I shall do thy will and walk in uprightness, and not corrupt my ways for ever.’ And
thereupon she lifted up her face to heaven and extended the fingers of her hands, and opened her
mouth and blessed the Most High God, who had created the heaven and the earth, and she gave Him
12 thanks and praise. And she said: ‘Blessed be the Lord God, and may His holy name be blessed
for ever and ever, who has given me Jacob as a pure son and a holy seed; for he is Thine, and Thine
13 shall his seed be continually and throughout all the generations for evermore. Bless him, O Lord,
14 and place in my mouth the blessing of righteousness, that I may bless him.’ And at that hour, when

31. †† Lat. = *ubi fugiens erit*. Corruption originated in Hebrew apparently.

XXV. Gen. xxvii is put after Gen. xxviii. 1-4 to give more blame to Esau and to excuse Jacob.

4. Jacob is sixty-three when he receives the blessing, as in Ber. Rabb. 68; Seder Olam, 2.
neither, &c.: Syncell. i. 197 wrongly attributes this to Josephus.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 25. 14—26. 7

the spirit of righteousness descended into her mouth, she placed both her hands on the head of Jacob, and said :

- 15 'Blessed art thou, Lord of righteousness and God of the ages ;
And may He bless thee beyond all the generations of men.
May He give thee, my son, the path of righteousness,
And reveal righteousness to thy seed.
- 16 And may He make thy sons many during thy life,
And may they arise according to the number of the months of the year.
And may their sons become many and great beyond the stars of heaven,
And their numbers be more than the sand of the sea.
- 17 And may He give them this goodly land—as He said He would give it to Abraham and to his
seed after him alway—
And may they hold it as a possession for ever.
- 18 And may I see (born) unto thee, my son, blessed children during my life,
And a blessed and holy seed may all thy seed be.
- 19 And as thou hast refreshed thy mother's spirit during †her† life,
The womb of her that bare thee blesses thee thus,
[My affection] and my breasts bless thee
And my mouth and my tongue praise thee greatly.
- 20 Increase and spread over the earth,
And may thy seed be perfect in the joy of heaven and earth for ever ;
And may thy seed rejoice,
And on the great day of peace may it have peace.
- 21 And may thy name and thy seed endure to all the ages,
And may the Most High God be their God,
And may the God of righteousness dwell with them,
And by them may His sanctuary be built unto all the ages.
- 22 Blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And all flesh that curseth thee falsely, may it be cursed.'
- 23 And she kissed him, and said to him ;
'May the Lord of the world love thee
As the heart of thy mother and her affection rejoice in thee and bless thee.'
And she ceased from blessing.

Isaac sends Esau for venison, 1-4. Rebecca instructs Jacob to obtain the blessing, 5-9. Jacob under the person of Esau obtains it, 10-24. Esau brings in his venison and by his importunity obtains a blessing, 25-34. Threatens Jacob, 35. (Cf. Gen. xxvii.)

- 26 1 And in the seventh year of this week Isaac called Esau, his elder son, and said unto him : 'I am 2114 A.M.
2 old, my son, and behold my eyes are dim in seeing, and I know not the day of my death. And now
take thy hunting weapons thy quiver and thy bow, and go out to the field, and hunt and catch me
(venison), my son, and make me savoury meat, such as my soul loveth, and bring it to me that I may
3 eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I die.' But Rebecca heard Isaac speaking to Esau.
4, 5 And Esau went forth early to the field to hunt and catch and bring home to his father. And
Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and said unto him : 'Behold, I heard Isaac, thy father, speak unto
Esau, thy brother, saying : " Hunt for me, and make me savoury meat, and bring (it) to me that
6 I may eat and bless thee before the Lord before I die." And now, my son, obey my voice in that
which I command thee : Go to thy flock and fetch me two good kids of the goats, and I will make
them savoury meat for thy father, such as he loves, and thou shalt bring (it) to thy father that he
7 may eat and bless thee before the Lord before he die, and that thou mayst be blessed.' And Jacob

14. **spirit of righteousness** (*a b d*) : cf. John xiv. 17, xv. 26, xvi. 3. For 'Holy Spirit' (*e*) cf. Isa. lxiii. 10, 11.

17. **as He said . . . alway**. Cf. Luke i. 55.

19. †her†. Read 'thy'. [] out of place, or a dittography of םהָ.

23. Cf. Sir. iv. 10.

XXVI. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 1-41, often loosely rendered.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 26. 7-30

said to Rebecca his mother: 'Mother, I shall not withhold anything which my father would eat, and which would please him: only I fear, my mother, that he will recognise my voice and wish to touch me. And thou knowest that I am smooth, and Esau, my brother, is hairy, and I shall appear before his eyes as an evildoer, and shall do a deed which he had not commanded me, and he will be wroth with me, and I shall bring upon myself a curse, and not a blessing.' And Rebecca, his mother, said unto him: 'Upon me be thy curse, my son, only obey my voice.' And Jacob obeyed the voice of Rebecca, his mother, and went and fetched two good and fat kids of the goats, and brought them to his mother, and his mother made them (savoury meat) such as he loved. And Rebecca took the goodly raiment of Esau, her elder son, which was with her in the house, and she clothed Jacob, her younger son, (with them), and she put the skins of the kids upon his hands and on the exposed parts of his neck. And she gave the meat and the bread which she had prepared into the hand of her son Jacob. And Jacob went in to his father and said: 'I am thy son: I have done according as thou badest me: arise and sit and eat of that which I have caught, father, that thy soul may bless me.' And Isaac said to his son: 'How hast thou found so quickly, my son?' And Jacob said: 'Because (the Lord) thy God caused me to find.' And Isaac said unto him: 'Come near, that I may feel thee, my son, if thou art my son Esau or not.' And Jacob went near to Isaac, his father, and he felt him and said: 'The voice is Jacob's voice; but the hands are the hands of Esau,' and he discerned him not, because it was a dispensation from heaven to remove his power of perception and Isaac discerned not, for his hands were hairy as (his brother) Esau's, so that he blessed him. And he said: 'Art thou my son Esau?' and he said: 'I am thy son': and he said, 'Bring near to me that I may eat of that which thou hast caught, my son, that my soul may bless thee.' And he brought near to him, and he did eat, and he brought him wine and he drank. And Isaac, his father, said unto him: 'Come near and kiss me, my son. And he came near and kissed him. And he smelled the smell of his raiment, and he blessed him and said: 'Behold, the smell of my son is as the smell of a (full) field which the Lord hath blessed.

23 And may the Lord give thee of the dew of heaven
And of the dew of the earth, and plenty of corn and oil:
Let nations serve thee,
And peoples bow down to thee.

24 Be lord over thy brethren,
And let thy mother's sons bow down to thee;
And may all the blessings wherewith the Lord hath blessed me and blessed Abraham, my father,
Be imparted to thee and to thy seed for ever:
Cursed be he that curseth thee,
And blessed be he that blesseth thee.'

25 And it came to pass as soon as Isaac had made an end of blessing his son Jacob, and Jacob had gone forth from Isaac his father [†]he hid himself and [†]Esau, his brother, came in from his hunting. And he also made savoury meat, and brought (it) to his father, and said unto his father: 'Let my father arise, and eat of my venison that thy soul may bless me.' And Isaac, his father, said unto him: 'Who art thou?' And he said unto him: 'I am thy first born, thy son Esau: I have done as thou hast commanded me.' And Isaac was very greatly astonished, and said: 'Who is he that hath hunted and caught and brought (it) to me, and I have eaten of all before thou camest, and have blessed him: (and) he shall be blessed, and all his seed for ever.' And it came to pass when Esau heard the words of his father Isaac that he cried with an exceeding great and bitter cry, and said unto his father: 30 'Bless me, (even) me also, father.' And he said unto him: 'Thy brother came with guile, and hath taken away thy blessing.' And he said: 'Now I know why his name is named Jacob: behold, he hath supplanted me these two times: he took away my birth-right, and now he hath taken away

7 a. Added by author in favour of Jacob.

10. < >. Added from Latin.

15. < The Lord >. Supplied from Latin. caused me to find (b c): Latin *direxit*.

18. A dispensation to assist the deceit! Clause borrowed from 1 Kings xii. 15, 'a thing brought about of the Lord'.

< > supplied from Lat.

19. I am thy son. An evasion—not so bad as Ber. Rabb. 65.

22. < full > added from Latin. So Sam., LXX, and Vulg., cf. Gen. xxvii. 27. Mass. omits.

23. dew of the earth. So Gen. xxvii. 28 in Eth. version.

give thee: b c d add 'and multiply thee', while a transposes it before 'give thee'.

and plenty: MSS. add before 'plenty' the words 'may He give plentifully to thee', against the parallelism and Gen. xxvii. 28.

25. he hid himself and. This seems an addition. Read 'that'.

30. I know why = οἶδα ὡς perhaps corrupt for δικαιῶς. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 36.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 26. 31—27. 14

- 31 my blessing.' And he said: 'Hast thou not reserved a blessing for me, father?' and Isaac answered and said unto Esau:
 'Behold, I have made him thy lord,
 And all his brethren have I given to him for servants,
 And with plenty of corn and wine and oil have I strengthened him:
 And what now shall I do for thee, my son?'
 32 And Esau said to Isaac, his father:
 'Hast thou but one blessing, O father?
 Bless me, (even) me also, father:'
 33 And Esau lifted up his voice and wept. And Isaac answered and said unto him:
 'Behold, far from the dew of the earth shall be thy dwelling,
 And far from the dew of heaven from above.
 34 And by thy sword wilt thou live,
 And thou wilt serve thy brother.
 And it shall come to pass when thou becomest great,
 And dost shake his yoke from off thy neck,
 Thou shalt sin a complete sin unto death,
 And thy seed shall be rooted out from under heaven.'
 35 And Esau kept threatening Jacob because of the blessing wherewith his father blessed him, and he said in his heart: 'May the days of mourning for my father now come, so that I may slay my brother Jacob.'

Rebecca alarmed at Esau's threats prevails on Isaac to send Jacob to Mesopotamia, 1-12. Isaac comforts Rebecca on the departure of Jacob, 13-18. Jacob's dream and vow at Bethel, 19-27. (Cf. Gen. xxviii.)

- 27 1 And the words of Esau, her elder son, were told to Rebecca in a dream, and Rebecca sent and
 2 called Jacob her younger son, and said unto him: 'Behold Esau thy brother will take vengeance on
 3 thee so as to kill thee. Now, therefore, my son, obey my voice, and arise and flee thou to Laban,
 my brother, to Haran, and tarry with him a few days until thy brother's anger turns away, and he
 remove his anger from thee, and forget all that thou hast done; then I will send and fetch thee from
 4, 5 thence.' And Jacob said: 'I am not afraid; if he wishes to kill me, I will kill him.' But she said
 6 unto him: 'Let me not be bereft of both my sons on one day.' And Jacob said to Rebecca his
 mother: 'Behold, thou knowest that my father has become old, and does not see because his eyes are
 dull, and if I leave him it will be evil in his eyes, because I leave him and go away from you, and
 my father will be angry, and will curse me. I will not go; when he sends me, then only will I go.'
 7, 8 And Rebecca said to Jacob: 'I will go in and speak to him, and he will send thee away.' And
 Rebecca went in and said to Isaac: 'I loathe my life because of the two daughters of Heth, whom
 Esau has taken him as wives; and if Jacob take a wife from among the daughters of the land such
 9 as these, for what purpose do I further live; for the daughters of Canaan are evil.' And Isaac called
 10 Jacob and blessed him, and admonished him and said unto him: 'Do not take thee a wife of any of
 the daughters of Canaan; arise and go to Mesopotamia, to the house of Bethuel, thy mother's father,
 11 and take thee a wife from thence of the daughters of Laban, thy mother's brother. And God
 Almighty bless thee and increase and multiply thee that thou mayest become a company of nations,
 and give thee the blessings of my father Abraham, to thee and to thy seed after thee, that thou
 mayest inherit the land of thy sojournings and all the land which God gave to Abraham: go, my
 12 son, in peace.' And Isaac sent Jacob away, and he went to Mesopotamia, to Laban the son of
 13 Bethuel the Syrian, the brother of Rebecca, Jacob's mother. And it came to pass after Jacob had
 14 arisen to go to Mesopotamia that the spirit of Rebecca was grieved after her son, and she wept. And

34. **becomest great** = 'abaika (b). *a c* = 'refusest' = 'abaika, a corruption of *b*. The text here agrees with the Sam. תאריך, Gen. xxvii. 40. The Mass. = תרייך, which the versions variously translate. The LXX gives καθέλης, i.e. יריך from ירר.

sin a complete sin unto death, &c.: changed contrary to all tradition. This version is adopted by Syncell. i. 202 and Glycas. 263 (who, however, attributes it to Josephus). For 'sin unto death' cf. xxi. 22.

35. Note malicious turn here given to Esau's words in Gen. xxvii. 41.

XXVII. 1-5. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 42-5. **in a dream**: Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxvii. 42 'by the Holy Spirit'.

6. Cf. xii. 31. Defends Jacob from the reproach of leaving his old father (Singer).

8. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 46.

9-12. Gen. xxviii. 1-5.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 27. 14—28. 6

Isaac said to Rebecca: 'My sister, weep not on account of Jacob, my son; for he goeth in peace, and
 15 in peace will he return. The Most High God will preserve him from all evil, and will be with him;
 16 for He will not forsake him all his days; For I know that his ways will be prospered in all things
 17 wherever he goes, until he return in peace to us, and we see him in peace. Fear not on his account,
 my sister, for he is on the upright path and he is a perfect man: and he is faithful and will not perish.
 18, 19 Weep not.' And Isaac comforted Rebecca on account of her son Jacob, and blessed him. And Jacob
 went from the Well of the Oath to go to Haran on the first year of the second week in the forty-
 fourth jubilee, and he came to Luz on the mountains, that is, Bethel, on the new moon of the first 2115 A.M.
 month of this week, and he came to the place at even and turned from the way to the west of the
 20 road that night: and he slept there; for the sun had set. And he took one of the stones of that
 21 place and laid (it at his head) under the tree, and he was journeying alone, and he slept. And he
 dreamt that night, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven, and
 behold, the angels of the Lord ascended and descended on it: and behold, the Lord stood upon it.
 22 And he spake to Jacob and said: 'I am the Lord God of Abraham, thy father, and the God of
 23 Isaac; the land whereon thou art sleeping, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed after thee. And
 thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth, and thou shalt increase to the west and to the east, to the
 24 north and the south, and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the nations be blessed. And
 behold, I will be with thee, and will keep thee whithersoever thou goest, and I will bring thee
 again into this land in peace; for I will not leave thee until I do everything that I told thee of.'
 25 And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and said, 'Truly this place is the house of the Lord, and I knew
 it not.' And he was afraid and said: 'Dreadful is this place which is none other than the house of
 26 God, and this is the gate of heaven.' And Jacob arose early in the morning, and took the stone
 which he had put under his head and set it up as a pillar for a sign, and he poured oil upon the top
 of it. And he called the name of that place Bethel; but the name of the place was Luz at the first.
 27 And Jacob vowed a vow unto the Lord, saying: 'If the Lord will be with me, and will keep me in
 this way that I go, and give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my
 father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God, and this stone which I have set up as a pillar
 for a sign in this place, shall be the Lord's house, and of all that thou givest me, I shall give the tenth
 to thee, my God.'

*Jacob marries Leah and Rachel, 1-10. His children by Leah and Rachel and by their handmaids,
 11-24. Jacob seeks to leave Laban, 25; but stays on at a certain wage, 26-8. Jacob becomes
 rich, 29-30. (Cf. Gen. xxix. 1, 17, 18, 21-35; xxx. 1-13, 17-22, 24, 25, 28, 32, 39, 43; xxxi.
 1, 2.)*

28 1 And he went on his journey, and came to the land of the east, to Laban, the brother of Rebecca,
 2 and he was with him, and served him for Rachel his daughter one week. And in the first year of 2122 A.M.
 the third week he said unto him: 'Give me my wife, for whom I have served thee seven years'; and
 3 Laban said unto Jacob: 'I will give thee thy wife.' And Laban made a feast, and took Leah his
 elder daughter, and gave (her) to Jacob as a wife, and gave her Zilpah his handmaid for an hand-
 4 maid; and Jacob did not know, for he thought that she was Rachel. And he went in unto her, and
 behold, she was Leah; and Jacob was angry with Laban, and said unto him: 'Why hast thou dealt
 thus with me? Did not I serve thee for Rachel and not for Leah? Why hast thou wronged me?
 5 Take thy daughter, and I will go; for thou hast done evil to me.' For Jacob loved Rachel more
 than Leah; for Leah's eyes were weak, but her form was very handsome; but Rachel had beautiful
 6 eyes and a beautiful and very handsome form. And Laban said to Jacob: 'It is not so done in our
 country, to give the younger before the elder.' And it is not right to do this; for thus it is ordained
 and written in the heavenly tablets, that no one should give his younger daughter before the elder—
 but the elder, one gives first and after her the younger—and the man who does so, they set down
 guilt against him in heaven, and none is righteous that does this thing, for this deed is evil before the

14. My sister: affectionate term for wife; cf. Tobit v. 21, vii. 15, viii. 4, 7; Song of Solomon iv. 9, 10, 12, v. 1. Compare Isaac's answer to Abimelech's men in Gen. xxvi. 7.

16. will be prospered: so Lat.; 'he will prosper', Eth.

17. on the upright path: Lat. So *b*, or perhaps 'upright in his way'.

19-27. Gen. xxviii. 10-22.

20. Add with Latin 'at his head'. Genesis has not 'under the tree'. This was probably an asherah.

25 a. MSS. corrupt; 'slept a sleep' emended to 'awoke from his sleep'.

XXVIII. Cf. Gen. xxx. 1, 17, 18, 21-29, xxx. 2, 43, xxxi. 1, 2.

6. No hint of this ordinance in tradition (Singer, Beer). Lev. xviii. 18 expressly forbade Jacob's conduct in marry-
 ing both sisters. Cf. Justin, *Dial. Trypho*. 134.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 28. 7-30

7 Lord. And command thou the children of Israel that they do not this thing; let them neither take
8 nor give the younger before they have given the elder, for it is very wicked. And Laban said to
Jacob: 'Let the seven days of the feast of this one pass by, and I shall give thee Rachel, that thou
mayst serve me another seven years, that thou mayst pasture my sheep as thou didst in the former
9 week.' And on the day when the seven days of the feast of Leah had passed, Laban gave Rachel
to Jacob, that he might serve him another seven years, and he gave to Rachel Bilhah, the sister of
10 Zilpah, as a handmaid. And he served yet other seven years for Rachel, for Leah had been given
to him for nothing. And the Lord opened the womb of Leah, and she conceived and bare Jacob
11 a son, and he called his name Reuben, on the fourteenth day of the ninth month, in the first year of 2122 A.M.
the third week. But the womb of Rachel was closed, for the Lord saw that Leah was hated and
12 Rachel loved. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare Jacob a second son,
13 and he called his name Simeon, on the twenty-first of the tenth month, and in the third year of this 2124 A.M.
week. And again Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare him a third son, and he
14 called his name Levi, in the new moon of the first month in the sixth year of this week. And again 2127 A.M.
Jacob went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a fourth son, and he called his name Judah,
15 on the fifteenth of the third month, in the †first† year of the †fourth† week. And on account of all 2129 A.M.
this Rachel envied Leah, for she did not bear, and she said to Jacob: 'Give me children'; and Jacob
16 said: 'Have I withheld from thee the fruits of thy womb? Have I forsaken thee?' And when Rachel
17 saw that Leah had borne four sons to Jacob, Reuben and Simeon and Levi and Judah, she said unto
him: 'Go in unto Bilhah my handmaid, and she will conceive, and bear a son unto me.' (And she
gave (him) Bilhah her handmaid to wife). And he went in unto her, and she conceived, and bare
18 him a son, and he called his name Dan, on the ninth of the sixth month, in the †sixth† year of the 2127 A.M.
†third† week. And Jacob went in again unto Bilhah a second time, and she conceived, and bare
19 Jacob another son, and Rachel called his name Naphtali, on the fifth of the seventh month, in the 2130 A.M.
second year of the fourth week. And when Leah saw that she had become sterile and did not bear,
20 she envied Rachel, and she also gave her handmaid Zilpah to Jacob to wife, and she conceived, and
bare a son, and Leah called his name Gad, on the twelfth of the eighth month, in the third year of 2131 A.M.
the fourth week. And he went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare him a second son, and
21 Leah called his name Asher, on the second of the eleventh month, in the †fifth† year of the fourth 2133 A.M.
week. And Jacob went in unto Leah, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his name
22 Issachar, on the fourth of the fifth month, in the †fourth† year of the fourth week, and she gave him 2132 A.M.
to a nurse. And Jacob went in again unto her, and she conceived, and bare two (children), a son
23 and a daughter, and she called the name of the son Zabulon, and the name of the daughter Dinah, 2134 A.M.
24 in the seventh of the seventh month, in the sixth year of the fourth week. And the Lord was
gracious to Rachel, and opened her womb, and she conceived, and bare a son, and she called his 2134 A.M.
25 name Joseph, on the new moon of the fourth month, in the †sixth† year in this fourth week. And
in the days when Joseph was born, Jacob said to Laban: 'Give me my wives and sons, and let me
26 go to my father Isaac, and let me make me an house; for I have completed the years in which I
have served thee for thy two daughters, and I will go to the house of my father.' And Laban said
to Jacob: '†Tarry with me for thy wages†, and pasture my flock for me again, and take thy wages.'
27 And they agreed with one another that he should give him as his wages those of the lambs and kids
28 which were born **black** and spotted and †white†, (these) were to be his wages. And all the sheep
brought forth spotted and **speckled and black, variously marked**, and they brought forth again
lambs like themselves, and all that were spotted were Jacob's and those which were not were
29 Laban's. And Jacob's possessions multiplied exceedingly, and he possessed oxen and sheep and
30 asses and camels, and menservants and maid-servants. And Laban and his sons envied Jacob, and
Laban took back his sheep from him, and he observed him with evil intent.

8. Rachel given to Jacob as soon as Leah's wedding feast (seven days) was over.

9. **Zilpah** and **Bilhah**: sisters, as in Test. Naph. i.

11-24. Twelve sons of Jacob, as in Gen. xxix. 32-4, xxx. 1-24, xxxv. 17-18. In date of birth, all lists differ. Various explanations are given. Cf. also Syncell. i. 198; Fabric. i. 749-54; Rönsch, 327-9. See Test. XII Patriarchs passim; Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 21. See my Comm. 170-2.

18. () added from Lat. and Gen. xxx. 4.

26. **tarry with me for thy wages**: 'expecta me in mercede', Lat. Both seem wrong. Gen. xxx. 28 has 'Appoint (נָקַדְתָּ) me thy wages'.

27-28. See my Eth. text for emendations.

27. Read 'speckled' for 'white'.

29. **and sheep**: only in LXX of Gen. xxx. 43.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 29. 1-20

Jacob departs secretly, 1-4. Laban pursues after him, 5-6. Covenant of Jacob and Laban, 7-8. Abodes of the Amorites (anciently of the Rephaim) destroyed in the time of the writer, 9-11. Laban departs, 12. Jacob is reconciled to Esau, 13. Jacob sends supplies of food to his parents four times a year to Hebron, 14-17, 19-20. Esau marries again, 18. (Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 19, 21, 23, 24, 46, 47; xxxii. 22; xxxiii. 10, 16.)

- 29** ¹ And it came to pass when Rachel had borne Joseph, that Laban went to shear his sheep; for they ² were distant from him a three days' journey. And Jacob saw that Laban was going to shear his sheep, and Jacob called Leah and Rachel, and spake kindly unto them that they should come with ³ him to the land of Canaan. For he told them how he had seen everything in a dream, even all that He had spoken unto him that he should return to his father's house; and they said: 'To every place ⁴ whither thou goest we will go with thee.' And Jacob blessed the God of Isaac his father, and the God of Abraham his father's father, and he arose and mounted his wives and his children, and took all his possessions and crossed the river, and came to the land of Gilead, and Jacob hid his intention ⁵ from Laban and told him not. And in the seventh year of the fourth week Jacob turned (his face) ^{2135 A.M.} toward Gilead in the first month, on the twenty-first thereof. And Laban pursued after him and ⁶ overtook Jacob in the mountain of Gilead in the third month, on the thirteenth thereof. And the Lord did not suffer him to injure Jacob; for he appeared to him in a dream by night. And Laban ⁷ spake to Jacob. And on the fifteenth of those days Jacob made a feast for Laban, and for all who came with him, and Jacob sware to Laban that day, and Laban also to Jacob, that neither should ⁸ cross the mountain of Gilead to the other with evil purpose. And he made there a heap for ⁹ a witness; wherefore the name of that place is called: 'The Heap of Witness,' after this heap. But before they used to call the land of Gilead the land of the Rephaim; for it was the land of the Rephaim, and the Rephaim were born (there), giants whose height was ten, nine, eight down to ¹⁰ seven cubits. And their habitation was from the land of the children of Ammon to Mount Hermon, ¹¹ and the seats of their kingdom were Karnaim and Ashtaroth, and Edrei, and Mîsûr, and Beon. And the Lord destroyed them because of the evil of their deeds; for they were very malignant, and the Amorites dwelt in their stead, wicked and sinful, and there is no people to-day which has wrought ¹² to the full all their sins, and they have no longer length of life on the earth. And Jacob sent away Laban, and he departed into Mesopotamia, the land of the East, and Jacob returned to the land of ¹³ Gilead. And he passed over the Jabbok in the ninth month, on the eleventh thereof. And on that day Esau, his brother, came to him, and he was reconciled to him, and departed from him unto ¹⁴ the land of Seir, but Jacob dwelt in tents. And in the first year of the fifth week in this jubilee he ^{2136 A.M.} crossed the Jordan, and dwelt beyond the Jordan, and he pastured his sheep from the sea †of the ¹⁵ heap† unto Bethshan, and unto Dothan and unto the †forest† of Akrabbim. And he sent to his father Isaac of all his substance, clothing, and food, and meat, and drink, and milk, and butter, and ¹⁶ cheese, and some dates of the valley, And to his mother Rebecca also four times a year, between the times of the months, between ploughing and reaping, and between autumn and the rain (season) ¹⁷ and between winter and spring, to the tower of Abraham. For Isaac had returned from the Well of the Oath and gone up to the tower of his father Abraham, and he dwelt there apart from his son ¹⁸ Esau. For in the days when Jacob went to Mesopotamia, Esau took to himself a wife Mahalath, the daughter of Ishmael, and he gathered together all the flocks of his father and his wives, and went ¹⁹ up and dwelt on Mount Seir, and left Isaac his father at the Well of the Oath alone. And Isaac went up from the Well of the Oath and dwelt in the tower of Abraham his father on the mountains ²⁰ of Hebron, And thither Jacob sent all that he did send to his father and his mother from time to time, all they needed, and they blessed Jacob with all their heart and with all their soul.

XXIX. 1-6. Cf. Gen. xxxi. 3, 4, 10, 13, 19, 20, 21, 24.

4. *hid.* As LXX and Onk. Mass., Sam., Syr. = 'stole'.

7-8. Gen. xxxi. 46, 47.

7. *to the other.* See Eth. text.

9 foll. Places mentioned are scenes of great Maccabean victories. Cf. 1 Macc. v. 26, 43, 44; 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26.

Rephaim (Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. iii. 11); **Edrei**: Og's capital (Joshua xii. 4, xiii. 12, 31); **Mîsûr** (Deut. iii. 10; Joshua xv. 8); **Beon** (Num. xxxii. 3, destroyed by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc. v. 4, 5); **Bethshan** (1 Macc. v. 52, xii. 40) = 'Scythopolis' (cf. 2 Macc. xii. 29), friendly to the Maccabees; **Dothan** (Gen. xxxvii. 17; Judith iv. 6, vii. 3); **the forest of Akrabbim**.—Read 'the ascent' of Akrabbim (Numb. xxxiv. 4; Joshua xv. 3).

13. *passed . . . Jabbok.* Gen. xxxii. 22. *on the eleventh thereof.* Lat. has 'et undecim filii ipsius'.

he was reconciled. So Lat. Eth. easily emended.

15-16. Another proof of Jacob's filial piety.

16. *rain* is 'former rain'; falls from middle of October to middle of December.

between winter and spring = the latter rain in March and April.

18. Put in to show Esau's selfishness.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 30. 1-13

Dinah ravished, 1-3. Slaughter of the Shechemites, 4-6. Laws against intermarriage between Israel and the heathen, 7-17. Levi chosen for the priesthood on account of his slaughter of the Shechemites, 18-23. Dinah recovered, 24. Jacob's reproof, 25-6. (Cf. Gen. xxxiii. 18, xxxiv. 2, 4, 7, 13-14, 25-30, xxxv. 5.)

30 ¹ And in the first year of the sixth week he went up to Salem, to the east of Shechem, in peace, in ² the fourth month. And there they carried off Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, into the house of Shechem, the son of Hamor, the Hivite, the prince of the land, and he lay with her and defiled her, ³ and she was a little girl, a child of twelve years. And he besought his father and her brothers that she might be given to him to wife. And Jacob and his sons were wroth because of the men of Shechem; for they had defiled Dinah, their sister, and they spake to them with evil intent and dealt ⁴ deceitfully with them and beguiled them. And Simeon and Levi came unexpectedly to Shechem and executed judgment on all the men of Shechem, and slew all the men whom they found in it, and left not a single one remaining in it: they slew all in torments because they had dishonoured ⁵ their sister Dinah. And thus let it not again be done from henceforth that a daughter of Israel be defiled; for judgment is ordained in heaven against them that they should destroy with the sword ⁶ all the men of the Shechemites because they had wrought shame in Israel. And the Lord delivered them into the hands of the sons of Jacob that they might exterminate them with the sword and execute judgment upon them, and that it might not thus again be done in Israel that a virgin of ⁷ Israel should be defiled. And if there is any man who wishes in Israel to give his daughter or his sister to any man who is of the seed of the Gentiles he shall surely die, and they shall stone him with stones; for he hath wrought shame in Israel; and they shall burn the woman with fire, because ⁸ she has dishonoured the name of the house of her father, and she shall be rooted out of Israel. And let not an adulteress and no uncleanness be found in Israel throughout all the days of the generations of the earth; for Israel is holy unto the Lord, and every man who has defiled (it) shall surely die: ⁹ they shall stone him with stones. For thus has it been ordained and written in the heavenly tablets regarding all the seed of Israel: he who defileth (it) shall surely die, and he shall be stoned with ¹⁰ stones. And to this law there is no limit of days, and no remission, nor any atonement: but the man who has defiled his daughter shall be rooted out in the midst of all Israel, because he has given ¹¹ of his seed to Moloch, and wrought impiously so as to defile it. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel and exhort them not to give their daughters to the Gentiles, and not to take ¹² for their sons any of the daughters of the Gentiles, for this is abominable before the Lord. For this reason I have written for thee in the words of the Law all the deeds of the Shechemites, which they wrought against Dinah, and how the sons of Jacob spake, saying: 'We will not give our daughter ¹³ to a man who is uncircumcised; for that were a reproach unto us.' And it is a reproach to Israel, to those who give, and to those that take the daughters of the Gentiles; for this is unclean and

XXX. 1. to Salem . . . in peace combines interpretations of all versions of Gen. xxxiii. 18 where Sam. reads שלום.

1-3. Gen. xxiv. 2-13.

2. child of twelve. Cf. Test. Levi xii. 5 and Jub. xxviii. 14, 23; which together make her eleven.

2-6. The history of Jacob's connexion with the Shechemites caused much trouble to our author. He could hardly approve of their slaughter after they had consented to circumcision. Accordingly he omits all reference to the circumcision of the Shechemites, as also does Josephus (*Ant.* i. 21. 1). On the other hand, this is given as the reason for Jacob's anger against Simeon and Levi in Test. Levi vi: καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ πατήρ, καὶ ὠργίσθη, καὶ ἐλυπήθη, ὅτι κατεδέξαντο τὴν περιτομὴν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπέθανον. Notwithstanding the severe disapprobation of Simeon and Levi in Gen. xlix. 5-7 for their conduct in this matter, it was highly extolled in the two centuries preceding the Christian era. This is done in our text and in Test. Levi v, where the angel bids Levi ποιήσων ἐκδίκησιν ἐν Συχέμ ὑπὲρ Δίνας, καὶ γὰρ ἔσομαι μετὰ σου, ὅτι κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με. καὶ συνετέλεσα τῷ καιρῷ ἐκεῖνῳ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἑμώρ, καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς πλαξὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν: and in the Test. Levi vi-vii, where Levi says that he saw that 'the sentence of God had gone forth for evil against Shechem', and still more strongly: ἔφθασε δὲ ἡ ὀργὴ κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τέλος. Again in Judith (a Hebrew work of the first cent. B.C.) ix. 2: κύριε ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς μου Συμεών, ὃ ἔδωκας ἐν χειρὶ βομφαίαν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἀλλογενῶν, οἱ ἔλυσαν μήτραν παρθένου εἰς μίasma καὶ ἐγύνωσαν μηρὸν εἰς αἰσχύνην, κτλ. Again in Philo, *De Migr. Abrahami*, 39, Simeon and Levi are called οἱ φρονήσεως ἀκουσταὶ καὶ γνώριμοι for their action in this matter, and in the next few lines it is implied that Shechem was not circumcised. See also the Book of Jashar for a reproduction of the ancient favourable view of Simeon and Levi (*Dict. des Apocr.* ii. 1166-8). In the late rabbinic tradition, however, Simeon and Levi are judged more in accordance with the sentence pronounced upon them in Gen. xlix. In Gen. rabba 80, it is true, there is some extenuation of their conduct; but in section 98 of the same work it is said that the fact that most of the poor were of the tribe of Simeon is to be traced to the curse in Gen. xlix. 7. Singer (p. 115 note) compares also Sifre on Deut. xxxiii. 8.

7. Cf. xli. 17. To our author, marriage with a Gentile was no better than fornication. To give your daughter to a non-Israelite was to give her 'to Moloch', and merited the same penalty, i.e. death by stoning. Cf. Lev. xx. 2. A woman was to be treated as Tamar was threatened in Gen. xxxviii or a priest's daughter commanded in Lev. xxi. 9.

10. given . . . to Moloch. Cf. Ps.-Jon. on Lev. xviii. 21; Sanh. 82 a; Megill. 25 a. Perhaps this dates from Maccabean Age, when extreme measures were needed. Contrast Megill. iv. 9.

11. for their sons. So Latin. > b c d. a = αὐτοί, i.e. *lat'hōmā*, corrupt for *lawēl'hōmā*, = 'for their sons'.

12. we will not. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 14.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 30. 14—31. 2

14 abominable to Israel. And Israel will not be free from this uncleanness if it has a wife of the daughters of the Gentiles, or has given any of its daughters to a man who is of any of the Gentiles.
15 For there will be plague upon plague, and curse upon curse, and every judgment and plague and curse will come (upon him): if he do this thing, or hide his eyes from those who commit uncleanness, or those who defile the sanctuary of the Lord, or those who profane His holy name, (then) will the
16 whole nation together be judged for all the uncleanness and profanation of this man. And there will be no respect of persons [and no consideration of persons], and no receiving at his hands of fruits and offerings and burnt-offerings and fat, nor the fragrance of sweet savour, so as to accept it: and
17 so fare every man or woman in Israel who defiles the sanctuary. For this reason I have commanded thee, saying: 'Testify this testimony to Israel: see how the Shechemites fared and their sons: how they were delivered into the hands of two sons of Jacob, and they slew them under tortures, and it
18 was (reckoned) unto them for righteousness, and it is written down to them for righteousness. And the seed of Levi was chosen for the priesthood, and to be Levites, that they might minister before the Lord, as we, continually, and that Levi and his sons may be blessed for ever; for he was zealous
19 to execute righteousness and judgment and vengeance on all those who arose against Israel. And so they inscribe as a testimony in his favour on the heavenly tablets blessing and righteousness before
20 the God of all: And we remember the righteousness which the man fulfilled during his life, at all periods of the year; until a thousand generations they will record it, and it will come to him and to his descendants after him, and he has been recorded on the heavenly tablets as a friend and a righteous
21 man. All this account I have written for thee, and have commanded thee to say to the children of Israel, that they should not commit sin nor transgress the ordinances nor break the covenant which
22 has been ordained for them, (but) that they should fulfil it and be recorded as friends. But if they transgress and work uncleanness in every way, they will be recorded on the heavenly tablets as adversaries, and they will be destroyed out of the book of life, and they will be recorded in the book of
23 those who will be destroyed and with those who will be rooted out of the earth. And on the day when the sons of Jacob slew Shechem a writing was recorded in their favour in heaven that they had executed righteousness and uprightness and vengeance on the sinners, and it was written for a blessing.
24 And they brought Dinah, their sister, out of the house of Shechem, and they took captive everything that was in Shechem, their sheep and their oxen and their asses, and all their wealth, and all their
25 flocks, and brought them all to Jacob their father. And he reproached them because they had put the city to the sword; for he feared those who dwelt in the land, the Canaanites and the Perizzites.
26 And the dread of the Lord was upon all the cities which are around about Shechem, and they did not rise to pursue after the sons of Jacob; for terror had fallen upon them.

Jacob goes to Bethel to offer sacrifice, 1-3 (cf. Gen. xxxv. 2-4, 7, 14). Isaac blesses Levi, 4-17, and Judah, 18-22. Jacob recounts to Isaac how God prospered him, 24. Jacob goes to Bethel with Rebecca and Deborah, 26-30. Jacob blesses the God of his fathers, 31-2.

31 1 And on the new moon of the month Jacob spake to all the people of his house, saying: 'Purify yourselves and change your garments, and let us arise and go up to Bethel, where I vowed a vow to Him on the day when I fled from the face of Esau my brother, because he has been with me and
2 brought me into this land in peace, and put ye away the strange gods that are among you.' And they gave up the strange gods and that which was in their ears and which was †on their necks,† and the idols which Rachel stole from Laban her father she gave wholly to Jacob. And he burnt

14. Based on Lev. xx. 2-4.

15. <upon him> from Latin.

whole nation: an extension of the area of guilt to justify the massacre; cf. charges in Test. Levi vi against the Shechemites in general.

profanation of this man = Lat. Eth. = 'this profanation'.

16. [] dittography; Latin omits.

18. for he was zealous, &c. Contrast xxxii. 3 (Levi became priest as the tenth son); Test. Levi iv (in answer to his prayer); Shem. Rabb. 19 (the Levites' constancy in Egypt in retaining circumcision). Cf. Weber, *J. T.*² 309, Singer (115 note) for different motives for God's choice of Levi.

22. transgress: Latin + *testamentum*. book of life: cf. 1 En. xlvii. 3. Latin has 'of destructions' instead of 'of those who will be destroyed'.

24. Gen. xxxiii. 26, 28.

25. reproached: needed by sense of context for 'spake to them' (Eth. and Latin); cf. Test. Levi vi. 6.

26. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 5.

XXXI. 1, 2. Gen. xxxv. 2-4.

2. gave up (*maṭawēwōmā*) emended from *masawēwōmā*, 'melted'.

on their necks. Read perhaps 'in their hands'. If so, take 'which were in their hands' after 'gods'.

her father (*abāhā*): for 'her brother' (*ēhāhā*).

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 31. 2-17

and brake them to pieces and destroyed them, and hid them under an oak which is in the land of
3 Shechem. And he went up on the new moon of the seventh month to Bethel. And he built an
altar at the place where he had slept, and he set up a pillar there, and he sent word to his father
4 Isaac to come to him to his sacrifice, and to his mother Rebecca. And Isaac said: 'Let my son
5 Jacob come, and let me see him before I die.' And Jacob went to his father Isaac and
to his mother Rebecca, to the house of his father Abraham, and he took two of his sons
with him, Levi and Judah, and he came to his father Isaac and to his mother Rebecca.
6 And Rebecca came forth from the tower to the front of it to kiss Jacob and embrace
him; for her spirit had revived when she heard: 'Behold Jacob thy son has come'; and she kissed
7 him. And she saw his two sons, and she recognised them, and said unto him: 'Are these thy sons,
my son?' and she embraced them and kissed them, and blessed them, saying: 'In you shall the
8 seed of Abraham become illustrious, and ye shall prove a blessing on the earth.' And Jacob went in
to Isaac his father, to the chamber where he lay, and his two sons were with him, and he took the
hand of his father, and stooping down he kissed him, and Isaac clung to the neck of Jacob his son,
9 and wept upon his neck. And the darkness left the eyes of Isaac, and he saw the two sons of Jacob,
10 Levi, and Judah, and he said: 'Are these thy sons, my son? for they are like thee.' And he said
unto him that they were truly his sons: 'And thou hast truly seen that they are †truly† my sons'.
11 And they came near to him, and he turned and kissed them and embraced them **both** together.
12 And the spirit of prophecy came down into his mouth, and he took Levi by his right hand and
13 Judah by his left. And he turned to Levi first, and began to bless him first, and said unto him:
'May the God of all, the very Lord of all the ages, bless thee and thy children throughout all the
14 ages. And may the Lord give to thee and to thy seed †greatness and great glory†, and cause thee
and thy seed, from among all flesh, to approach Him to serve in His sanctuary as the angels of the
presence and as the holy ones. (Even) as they, shall the seed of thy sons be for glory and greatness
15 and holiness, and may He make them great unto all the ages. And they shall be judges and princes,
and chiefs of all the seed of the sons of Jacob;

They shall speak the word of the Lord in righteousness,
And they shall judge all His judgments in righteousness.

And they shall declare My ways to Jacob
And My paths to Israel.

The blessing of the Lord shall be given in their mouths
To bless all the seed of the beloved.

16 Thy mother has called thy name Levi,
And justly has she called thy name;
Thou shalt be joined to the Lord
And be the companion of all the sons of Jacob;
Let His table be thine,
And do thou and thy sons eat thereof;
And may thy table be full unto all generations,
And thy food fail not unto all the ages.
17 And let all who hate thee fall down before thee,
And let all thy adversaries be rooted out and perish;

3, 4. Cf. Test. Levi ix.

5. Last meeting with Isaac and Rebecca, unknown to later Haggada.

10. **truly**: Lat. has 'father'. So read 'abbā in Eth. for 'amān.

11. **both**: Lat. *utrosque*. Eth. *kuëllōmā* corrupt for *kēl'ēhōmu*. Cf. xxii. 3.

13. Cf. Test. Levi ix.

14. † † Lat. = 'great seed to understand His glory.'

holy ones here = 'angels of sanctification'; cf. ii. 2, 18, xv. 27. Cf. Test. Levi iii (Arm.) for one or two orders of ministering angels.

may He make them great: Latin *sanctificabit*.

15. Describes early Maccabean princes (kings as well as priests); cf. Test. Levi viii. The latter passage refers to John Hyrcanus. Cf. Bousset, *ZNTW*, 1900, 165; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 10. 7.

the blessing of the Lord shall be given in their mouths: cf. Sir. l. 20, Test. Reub. vi.

16. Cf. Gen. xxix. 34; Numb. xviii. 2-4, play on words. The Lat. has instead of 'joined to the Lord' *ad decorem Dei* = לְיוֹרָה 'a crown'.

Let His table be thine: cf. Test. Judah xxi; Test. Levi viii.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 31. 17—32. 1

- And blessed be he that blesses thee,
And cursed be every nation that curses thee.'
- 18 And to Judah he said:
'May the Lord give thee strength and power
To tread down all that hate thee;
A prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons, over the sons of Jacob;
May thy name and the name of thy sons go forth and traverse every land and region.
Then shall the Gentiles fear before thy face,
And all the nations shall quake
[And all the peoples shall quake].
- 19 In thee shall be the help of Jacob,
And in thee be found the salvation of Israel.
- 20 And when thou sittest on the throne of honour of thy righteousness
There shall be great peace for all the seed of the sons of the beloved;
Blessed be he that blesseth thee,
And all that hate thee and afflict thee and curse thee
Shall be rooted out and destroyed from the earth and be accursed.'
- 21 And turning he kissed him again and embraced him, and rejoiced greatly; for he had seen the
22 sons of Jacob his son in very truth. And he went forth from between his feet and fell down and
bowed down to him, and he blessed them and rested there with Isaac his father that night, and they
23 eat and drank with joy. And he made the two sons of Jacob sleep, the one on his right hand and the
24 other on his left, and it was counted to him for righteousness. And Jacob told his father everything
during the night, how the Lord had shown him great mercy, and how he had prospered (him in) all
25 his ways, and protected him from all evil. And Isaac blessed the God of his father Abraham, who
26 had not withdrawn his mercy and his righteousness from the sons of his servant Isaac. And in the
morning Jacob told his father Isaac the vow which he had vowed to the Lord, and the vision which
he had seen, and that he had built an altar, and that everything was ready for the sacrifice to be
27 made before the Lord as he had vowed, and that he had come to set him on an ass. And Isaac said
unto Jacob his son: 'I am not able to go with thee; for I am old and not able to bear the way: go,
my son, in peace; for I am one hundred and sixty-five years this day; I am no longer able to
28 journey; set thy mother (on an ass) and let her go with thee. And I know, my son, that thou hast
come on my account, and may this day be blessed on which thou hast seen me alive, and I also have
29 seen thee, my son. Mayest thou prosper and fulfil the vow which thou hast vowed; and put not off
thy vow; for thou shalt be called to account as touching the vow; now therefore make haste to
perform it, and may He be pleased who has made all things, to whom thou hast vowed the vow.'
- 30 And he said to Rebecca: 'Go with Jacob thy son'; and Rebecca went with Jacob her son, and
31 Deborah with her, and they came to Bethel. And Jacob remembered the prayer with which his
father had blessed him and his two sons, Levi and Judah, and he rejoiced and blessed the God of his
32 fathers, Abraham and Isaac. And he said: 'Now I know that I have an eternal hope, and my sons
also, before the God of all'; and thus is it ordained concerning the two; and they record it as an
eternal testimony unto them on the heavenly tablets how Isaac blessed them.

Levi's dream at Bethel, 1. Levi chosen to the priesthood, as the tenth son, 2-3. Jacob celebrates the feast of tabernacles and offers tithes through Levi: also the second tithe, 4-9. Law of tithes ordained, 10-15. Jacob's visions in which Jacob reads on the heavenly tablets his own future and that of his descendants, 16-26. Celebrates the eighth day of feast of tabernacles, 27-9. Death of Deborah, 30. Birth of Benjamin and death of Rachel, 33-4. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 8, 10, 11, 13, 16-20.)

- 32 1 And he abode that night at Bethel, and Levi dreamed that they had ordained and made him the priest of the Most High God, him and his sons for ever; and he awoke from his sleep and blessed
- 18-19. Cf. Test. Levi xviii; Reub. vi: Signs of Messiah's coming. As in 1 En. xc He has no active part to play, but springs from Judah ('one of thy sons'). This seems to be the earliest instance of the presence of a Messiah in a temporary Messianic kingdom; cf. xxiii. 30.
18. thy name: i.e. that of the Jewish people. [] bracketed as dittography.
20. honour . . . peace. So *db*. But *c* reads 'honour; thy righteousness shall be great peace'.

XXXII. Cf. Test. Levi v, viii, ix.

1. priest of the Most High God: title assumed by the Maccabean priest-kings; cf. Ass. Mos. vi. 1; Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2; Ps. cx. 1-4 (acrostic on Simon as Bickell has shown); Rosh-ha-Shanah 18 *b*. See Test. Levi viii. 14.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 32. 2-24

2 the Lord. And Jacob rose early in the morning, on the fourteenth of this month, and he gave a
 tithe of all that came with him, both of men and cattle, both of gold and every vessel and garment,
 3 yea, he gave tithes of all. And in those days Rachel became pregnant with her son Benjamin.
 And Jacob counted his sons from him upwards and Levi fell to the portion of the Lord, and his
 4 father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood and filled his hands. And on the fifteenth of
 this month, he brought to the altar fourteen oxen from amongst the cattle, and twenty-eight rams,
 and forty-nine sheep, and **seven** lambs, and **twenty-one** kids of the goats as a burnt-offering on the
 5 **altar of sacrifice**, well pleasing for a sweet savour before God. This was his offering, in consequence
 of the vow which he had vowed that he would give a tenth, with their fruit-offerings and their drink-
 6 offerings. And when the fire had consumed it, he burnt incense on the fire over the fire, and for a
 thank-offering two oxen and four rams and four sheep, four he-goats, and two sheep of a year old,
 7 and two kids of the goats; and thus he did daily for seven days. And he and all his sons and his
 men were eating (this) with joy there during seven days and blessing and thanking the Lord, who
 8 had delivered him out of all his tribulation and had given him his vow. And he tithed all the clean
 animals, and made a burnt sacrifice, but the unclean animals he gave (not) to Levi his son, and he
 9 gave him all the souls of the men. And Levi discharged the priestly office at Bethel before Jacob
 his father in preference to his ten brothers, and he was a priest there, and Jacob gave his vow: thus
 10 he tithed again the tithe to the Lord and sanctified it, and it became holy unto Him. And for this
 reason it is ordained on the heavenly tablets as a law for the tithing again the tithe to eat before the
 Lord from year to year, in the place where it is chosen that His name should dwell, and to this law
 11 there is no limit of days for ever. This ordinance is written that it may be fulfilled from year to
 year in eating the second tithe before the Lord in the place where it has been chosen, and nothing
 12 shall remain over from it from this year to the year following. For in its year shall the seed be
 eaten till the days of the gathering of the seed of the year, and the wine till the days of the wine,
 13 and the oil till the days of its season. And all that is left thereof and becomes old, let it be regarded
 14 as polluted: let it be burnt with fire, for it is unclean. And thus let them eat it together in the
 15 sanctuary, and let them not suffer it to become old. And all the tithes of the oxen and sheep shall
 be holy unto the Lord, and shall belong to his priests, which they will eat before Him from year to
 16 year; for thus is it ordained and engraven regarding the tithe on the heavenly tablets. And on the
 following night, on the twenty-second day of this month, Jacob resolved to build that place, and to
 surround the court with a wall, and to sanctify it and make it holy for ever, for himself and his children
 17 after him. And the Lord appeared to him by night and blessed him and said unto him: 'Thy name
 18 shall not be called Jacob, but Israel shall they name thy name.' And He said unto him again: 'I
 am the Lord who created the heaven and the earth, and I will increase thee and multiply thee
 exceedingly, and kings shall come forth from thee, and they shall judge everywhere wherever the foot
 19 of the sons of men has trodden. And I will give to thy seed all the earth which is under heaven,
 and they shall judge all the nations according to their desires, and after that they shall get possession
 20 of the whole earth and inherit it for ever.' And He finished speaking with him, and He went up
 21 from him, and Jacob looked till He had ascended into heaven. And he saw in a vision of the night,
 and behold an angel descended from heaven with seven tablets in his hands, and he gave them to
 Jacob, and he read them and **knew** all that was written therein which would befall him and his sons
 22 throughout all the ages. And he showed him all that was written on the tablets, and said unto him:
 'Do not build this place, and do not make it an eternal sanctuary, and do not dwell here; for this is
 not the place. Go to the house of Abraham thy father and dwell with Isaac thy father until the day
 23 of the death of thy father. For in Egypt thou shalt die in peace, and in this land thou shalt be buried
 24 with honour in the sepulchre of thy fathers, with Abraham and Isaac. Fear not, for as thou hast
 seen and read it, thus shall it all be; and do thou write down everything as thou hast seen and read.'

3. Known to Syncell. i. 200; probably to Cedren. i. 60; new version in P. R. Eliezer, xxxvii.

filled his hands: a technical expression, as Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9.

4. Celebration of Feast of 'Tabernacles' differs from Lev. xxiii. 34-44 and Numb. xxix. 12-40.

seven lambs: Lat. *septem*; Eth. = sixty, but the heptadic system is here followed.

twenty-one: Lat.; Eth. = twenty-nine (*évvéa* for *éva*).

altar of sacrifice: i.e. *meshwá'á querbân* emended according to Lat. *altarium fructuum* from *meshwá'á querbâna* (a).

8. Corrects Test. Levi ix. Unclean animals are excepted.

9 **tithed**, &c.: Numb. xviii. 26.

10. **eat before the Lord**: cf. Deut. xiv. 22; Tobit i. 7.

15. **tithes of the oxen and sheep**: cf. Lev. xxvii. 32; 2 Chron. xxxi. 6. These tithes were unknown to Nehemiah, Neh. x. 37-9; xii. 44-7, xiii. 5, 12, and were limited to yearly increase by later Rabbis. Cf. Rosh-ha-Shanah, i.

17-20. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 10-13. 19 is a great exaggeration of Gen. xxxv. 12.

21. **tablets**: cf. 4 Ezra xiv. 24.

knew: emended with Latin. Text = 'read.' Both words may be dittographic renderings of ἀνέγνω.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 32. 25—33. 14

25 And Jacob said: 'Lord, how can I remember all that I have read and seen?' And he said unto
26 him: 'I will bring all things to thy remembrance.' And he went up from him, and he awoke from
his sleep, and he remembered everything which he had read and seen, and he wrote down all the
27 words which he had read and seen. And he celebrated there yet another day, and he sacrificed
thereon according to all that he sacrificed on the former days, and called its name †'Addition,'† for
28 †this day was added,† and the former days he called 'The Feast'. And thus it was manifested that
it should be, and it is written on the heavenly tablets: wherefore it was revealed to him that he should
29 celebrate it, and add it to the seven days of the feast. And its name was called †'Addition,'†
†because that† it was recorded amongst the days of the feast days, †according to† the number of
30 the days of the year. And in the night, on the twenty-third of this month, Deborah Rebecca's nurse
died, and they buried her beneath the city under the oak of the river, and he called the name of this
31 place, 'The river of Deborah,' and the oak, 'The oak of the mourning of Deborah.' And Rebecca
went and returned to her house to his father Isaac, and Jacob sent by her hand rams and sheep and
32 he-goats that she should prepare a meal for his father such as he desired. And he went after his
33 mother till he came to the land of Kabrâtân, and he dwelt there. And Rachel bare a son in the
night, and called his name 'Son of my sorrow'; for she suffered in giving him birth: but his father
called his name Benjamin, on the eleventh of the eighth month in the first of the sixth week of this
34 jubilee. And Rachel died there and she was buried in the land of Ephrath, the same is Bethlehem, 2143 A.M.
and Jacob built a pillar on the grave of Rachel, on the road above her grave.

Reuben sins with Bilhah, 1-9 (cf. Gen xxxv. 21, 22). Laws regarding incest, 10-20. Jacob's children, 22. (Cf. Gen. xxxv. 23-7.)

33¹ And Jacob went and dwelt to the south of Magdalâdrâ'êf. And he went to his father Isaac, he
2 and Leah his wife, on the new moon of the tenth month. And Reuben saw Bilhah, Rachel's maid,
3 the concubine of his father, bathing in water in a secret place, and he loved her. And he hid himself
at night, and he entered the house of Bilhah [at night], and he found her sleeping alone on a bed in
4 her house. And he lay with her, and she awoke and saw, and behold Reuben was lying with her in
the bed, and she uncovered the border of her covering and seized him, and cried out, and discovered
5 that it was Reuben. And she was ashamed because of him, and released her hand from him, and he
6, 7 fled. And she lamented because of this thing exceedingly, and did not tell it to any one. And
when Jacob returned and sought her, she said unto him: 'I am not clean for thee, for I have been
defiled as regards thee; for Reuben has defiled me, and has lain with me in the night, and I was
8 asleep, and did not discover until he uncovered my skirt and slept with me.' And Jacob was
exceedingly wroth with Reuben because he had lain with Bilhah, because he had uncovered his
9 father's skirt. And Jacob did not approach her again because Reuben had defiled her. And as for
any man who uncovers his father's skirt his deed is wicked exceedingly, for he is abominable before
10 the Lord. For this reason it is written and ordained on the heavenly tablets that a man should not
lie with his father's wife, and should not uncover his father's skirt, for this is unclean: they shall
surely die together, the man who lies with his father's wife and the woman also, for they have
11 wrought uncleanness on the earth. And there shall be nothing unclean before our God in the nation
12 which He has chosen for Himself as a possession. And again, it is written a second time: 'Cursed
be he who lieth with the wife of his father, for he hath uncovered his father's shame'; and all the
13 holy ones of the Lord said 'So be it; so be it.' And do thou, Moses, command the children of
Israel that they observe this word; for it (entails) a punishment of death; and it is unclean, and
there is no atonement for ever to atone for the man who has committed this, but he is to be put to
death and slain, and stoned with stones, and rooted out from the midst of the people of our God.
14 For to no man who does so in Israel is it permitted to remain alive a single day on the earth, for he

25. Cf. John xiv. 26.

27. †Addition†. Perhaps ἐπίσχεσις in Greek was misread ἐπιθεσις, as Rönisch suggests. Latin has *retentatio*, 'a keeping back'. Cf. Chagiga, 18 a. The Hebrew is עֲצֵרֶת, really = 'sacred assembly'; cf. 2 Chron. vii. 9.

The Feast: as in Sukk. 42 b, 48 a, for 'the Feast of Tabernacles'.

29. because that = διότι = † = 'when'.

amongst the days: emended with Latin *in dies*. according to; † for † = 'in'.

30. Gen. xxxv. 8.

32-4. Gen. xxxv. 16, 18-20.

32. Kabrâtân = כְּבֵרֶת הָאֶרֶץ = 'some distance'. Cf. LXX, χαβραθά, i.e. כְּבֵרֶת taken as a proper name.

34. Gen. xxxv. 19; Jashar ii. 1172 adds that she was forty-five at her death.

XXXIII. 1. Magdalâdrâ'êf, 'tower of Eder of Ephrath' (Gen. xxxv. 21) compressed.

2. Cf. Test. Reub. iii. 11-14; Shabb. 55 b. Later Rabbis wholly denied Reuben's guilt.

8-10. Phrases from Deut. xxii. 30; Lev. xx. 11.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 33. 15—34. 8

15 is abominable and unclean. And let them not say: to Reuben was granted life and forgiveness after he had lain with his father's concubine, and to her also though she had a husband, and her husband
16 Jacob, his father, was still alive. For until that time there had not been revealed the ordinance and judgment and law in its completeness for all, but in thy days (it has been revealed) as a law of
17 seasons and of days, and an everlasting law for the everlasting generations. And for this law there is no consummation of days, and no atonement for it, but they must both be rooted out in the midst
18 of the nation: on the day whereon they committed it they shall slay them. And do thou, Moses, write (it) down for Israel that they may observe it, and do according to these words, and not commit a sin unto death; for the Lord our God is judge, who respects not persons and accepts not gifts.
19 And tell them these words of the covenant, that they may hear and observe, and be on their guard with respect to them, and not be destroyed and rooted out of the land; for an uncleanness, and an abomination, and a contamination, and a pollution are all they who commit it on the earth before
20 our God. And there is no greater sin than the fornication which they commit on earth; for Israel is a holy nation unto the Lord its God, and a nation of inheritance, and a priestly and royal nation and for (His own) possession; and there shall no such uncleanness appear in the midst of the holy
21 nation. And in the third year of this sixth week Jacob and all his sons went and dwelt in the house 2145 A.M.
22 of Abraham, near Isaac his father and Rebecca his mother. And these were the names of the sons of Jacob: the first-born Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zebulon, the sons of Leah; and the sons of Rachel, Joseph and Benjamin; and the sons of Bilhah, Dan and Naphtali; and the sons of Zilpah, Gad and Asher; and Dinah, the daughter of Leah, the only daughter of Jacob. And they
23 came and bowed themselves to Isaac and Rebecca, and when they saw them they blessed Jacob and all his sons, and Isaac rejoiced exceedingly, for he saw the sons of Jacob, his younger son, and he blessed them.

Warfare of the Amorite kings against Jacob and his sons, 1-9. Jacob sends Joseph to visit his brethren, 10. Joseph sold and carried down into Egypt, 11-12 (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 14, 17, 18, 25, 32-6). Deaths of Bilhah and Dinah, 15. Jacob mourns for Joseph, 13, 14, 17. Institution of Day of Atonement on day when news of Joseph's death arrived, 18-19. Wives of Jacob's sons, 20-1.

34 1 And in the sixth year of this week of this forty-fourth jubilee Jacob sent his sons to pasture their 2148 A.M.
2 sheep, and his servants with them to the pastures of Shechem. And the seven kings of the Amorites assembled themselves together against them, to slay them, hiding themselves under the trees, and
3 to take their cattle as a prey. And Jacob and Levi and Judah and Joseph were in the house with Isaac their father; for his spirit was sorrowful, and they could not leave him: and Benjamin was
4 the youngest, and for this reason remained with his father. And there came the king[s] of Tâphû, and the king[s] of †'Arêsa†, and the king[s] of Sêrâgân, and the king[s] of Sêlô, and the king[s] of Gâ'as, and the king of Bêthôrôn, and the king of †Ma'anisâkir†, and all those who dwell in these
5 mountains (and) who dwell in the woods in the land of Canaan. And they announced this to Jacob saying: 'Behold, the kings of the Amorites have surrounded thy sons, and plundered their herds.'
6 And he arose from his house, he and his three sons and all the servants of his father, and his own
7 servants, and he went against them with six thousand men, who carried swords. And he slew them in the pastures of Shechem, and pursued those who fled, and he slew them with the edge of the sword, and he slew †'Arêsa† and Tâphû and Sarêgân and Sêlô and †'Amânî-
8 sakir† and Gâ[gâ]'as, and he recovered his herds. And he prevailed over them, and imposed tribute on them that they should pay him tribute, five fruit products of their land, and he built Rôbêl

16. Theory of Romans iv. 15, that where there is no law there is no transgression.

and = *wa* emended from *ba*.

22. Cf. Gen. xxx. 23-7.

XXXIV. 2-8. Short outline of ancient legend of Jacob's wars, suggested, perhaps, by Maccabean victories. The germ is seen in Gen. xlviii. 22, developed in Targ. Jerusalem, Gen. rabb. 97, Baba Bathra 123 *a*. These changed 'sword and bow' into 'merits and good deeds'. Cf. Test. Jud. iii-vii, Midr. Wajjissau in 'Chronicles of Jerahmeel' (Gaster) 80-7, Jashar 1173-84. Proper names, whether of kings or of places, differ in all accounts; but there are almost invariably links of connexion, though place and personal names are hopelessly confused.

4. Tâphû = Tephon (1 Macc. ix. 50), Tappuah (Joshua xv. 53). 'Arêsa = Aser (Tobit i. 2) = Hazor (cf. 1 Macc. xi. 67), Sêlô = Shiloh. Gâ'as = Gaash (Joshua xxiv. 30). Bêthôrôn = Beth-Horon (1 Macc. iii. 13-24, vii. 39-47). Ma'anisâkir = not 'Shakir of Mahanaim' (so Midrash Wajjissau and Jashar probably read) but Mahanisakir, i.e. the Camps of Shakir—See Test. Jud. vi. 3 (note).

7. Shechem: Cf. Test. Jud. iv. 1.

8-9. Test. Jud. vii. has different version of the sequel. Rôbêl = Arbela in Jashar 1184 (cf. 1 Macc. ix. 2) Rabael in Test. Jud. vii. 9.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 34. 9—35. 7

9 and Tamnâtârês. And he returned in peace, and made peace with them, and they became his
10 servants, until the day that he and his sons went down into Egypt. And in the seventh year of this 2149 A.M.
week he sent Joseph to learn about the welfare of his brothers from his house to the land of Shechem,
11 and he found them in the land of Dothan. And they dealt treacherously with him, and formed
a plot against him to slay him, but changing their minds, they sold him to Ishmaelite merchants,
and they brought him down into Egypt, and they sold him to Potiphar, the eunuch of Pharaoh, the
12 †chief of the cooks†, priest of the city of 'Êlêw. And the sons of Jacob slaughtered a kid, and dipped
the coat of Joseph in the blood, and sent (it) to Jacob their father on the tenth of the seventh month.
13 And he mourned all that night, for they had brought it to him in the evening, and he became
feverish with mourning for his death, and he said: 'An evil beast hath devoured Joseph'; and all
the members of his house [mourned with him that day, and they] were grieving and mourning with
14 him all that day. And his sons and his daughter rose up to comfort him, but he refused to be
15 comforted for his son. And on that day Bilhah heard that Joseph had perished, and she died
mourning him, and she was living in †Qafrâtêf,† and Dinah also, his daughter, died after Joseph had
16 perished. And there came these three mournings upon Israel in one month. And they buried
17 Bilhah over against the tomb of Rachel, and Dinah also, his daughter, they buried there. And he
mourned for Joseph one year, and did not cease, for he said 'Let me go down to the grave mourning
18 for my son'. For this reason it is ordained for the children of Israel that they should afflict
themselves on the tenth of the seventh month—on the day that the news which made him weep for
Joseph came to Jacob his father—that they should make atonement for themselves thereon with
a young goat on the tenth of the seventh month, once a year, for their sins; for they had grieved the
19 affection of their father regarding Joseph his son. And this day has been ordained that they should
grieve thereon for their sins, and for all their transgressions and for all their errors, so that they
20 might cleanse themselves on that day once a year. And after Joseph perished, the sons of Jacob
took unto themselves wives. The name of Reuben's wife is 'Adâ; and the name of Simeon's wife
is 'Adîbâ'a, a Canaanite; and the name of Levi's wife is Mêlkâ, of the daughters of Aram, of the seed
of the sons of Terah; and the name of Judah's wife, Bêtasû'êl, a Canaanite; and the name of Issachar's
wife, Hêzaqâ; and the name of Zabulon's wife, †Nî'imân†; and the name of Dan's wife, 'Êglâ; and
the name of Naphtali's wife, Rasû'û, of Mesopotamia; and the name of Gad's wife, Mâka; and the
name of Asher's wife, 'Îjônâ; and the name of Joseph's wife, Asenath, the Egyptian; and the name
21 of Benjamin's wife, 'Îjasaka. And Simeon repented, and took a second wife from Mesopotamia as his
brothers.

*Rebecca's admonition to Jacob and his reply, 1–8. Rebecca asks Isaac to make Esau swear that he
will not injure Jacob, 9–12. Isaac consents, 13–17. Esau takes the oath and likewise Jacob,
18–26. Death of Rebecca, 27.*

35 1 And in the first year of the first week of the forty-fifth jubilee Rebecca called Jacob, her son, and 2157 A.M.
commanded him regarding his father and regarding his brother, that he should honour them all the
2 days of his life. And Jacob said: 'I will do everything as thou hast commanded me; for this thing
will be honour and greatness to me, and righteousness before the Lord, that I should honour them.
3 And thou too, mother, knowest from the time I was born until this day, all my deeds and all that is in
4 my heart, that I always think good concerning all. And how should I not do this thing which thou
5 hast commanded me, that I should honour my father and my brother! Tell me, mother, what
6 perversity hast thou seen in me and I shall turn away from it, and mercy will be upon me.' And
she said unto him: 'My son, I have not seen in thee all my days any perverse but (only) upright
deeds. And yet I will tell thee the truth, my son: I shall die this year, and I shall not survive
this year in my life; for I have seen in a dream the day of my death, that I should not live beyond
a hundred and fifty-five years: and behold I have completed all the days of my life which I am to
7 live.' And Jacob laughed at the words of his mother, because his mother had said unto him that

8. Tamnâtârês = 'Timnah' (cf. 1 Macc. ix. 50).
10. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 12, 13, 17–20, 28–36.
11. †chief of the cooks†: so LXX of Gen. xxxvii. 36, wrongly, for שר־הטבחִים = 'the captain of the bodyguard'.
12–14. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31–5.
15. Ps.-Philo *Ant. bibl. Lib.* p. 51 says Dinah married Job; Gen. rabb. 80 says Simeon.
17. Gen. xxxvii. 35.
18. afflict themselves: = fasting in Lev. xvi. 31; xxiii. 27–32; Ezra viii. 21; Dan. x. 12.
20. 'Adîbâ'-a, a Canaanite. Cf. Shaul—'son of a Canaanitish woman', Gen. xlii. 10; Exod. vi. 15. It is to our
author's credit that he does not seek to explain this away, as was done by later Rabbis. Cf. Beer, *Jubiläen*, 51.
Bêtasû'êl cf. Bathshua in Test. Jud. viii, xiii, xvi.
Asenath: from Gen. xli. 45. Other names obscure. Nî'imân: ? invention of an Ethiopic scribe. Syr. Frag.
gives 'Adni', Jasher 'Marusa', a b d >.

XXXV. 5. mercy: Latin *misericordia domini*.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 35. 7-27

she should die; and she was sitting opposite to him in possession of her strength, and she was not infirm in her strength; for she went in and out and saw, and her teeth were strong, and no ailment
8 had touched her all the days of her life. And Jacob said unto her: 'Blessed am I, mother, if my days approach the days of thy life, and my strength remain with me thus as thy strength: and thou
9 wilt not die, for thou art jesting idly with me regarding thy death.' And she went in to Isaac and said unto him: 'One petition I make unto thee: make Esau swear that he will not injure Jacob, nor
pursue him with enmity; for thou knowest Esau's thoughts that they are perverse from his youth,
10 and there is no goodness in him; for he desires after thy death to kill him. And thou knowest all that he has done since the day Jacob his brother went to Haran until this day; how he has forsaken
us with his whole heart, and has done evil to us; thy flocks he has taken to himself, and carried off
11 all thy possessions from before thy face. And when we implored and besought him for what was our own, he did as a man who was taking pity on us. And he is bitter against thee because thou
12 didst bless Jacob thy perfect and upright son; for there is no evil but only goodness in him, and since he came from Haran unto this day he has not robbed us of aught, for he brings us everything
in its season always, and rejoices with all his heart when we take at his hands, and he blesses us, and has not parted from us since he came from Haran until this day, and he remains with us continually
13 at home honouring us.' And Isaac said unto her: 'I, too, know and see the deeds of Jacob who is with us, how that with all his heart he honours us; but I loved Esau formerly more than Jacob, because he was the firstborn; but now I love Jacob more than Esau, for he has done manifold evil
deeds, and there is no righteousness in him, for all his ways are unrighteousness and violence, [and
14 there is no righteousness around him.] And now my heart is troubled because of all his deeds, and neither he nor his seed is to be saved, for they are those who will be destroyed from the earth, and who will be rooted out from under heaven, for he has forsaken the God of Abraham and gone
15 after his wives and after their uncleanness and after their error, he and his children. And thou dost bid me make him swear that he will not slay Jacob, his brother; even if he swear he will not abide
16 by his oath, and he will not do good but evil only. But if he desires to slay Jacob, his brother, into Jacob's hands will he be given, and he will not escape from his hands, [for he will descend into his
17 hands.] And fear thou not on account of Jacob; for the guardian of Jacob is great and powerful and honoured, and praised more than the guardian of Esau.' And Rebecca sent and called Esau,
and he came to her, and she said unto him: 'I have a petition, my son, to make unto thee, and do
19 thou promise to do it, my son.' And he said: 'I will do everything that thou sayest unto me, and I will not refuse thy petition.' And she said unto him: 'I ask you that the day I die, thou wilt take
20 me in and bury me near Sarah, thy father's mother, and that thou and Jacob will love each other, and that neither will desire evil against the other, but mutual love only, and (so) ye will prosper, my sons, and be honoured in the midst of the land, and no enemy will rejoice over you, and ye will be
21 a blessing and a mercy in the eyes of all those that love you.' And he said: 'I will do all that thou hast told me, and I shall bury thee on the day thou diest near Sarah, my father's mother, as
22 thou hast desired that her bones may be near thy bones. And Jacob, my brother, also, I shall love above all flesh; for I have not a brother in all the earth but him only: and this is no great merit for me if I love him; for he is my brother, and we were sown together in thy body, and together came
23 we forth from thy womb, and if I do not love my brother, whom shall I love? And I, myself, beg thee to exhort Jacob concerning me and concerning my sons, for I know that he will assuredly be
king over me and my sons, for on the day my father blessed him he made him the higher and me
24 the lower. And I swear unto thee that I shall love him, and not desire evil against him all the days of my life but good only.' And he swore unto her regarding all this matter. And she
25 called Jacob before the eyes of Esau, and gave him commandment according to the words which she had spoken to Esau. And he said: 'I shall do thy pleasure; believe me that no evil will
26 proceed from me or from my sons against Esau, and I shall be first in naught save in love only.'
27 And they eat and drank, she and her sons that night, and she died, three jubilees and one week and one year old, on that night, and her two sons, Esau and Jacob, buried her in the double cave near Sarah, their father's mother.

9. Referred to by Syncell. i. 202.

13. [and there . . .]. A dittography.

16. [for he . . .]. A gloss from xxxvi. 9.

17. guardian of Jacob. Earliest reference to belief in guardian angels; cf. Matt. xviii. 10; Acts xii. 15; Hebrews i. 14. Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii. 752.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 36. 1-21

Isaac gives directions to his sons as to his burial: exhorts them to love one another and makes them imprecate destruction on him who injures his brother, 1-11. Divides his possessions, giving the larger portion to Jacob, and dies, 12-18. Leah dies: Jacob's sons come to comfort him, 21-4.

- 36** ¹ And in the sixth year of this week Isaac called his two sons, Esau and Jacob, and they came to ^{2162 A.M.} him, and he said unto them: 'My sons, I am going the way of my fathers, to the eternal house ² where my fathers are. Wherefore bury me near Abraham my father, in the double cave in the field of Ephron the Hittite, where Abraham purchased a sepulchre to bury in; in the sepulchre which ³ I digged for myself, there bury me. And this I command you, my sons, that ye practise righteousness and uprightness on the earth, so that the Lord may bring upon you all that the Lord said that ⁴ he would do to Abraham and to his seed. And love one another, my sons, your brothers as a man who loves his own soul, and let each seek in what he may benefit his brother, and act together on ⁵ the earth; and let them love each other as their own souls. And concerning the question of idols, I command and admonish you to reject them and hate them, and love them not; for they are full ⁶ of deception for those that worship them and for those that bow down to them. Remember ye, my sons, the Lord God of Abraham your father, and **how** I too worshipped Him and served Him in righteousness and in joy, that He might multiply you and increase your seed as the stars of heaven in multitude, and establish you on the earth as the plant of righteousness which will not be rooted ⁷ out unto all the generations for ever. And now I shall make you swear a great oath—for there is no oath which is greater than it by the name glorious and honoured and great and splendid and wonderful and mighty, which created the heavens and the earth and all things together—that ye will ⁸ fear Him and worship Him. And that each will love his brother with affection and righteousness, and that neither will desire evil against his brother from henceforth for ever all the days of your life, ⁹ so that ye may prosper in all your deeds and not be destroyed. And if either of you devises evil against his brother, know that from henceforth everyone that devises evil against his brother shall fall into his hand, and shall be rooted out of the land of the living, and his seed shall be destroyed from ¹⁰ under heaven. But on the day of turbulence and execration and indignation and anger, with flaming devouring fire as He burnt Sodom, so likewise will He burn his land and his city and all that is his, and he shall be blotted out of the book of the discipline of the children of men, and not be recorded in the book of life, but in that which is appointed to destruction, and he shall depart into eternal execration; so that their condemnation may be always renewed in hate and in execration ¹¹ and in wrath and in torment and in indignation and in plagues and in disease for ever. I say and testify to you, my sons, according to the judgment which shall come upon the man who wishes to ¹² injure his brother.' And he divided all his possessions between the two on that day, and he gave the larger portion to him that was the first-born, and the tower and all that was about it, and all that ¹³ Abraham possessed at the Well of the Oath. And he said: 'This larger portion I **will give** to the ¹⁴ firstborn.' And Esau said, 'I have sold to Jacob and given my birthright to Jacob; to him let it be ¹⁵ given, and I have not a single word to say regarding it, for it is his.' And Isaac said, 'May a blessing rest upon you, my sons, and upon your seed this day, for ye have given me rest, and my heart is not ¹⁶ pained concerning the birthright, lest thou shouldest work wickedness on account of it. May the ¹⁷ Most High God bless the man that worketh righteousness, him and his seed for ever.' And he ended commanding them and blessing them, and they eat and drank together before him, and he rejoiced because there was one mind between them, and they went forth from him and rested that day and ¹⁸ slept. And Isaac slept on his bed that day rejoicing; and he slept the eternal sleep, and died one hundred and eighty years old. He completed twenty-five weeks and five years; and his two sons ¹⁹ Esau and Jacob buried him. And Esau went to the land of Edom, to the mountains of Seir, and ²⁰ dwelt there. And Jacob dwelt in the mountains of Hebron, in the tower of the land of the sojournings of his father Abraham, and he worshipped the Lord with all his heart and according to the visible ²¹ commands according as He had divided the days of his **generations**. And Leah his wife died in ^{2167 A.M.} the fourth year of the second week of the forty-fifth jubilee, and he buried her in the double cave

XXXVI. 1. **eternal house**: cf. Eccles. xii. 5.

6. **how** = *kama* emended for *emze*, 'after this'.

10. **turbulence and execration and indignation and anger**: cf. 1 En. xxxix. 2.

13. **give** (*ʾēhād*) for 'make great' (*ʾā ʾābē*).

16. **Most High God**: twenty-five times in this book, thirteen in Daniel, forty-eight times in Sir., twenty-one in Pss., nine times in N.T., three times in Tobit, not at all in Pss.-Solomon, nine times in 1 En. xci-civ, six times in Test. Levi, twenty-three times in Apoc. Bar., frequent in 4 Ezra, twice in Ass. Mos., four times in 1 En. xxxvii-lxx, once in Judith, twice in Pentateuch outside Gen. xiv, and only once in the prophets. It was most used in early part of Maccabean age, though rare in 1 En. i-xxxvi, lxxii-xc and absent from 1 Macc.

18. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 29.

20. **generations**. So Lat. Eth. = *lēdatā* corrupt for *lēwladā*.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 36. 22—37. 20

²² near Rebecca his mother, to the left of the grave of Sarah, his father's mother. And all her sons and his sons came to mourn over Leah his wife with him, and to comfort him regarding her, for he ²³ was lamenting her. For he loved her exceedingly after Rachel her sister died; for she was perfect and upright in all her ways and honoured Jacob, and all the days that she lived with him he did not hear from her mouth a harsh word, for she was gentle and peaceable and upright and honourable. ²⁴ And he remembered all her deeds which she had done during her life, and he lamented her exceedingly; for he loved her with all his heart and with all his soul.

Esau's sons reproach him for his subordination to Jacob, and constrain him to war with the assistance of 4,000 mercenaries against Jacob, 1-15. Jacob reproves Esau, 16-17. Esau's reply, 18-25.

37 ¹ And on the day that Isaac the father of Jacob and Esau died, the sons of Esau heard that Isaac ^{2162 A.M.} ² had given the portion of the elder to his younger son Jacob and they were very angry. And they strove with their father, saying: 'Why has thy father given Jacob the portion of the elder and passed ³ over thee, although thou art the elder and Jacob the younger?' And he said unto them 'Because I sold my birthright to Jacob for a small mess of lentils; and on the day my father sent me to hunt and catch and bring him something that he should eat and bless me, he came with guile and brought ⁴ my father food and drink, and my father blessed him and put me under his hand. And now our father has caused us to swear, me and him, that we shall not mutually devise evil, either against his brother, and that we shall continue in love and in peace each with his brother and not make our ways ⁵ corrupt.' And they said unto him, 'We shall not hearken unto thee to make peace with him; for our strength is greater than his strength, and we are more powerful than he; we shall go against him and slay him, and destroy **him and his sons**. And if thou wilt not go with us, we shall do hurt ⁶ to thee also. And now hearken unto us: Let us send to Aram and Philistia and Moab and Ammon, and let us choose for ourselves chosen men who are ardent for battle, and let us go against him and do battle with him, and let us exterminate him from the earth before he grows strong.' ⁷ And their father said unto them, 'Do not go and do not make war with him lest ye fall before him.' ⁸ And they said unto him, 'This too, is exactly thy mode of action from thy youth until this day, and ⁹ thou art putting thy neck under his yoke. We shall not hearken to these words.' And they sent to Aram, and to 'Adurâm to the friend of their father, and they hired along with them one thousand ¹⁰ fighting men, chosen men of war. And there came to them from Moab and from the children of Ammon, those who were hired, one thousand chosen men, and from Philistia, one thousand chosen men of war, and from Edom and from the Horites one thousand chosen fighting men, and from the ¹¹ Kittim mighty men of war. And they said unto their father: 'Go forth with them and lead them, ¹² else we shall slay thee.' And he was filled with wrath and indignation on seeing that his sons were forcing him to go before (them) to lead them against Jacob his brother. But afterward he remembered all the evil which lay hidden in his heart against Jacob his brother; and he remembered not ¹³ the oath which he had sworn to his father and to his mother that he would devise no evil all his days against Jacob his brother. And notwithstanding all this, Jacob knew not that they were coming ¹⁴ against him to battle, and he was mourning for Leah, his wife, until they approached very near to the ¹⁵ tower with four thousand warriors and chosen men of war. And the men of Hebron sent to him saying, 'Behold thy brother has come against thee, to fight thee, with four thousand girt with the sword, and they carry shields and weapons'; for they loved Jacob more than Esau. So they told him; for ¹⁶ Jacob was a more liberal and merciful man than Esau. But Jacob would not believe until they came ¹⁷ very near to the tower. And he closed the gates of the tower; and he stood on the battlements and spake to his brother Esau and said, 'Noble is the comfort wherewith thou hast come to comfort me for my wife who has died. Is this the oath that thou didst swear to thy father and again to thy ¹⁸ mother before they died? Thou hast broken the oath, and on the moment that thou didst swear to thy father wast thou condemned.' And then Esau answered and said unto him, 'Neither the children of men nor the beasts of the earth have any oath of righteousness which in swearing they have ¹⁹ sworn (an oath valid) for ever; but every day they devise evil one against another, and how each may slay his adversary and foe. And thou dost hate me and my children for ever. And there is ²⁰ no observing the tie of brotherhood with thee. Hear these words which I declare unto thee,

XXXVII. Wars of Jacob and Esau. Cf. Test. Judah ix; Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132; Chronicles of Jerahmeel 80-7. Latter two adapt the legend to the Herodian situation, and turn Adora into 'Arodin' (= Herodion). Jashar ii, 1236-8 adapts it further.

1-12. Differs from later accounts in putting more of the blame on the sons of Esau. Cf. Chron. Jerahmeel xxxvii. 1. 5. **him and his sons**: so Lat. 'him his sons' *a*; 'his sons' *bcd*.

9-10. Enumerates peoples actually allied against Judah under the Maccabees: Ammonites (1 Macc. v. 6-8). Philistines (cf. xxiv. 28), Syrians (1 Macc. iv. 29, 61); Edomites (1 Macc. v. 3, 65).

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 37. 20—38. 15

- If the boar can change its skin and make its bristles as soft as wool,
Or if it can cause horns to sprout forth on its head like the horns of a stag or of a sheep,
Then will I observe the tie of brotherhood with thee.
†And if the breasts separated themselves from their mother, for thou hast not been a brother to me†.
21 And if the wolves make peace with the lambs so as not to devour or do them violence,
And if their hearts are towards them for good,
Then there shall be peace in my heart towards thee.
22 And if the lion becomes the friend of the ox and makes peace with him.
And if he is bound under one yoke with him and ploughs with him,
Then will I make peace with thee.
23 And when the raven becomes white as the rāzâ,
Then know that I have loved thee
And shall make peace with thee.
Thou shalt be rooted out,
And thy sons shall be rooted out,
And there shall be no peace for thee.
24 And when Jacob saw that he was (so) evilly disposed towards him with his heart, and with
all his soul as to slay him, and that he had come springing like the wild boar which comes upon
25 the spear that pierces and kills it, and recoils not from it; then he spake to his own and to his
servants that they should attack him and all his companions.

War between Jacob and Esau. Death of Esau and overthrow of his forces, 1-10. Edom reduced to servitude 'till this day', 11-14. Kings of Edom, 15-24. (Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 31-9.)

- 38 1 And after that Judah spake to Jacob, his father, and said unto him: 'Bend thy bow, father, and
send forth thy arrows and cast down the adversary and slay the enemy; and mayst thou have the
power, for we shall not slay thy brother, for he is such as thou, and he is like thee: **let us give him**
2 (this) honour.' Then Jacob bent his bow and sent forth the arrow and struck Esau, his brother (on
3 his right breast) and slew him. And again he sent forth an arrow and struck 'Adôrân the Aramaean,
4 on the left breast, and drove him backward and slew him. And then went forth the sons of Jacob,
5 they and their servants, dividing themselves into companies on the four sides of the tower. And
Judah went forth in front, and Naphtali and Gad with him and fifty servants with him on the south
side of the tower, and they slew all they found before them, and not one individual of them escaped.
6 And Levi and Dan and Asher went forth on the east side of the tower, and fifty (men) with them,
7 and they slew the fighting men of Moab and Ammon. And Reuben and Issachar and Zebulun went
forth on the north side of the tower, and fifty men with them, and they slew the fighting men of the
8 Philistines. And Simeon and Benjamin and Enoch, Reuben's son, went forth on the west side of the
tower, and fifty (men) with them, and they slew of Edom and of the Horites four hundred men, stout
warriors; and six hundred fled, and four of the sons of Esau fled with them, and left their father
9 lying slain, as he had fallen on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm. And the sons of Jacob pursued after
them to the mountains of Seir. And Jacob buried his brother on the hill which is in 'Adûrâm, and
10 he returned to his house. And the sons of Jacob pressed hard upon the sons of Esau in the moun-
11 tains of Seir, and bowed their necks so that they became servants of the sons of Jacob. And they
12 sent to their father (to inquire) whether they should make peace with them or slay them. And Jacob
sent word to his sons that they should make peace, and they made peace with them, and placed the
13 yoke of servitude upon them, so that they paid tribute to Jacob and to his sons always. And they
14 continued to pay tribute to Jacob until the day that he went down into Egypt. And the sons of
Edom have not got quit of the yoke of servitude which the twelve sons of Jacob had imposed on
15 them until this day. And these are the kings that reigned in Edom before there reigned any king

20. boar: symbol for *Edom* in 1 En. lxxxix. 12, 42, 49, 69. Cf. Ps. lxxx. 13. †† Out of place; possibly also corrupt; read after 19 *a* ('for ever') these two clauses in reverse order and substitute 'since' for 'and if' and 'twins' for 'breasts'.

23. rāzâ: 'a large white bird that eats grasshoppers' (Isenberg, *Amharic Dictionary*, p. 48, cf. Mandaean Adam-Book).

XXXVIII. 1. **let us give him** Lat. Eth. 'with us', i.e. *baḥabêna* for *nahabô*.

2-3. Others attributed Esau's death to Chushim, son of Dan. Cf. Sotah 13 *a*; Jashar 1235; Pirke R. Eliezer 39; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. l. 13. Our author agrees with Test. Judah ix, but expands.

2. (on his right breast). Supplied from Latin and Jalkut.

8-9. 'Adûrâm = 'Adora' (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 15. 4; *Bell.* i. 2. 6; 1 Macc. xiii. 20). Horites: cf. xxxvii. 10.

14. until this day: Edom was finally made tributary to Israel by John Hyrcanus.

15-24. Gen. xxxvi. 31-9.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 38. 16—39. 18

16 over the children of Israel [until this day] in the land of Edom. And Bálâq, the son of Beor, reigned
17 in Edom, and the name of his city was Danâbâ. And Bálâq died, and Jobab, the son of Zârâ of
18 Bôsêr, reigned in his stead. And Jobab died, and 'Asâm, of the land of Têmân, reigned in his stead.
19 And 'Asâm died, and 'Adâth, the son of Barad, who slew Midian in the field of Moab, reigned in his
20 stead, and the name of his city was Avith. And 'Adâth died, and Salman, from 'Amâsêqâ, reigned
21, 22 in his stead. And Salman died, and Saul of Râ'abôth (by the) river, reigned in his stead. And Saul
23 died, and Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor, reigned in his stead. And Ba'êlûnân, the son of Achbor,
died, and 'Adâth reigned in his stead, and the name of his wife was Maitabîth, the daughter of
24 Mâtarat, the daughter of Mêtâbêdzâ'ab. These are the kings who reigned in the land of Edom.

*Joseph set over Potiphar's house, 1-4. His purity and imprisonment, 5-13. Imprisonment of
Pharaoh's chief butler and chief baker whose dreams Joseph interprets, 14-18. (Cf. Gen. xxxvii.
2; xxxix. 3-8, 12-15, 17-23; xl. 1-5, 21-3; xli. 1.)*

39 1, 2 And Jacob dwelt in the land of his father's sojournings in the land of Canaan. These are
the generations of Jacob. And Joseph was seventeen years old when they took him down into
3 the land of Egypt, and Potiphar, an eunuch of Pharaoh, the chief cook bought him. And he
set Joseph over all his house, and the blessing of the Lord came upon the house of the Egyptian on
4 account of Joseph, and the Lord prospered him in all that he did. And the Egyptian committed
everything **into the hands** of Joseph; for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the
5 Lord prospered him in all that he did. And Joseph's appearance was comely [and very beautiful
was his appearance], and his master's wife lifted up her eyes and saw Joseph, and she loved him,
6 and besought him to lie with her. But he did not surrender his soul, and he remembered the
Lord and the words which Jacob, his father, used to read from amongst the words of Abraham,
that no man should commit fornication with a woman who has a husband; that for him the
punishment of death has been ordained in the heavens before the Most High God, and the sin
7 will be recorded against him in the eternal books continually before the Lord. And Joseph
8 remembered these words and refused to lie with her. And she besought him for a year, but he
9 refused and would not listen. But she embraced him and held him fast in the house in order
to force him to lie with her, and closed the doors of the house and held him fast; but he left
10 his garment in her hands and broke through the door and fled without from her presence. And
the woman saw that he would not lie with her, and she calumniated him in the presence of his
lord, saying: 'Thy Hebrew servant, whom thou lovest, sought to force me so that he might lie
with me; and it came to pass when I lifted up my voice that he fled and left his garment in
11 my hands when I held him, and he brake through the door.' And the Egyptian saw the gar-
ment of Joseph and the broken door, and heard the words of his wife, and cast Joseph into
12 prison into the place where the prisoners were kept whom the king imprisoned. And he was
there in the prison; and the Lord gave Joseph favour in the sight of the chief of the prison
guards and compassion before him, for he saw that the Lord was with him, and that the Lord
13 made all that he did to prosper. And he committed all things **into his hands**, and the chief of
the prison guards knew of nothing that was with him, for Joseph did every thing, and the
14 Lord perfected it. And he remained there two years. And in those days Pharaoh, king of Egypt,
was wroth against his two eunuchs, against the chief butler, and against the chief baker, and he put
15 them in ward in the house of the chief cook, in the prison where Joseph was kept. And the chief of
16 the prison guards appointed Joseph to serve them; and he served before them. And they both
17 dreamed a dream, the chief butler and the chief baker, and they told it to Joseph. And as he inter-
preted to them so it befell them, and Pharaoh restored the chief butler to his office, and the
18 (chief) baker he slew, as Joseph had interpreted to them. But the chief butler forgot Joseph in the
prison, although he had informed him what would befall him, and did not remember to inform
Pharaoh how Joseph had told him, for he forgot.

XXXIX. 2. **seventeen years old**: cf. Gen. xxxvii. 2.
chief cook. See xxxiv. 11, xxxix. 14.

2-5. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 3-7.

4. **into the hands**: emended with Latin in ver. 13. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 6. Eth. = 'before him'.

6. Cf. xx. 4, xxv. 7; Test. Jos. iii. 3; Soteh 36 b.

9-13. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12-15, 17-23.

13. **into his hands**. See ver. 4; Eth. 'before him'.

14-18. Cf. Gen. xl. 1-5, 21-3.

14. **two years**: Gen. xli. 1.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 40. 1—41. 5

Pharaoh's dreams and their interpretation, 1-4. Elevation and marriage of Joseph, 5-13.
(Cf. Gen. xli. 1-5, 7-9, 14 seqq., 25, 29-30, 34, 36, 38-43, 45-6, 49.)

- 40** ¹ And in those days Pharaoh dreamed two dreams in one night concerning a famine which was to be in all the land, and he awoke from his sleep and called all the interpreters of dreams that were in Egypt, and magicians, and told them his two dreams, and they were not able to declare (them).
² And then the chief butler remembered Joseph and spake of him to the king, and he brought him forth from the prison, and he told his two dreams before him. And he said before Pharaoh that his two dreams were one, and he said unto him: 'Seven years shall come (in which there shall be) plenty over all the land of Egypt, and after that seven years of famine, such a famine as has not been in all the land. And now let Pharaoh appoint **overseers** in all the land of Egypt, and let them store up food in every city throughout the days of the years of plenty, and there will be food for the seven years of famine, and the land will not perish through the famine, for it will be very severe.' And the Lord gave Joseph favour and mercy in the eyes of Pharaoh, and Pharaoh said unto his servants: 'We shall not find such a wise and discreet man as this man, for the spirit of the Lord is with him.' And he appointed him the second in all his kingdom and gave him authority over all Egypt, and caused him to ride in the second chariot of Pharaoh. And he clothed him with byssus garments, and he put a gold chain upon his neck, and (a herald) proclaimed before him 'Ēl 'Ēl wa 'Abîrēr,' and placed a ring on his hand and made him ruler over all his house, and magnified him, and said unto him: 'Only on the throne shall I be greater than thou.' And Joseph ruled over all the land of Egypt, and all the princes of Pharaoh, and all his servants, and all who did the king's business loved him, for he walked in uprightness, for he was without pride and arrogance, and he had no respect of persons, and did not accept gifts, but he judged in uprightness all the people of the land.
⁹ And the land of Egypt was at peace before Pharaoh because of Joseph, for the Lord was with him, and gave him favour and mercy for all his generations before all those who knew him and those who heard concerning him, and Pharaoh's kingdom was well ordered, and there was no Satan and no evil person (therein). And the king called Joseph's name Sēphântîphâns, and gave Joseph to wife the daughter of Potiphar, the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, the chief cook. And on the day that Joseph stood before Pharaoh he was thirty years old [when he stood before Pharaoh]. And in that year Isaac died. And it came to pass as Joseph had said in the interpretation of his two dreams, according as he had said it, there were seven years of plenty over all the land of Egypt, and the land of Egypt abundantly produced, one measure (producing) eighteen hundred measures. And Joseph gathered food into every city until they were full of corn until they could no longer count and measure it for its multitude.

Judah's sons and Tamar, 1-7. Judah's incest with Tamar 8-18. Tamar bears twins, 21-2. Judah forgiven, because he sinned ignorantly and repented when convicted, and because Tamar's marriage with his sons had not been consummated, 23-8. (Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6-18, 20-6, 29-30; xli. 13.)

- 41** ¹ And in the forty-fifth jubilee, in the second week, (and) in the second year, Judah took for his first-born Er, a wife from the daughters of Aram, named Tamar. But he hated, and did not lie with her, because his mother was of the daughters of Canaan, and he wished to take him a wife of the kinsfolk of his mother, but Judah, his father, would not permit him. And this Er, the first-born of Judah, was wicked, and the Lord slew him. And Judah said unto Onan, his brother: 'Go in unto thy brother's wife and perform the duty of a husband's brother unto her, and raise up seed unto thy brother.' And Onan knew that the seed would not be his, (but) his brother's only, and he went into the house of his brother's wife, and spilt the seed on the ground, and he was wicked in the eyes of the Lord, and He slew

XL. Cf. Gen. xli.

4. **overseers**: Latin *speculatores*; *cd* read 'threshing floors'. Possibly corrupt in Gk. *συναρχίας* for *συναρχας* (Rönsch).

7. (herald): plural *praeconaverunt*, only in Latin.

'Ēl 'Ēl wa 'Abîrēr: 'God, God, the Mighty One of God', the title of a great magician. Cf. Acts viii. 10 (Simon Magus); Fabric. *Cod. Pseudepig. Vet. Test.* i. 774-84; ii. 85 (Joseph); cf. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 336 note.

9. **no Satan**. Cf. xxiii. 29.

10. **Sēphântîphâns** = Zaphnath-paaneah, Gen. xli. 45 = 'Revealer of secrets' acc. to later Judaism.

priest of Heliopolis. Origen, *Cat. Niceph.* i. 463, refers to this function of Potiphar. Later Rabbis, e.g. Pirke R. Eliezer 36, &c., tried to explain this marriage with a heathen priest's daughter. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xli. 45 makes her Dinah's daughter.

XLI. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 6-7, 9-18, 20-6; Test. Judah x, xii, xiv; also xix (Judah saved by prayers).

4. Cf. Deut. xxv. 5.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 41. 6—42. 2

6 him. And Judah said unto Tamar, his daughter-in-law : 'Remain in thy father's house as a widow till
7 Shelah my son be grown up, and I shall give thee to him to wife.' And he grew up ; but Bêdsû'êl, the
8 wife of Judah, did not permit her son Shelah to marry. And Bêdsû'êl, the wife of Judah, died 2168 A.M.
9 in the fifth year of this week. And in the sixth year Judah went up to shear his sheep at Timnah. 2169 A.M.
10 And they told Tamar : 'Behold thy father-in-law goeth up to Timnah to shear his sheep.' And she
11 put off her widow's clothes, and put on a veil, and adorned herself, and sat in the gate adjoining the
12 way to Timnah. And as Judah was going along he found her, and thought her to be an harlot,
13 and he said unto her : 'Let me come in unto thee' ; and she said unto him : 'Come in,' and he went
14 in. And she said unto him : 'Give me my hire' ; and he said unto her : 'I have nothing in my
15 hand save my ring that is on my finger, and my necklace, and my staff which is in my hand.' And
16 she said unto him : 'Give them to me until thou dost send me my hire' ; and he said unto her :
17 'I will send unto thee a kid of the goats' ; and he gave them to her, (and he went in unto her), and
18 she conceived by him. And Judah went unto his sheep, and she went to her father's house. And
19 Judah sent a kid of the goats by the hand of his shepherd, an Adullamite, and he found her not ;
20 and he asked the people of the place, saying : 'Where is the harlot who was here?' And they said
21 unto him ; 'There is no harlot here with us.' And he returned and informed him, and said unto
22 him that he had not found her ; 'I asked the people of the place, and they said unto me : "There
23 is no harlot here."' And he said : 'Let her keep (them) lest we become a cause of derision.' And
24 when she had completed three months, it was manifest that she was with child, and they told Judah,
25 saying : 'Behold Tamar, thy daughter-in-law, is with child by whoredom.' And Judah went to the
26 house of her father, and said unto her father and her brothers : 'Bring her forth, and let them burn
27 her, for she hath wrought uncleanness in Israel.' And it came to pass when they brought her forth
28 to burn her that she sent to her father-in-law the ring and the necklace, and the staff, saying :
29 'Discern whose are these, for by him am I with child.' And Judah acknowledged, and said : 'Tamar
30 is more righteous than I am. And therefore let them burn her not.' And for that reason she was
31 not given to Shelah, and he did not again approach her. And after that she bare two sons, Perez 2170 A.M.
32 and Zerah, in the seventh year of this second week. And thereupon the seven years of fruitfulness
33 were accomplished, of which Joseph spake to Pharaoh. And Judah acknowledged that the deed
34 which he had done was evil, for he had lain with his daughter-in-law, and he esteemed it hateful in
35 his eyes, and he acknowledged that he had transgressed and gone astray, for he had uncovered the
36 skirt of his son, and he began to lament and to supplicate before the Lord because of his transgression.
37 And we told him in a dream that it was forgiven him because he supplicated earnestly, and lamented,
38 and did not again commit it. And he received forgiveness because he turned from his sin and from
39 his ignorance, for he transgressed greatly before our God ; and every one that acts thus, every one
40 who lies with his mother-in-law, let them burn him with fire that he may burn therein, for there is
41 uncleanness and pollution upon them ; with fire let them burn them. And do thou command the
42 children of Israel that there be no uncleanness amongst them, for every one who lies with his
43 daughter-in-law or with his mother-in-law hath wrought uncleanness ; with fire let them burn the
44 man who has lain with her, and likewise the woman, and He will turn away wrath and punishment
45 from Israel. And unto Judah we said that his two sons had not lain with her, and for this reason
46 his seed was established for a second generation, and would not be rooted out. For in singleness of
47 eye he had gone and sought for punishment, namely, according to the judgment of Abraham,
48 which he had commanded his sons, Judah had sought to burn her with fire.

Owing to the famine Jacob sends his sons to Egypt for corn, 1-4. Joseph recognizes them and retains Simeon, and requires them to bring Benjamin when they returned, 5-12. Notwithstanding Jacob's reluctance his sons take Benjamin with them on their second journey and are entertained by Joseph, 13-25. (Cf. Gen. xli. 54, 56 ; xlii. 7-9, 13, 17, 20, 24-5, 29-30, 34-8 ; xliii. 1-2, 4-5, 8-9, 11, 15, 23, 26, 29, 34 ; xliv. 1-2.)

42 1 And in the first year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee the famine began to come into the 2171 A.M.
2 land, and the rain refused to be given to the earth, for none whatever fell. And the earth grew

12. < > Restored from Lat.
15. keep Lat. Eth. 'arise', one letter different.
17. Cf. xxx. 7 note.
22. Cf. Gen. xli. 53.
25. because he turned . . . ignorance : best to transpose these two clauses and read 'because of his ignorance and because . . . sin'.
25, 26. Enforce laws of Lev. xx. 14 ; xviii. 15 ; xx. 12.
28. Judah commended for his severity.
singleness of eye : favourite expression in Test. XII Patriarchs.
XLII. Cf. Gen. xli. 54-xliv. 2.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 42. 2—43. 2

barren, but in the land of Egypt there was food, for Joseph had gathered the seed of the land in the
3 seven years of plenty and had preserved it. And the Egyptians came to Joseph that he might give
them food, and he opened the store-houses where was the grain of the first year, and he sold it to
4 the people of the land for gold. (Now the famine was very sore in the land of Canaan), and Jacob
heard that there was food in Egypt, and he sent his ten sons that they should procure food for him
in Egypt; but Benjamin he did not send, and (the ten sons of Jacob) arrived (in Egypt) among those
5 that went (there). And Joseph recognised them, but they did not recognise him, and he spake unto
them and questioned them, and he said unto them; 'Are ye not spies, and have ye not come to
6 explore the approaches of the land?' And he put them in ward. And after that he set them free
7 again, and detained Simeon alone and sent off his nine brothers. And he filled their sacks with corn,
8 and he put their gold in their sacks, and they did not know. And he commanded them to bring
9 their younger brother, for they had told him their father was living and their younger brother. And
they went up from the land of Egypt and they came to the land of Canaan; and they told their
father all that had befallen them, and how the lord of the country had spoken roughly to them, and
10 had seized Simeon till they should bring Benjamin. And Jacob said: 'Me have ye bereaved of my
children! Joseph is not and Simeon also is not, and ye will take Benjamin away. On me has your
11 wickedness come.' And he said: 'My son will not go down with you lest perchance he fall sick;
for their mother gave birth to two sons, and one has perished, and this one also ye will take from me.
If perchance he took a fever on the road, ye would bring down my old age with sorrow unto death.'
12 For he saw that their money had been returned **to every man** in his sack, and for this reason he
13 feared to send him. And the famine increased and became sore in the land of Canaan, and in all
lands save in the land of Egypt, for many of the children of the Egyptians had stored up their seed
for food from the time when they saw Joseph gathering seed together and putting it in storehouses
14 and preserving it for the years of famine. And the people of Egypt fed themselves thereon during
15 the first year of their famine. But when Israel saw that the famine was very sore in the land, and
that there was no deliverance, he said unto his sons: 'Go again, and procure food for us that we die
16 not.' And they said: 'We shall not go; unless our youngest brother go with us, we shall not go.'
17 And Israel saw that if he did not send him with them, they should all perish by reason of the famine.
18 And Reuben said: 'Give him into my hand, and if I do not bring him back to thee, slay my two
19 sons instead of his soul.' And he said unto him: 'He shall not go with thee.' And Judah came near
and said: 'Send him with me, and if I do not bring him back to thee, let me bear the blame before
20 thee all the days of my life.' And he sent him with them in the second year of this week on the 2172 A.M.
first day of the month, and they came to the land of Egypt with all those who went, and (they had)
21 presents in their hands, stacte and almonds and terebinth nuts and pure honey. And they went and
stood before Joseph, and he saw Benjamin his brother, and he knew him, and said unto them: 'Is
this your youngest brother?' And they said unto him: 'It is he.' And he said: 'The Lord be
22 gracious to thee, my son!' And he sent him into his house and he brought forth Simeon unto them
and he made a feast for them, and they presented to him the gift which they had brought in their
23 hands. And they eat before him and he gave them all a portion, but the portion of Benjamin was
24 seven times larger than that of any of theirs. And they eat and drank and arose and remained with
25 their asses. And Joseph devised a plan whereby he might learn their thoughts as to whether thoughts
of peace prevailed amongst them, and he said to the steward who was over his house: 'Fill all their
sacks with food, and return their money unto them into their vessels, and my cup, the silver cup out
of which I drink, put it in the sack of the youngest, and send them away.'

*Joseph's plan to stay his brethren, 1-10. Judah's supplication, 11-13. Joseph makes himself known
to his brethren and sends them back for his father, 14-24. (Cf. Gen. xlv. 3-10, 12-18, 27-8,
30-2; xlv. 1-2, 5-9, 12, 18, 20-1, 23, 25-8.)*

43 1 And he did as Joseph had told him, and filled all their sacks for them with food and put their
2 money in their sacks, and put the cup in Benjamin's sack. And early in the morning they departed,
and it came to pass that, when they had gone from thence, Joseph said unto the steward of his
house: 'Pursue them, run and **seize** them, saying, "For good ye have requited me with evil; you
have stolen from me the silver cup out of which my lord drinks." And bring back to me their

4. () supplied from Latin, with Gen. xlii. 5.

5. **questioned them**: Latin has 'appellavit eos dure'.

6. Latin varies: 'et mittens arcessivit illos et accipiens Symeonem ab ipsis ligavit eum'.

12. **to every man**: emended by prefixing *la* to *kuëllû*.

XLIII. Cf. Gen. xlv. 3-xlv. 28.

2. **seize** = *ta'ahazômû* emended with Gen. xlv. 4 from *tagâ'azômû* = 'upbraid'.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 43. 3—44. 3

3 youngest brother, and fetch (him) quickly before I go forth to my seat of judgment.' And he ran
4 after them and said unto them according to these words. And they said unto him: 'God forbid
that thy servants should do this thing, and steal from the house of thy lord any utensil, and the money
also which we found in our sacks the first time, we thy servants brought back from the land of
5 Canaan. How then should we steal any utensil? Behold here are we and our sacks; search, and
wherever thou findest the cup in the sack of any man amongst us, let him be slain, and we and our
6 asses will serve thy lord.' And he said unto them: 'Not so, the man with whom I find, him only
7 shall I take as a servant, and ye shall return in peace unto your house.' And as he was searching in
their vessels, beginning with the eldest and ending with the youngest, it was found in Benjamin's
8 sack. And they rent their garments, and laded their asses, and returned to the city and came to the
9 house of Joseph, and they all bowed themselves on their faces to the ground before him. And
Joseph said unto them: 'Ye have done evil.' And they said: 'What shall we say and how shall
we defend ourselves? Our lord hath discovered the transgression of his servants; behold we are the
10 servants of our lord, and our asses also.' And Joseph said unto them: 'I too fear the Lord; as for
you, go ye to your homes and let your brother be my servant, for ye have done evil. Know ye not
11 that a man delights in his cup as I with this cup? And yet ye have stolen it from me.' And Judah
said: 'O my lord, let thy servant, **I pray thee**, speak a word in my lord's ear; two brothers did thy
servant's mother bear to our father; one went away and was lost, and hath not been found, and he
alone is left of his mother, and thy servant our father loves him, and his life also is bound up with
12 the life of this (lad). And it will come to pass, when we go to thy servant our father, and the lad is
13 not with us, that he will die, and we shall bring down our father with sorrow unto death. Now
rather let me, thy servant, abide instead of the boy as a bondsman unto my lord, and let the lad go
with his brethren, for I became surety for him at the hand of thy servant our father, and if I do not
14 bring him back, thy servant will bear the blame to our father for ever.' And Joseph saw that they
were all accordant in goodness one with another, and he could not refrain himself, and he told them
15 that he was Joseph. And he conversed with them in the Hebrew tongue and fell on their neck and
16 wept. But they knew him not and they began to weep. And he said unto them: 'Weep not over
me, but hasten and bring my father to me; and **ye see that it is my mouth that speaketh, and the**
17 **eyes of my brother Benjamin see.** For behold this is the second year of the famine, and there are
18 still five years without harvest or fruit of trees or ploughing. Come down quickly ye and your
households, so that ye perish not through the famine, and do not be grieved for your possessions, for
19 the Lord sent me before you to set things in order that many people might live. And tell my
father that I am still alive, and ye, behold, ye see that the Lord has made me as a father to Pharaoh,
20 and ruler over his house and over all the land of Egypt. And tell my father of all my glory, and
21 all the riches and glory that the Lord hath given me.' And by the command of the mouth of
Pharaoh he gave them chariots and provisions for the way, and he gave them all many-coloured
22 raiment and silver. And to their father he sent raiment and silver and ten asses which carried corn,
23 and he sent them away. And they went up and told their father that Joseph was alive, and was
measuring out corn to all the nations of the earth, and that he was ruler over all the land of Egypt.
24 And their father did not believe it, for he was beside himself in his mind; but when he saw the
wagons which Joseph had sent, the life of his spirit revived, and he said: 'It is enough for me if
Joseph lives; I will go down and see him before I die.'

*Jacob celebrates the feast of firstfruits, and encouraged by a vision goes down to Egypt, 1-10.
Names of his descendants, 11-34. (Cf. Gen. xlv. 1-28.)*

44 1 And Israel took his journey from †Haran† from his house on the new moon of the third month,
and he went on the way of the Well of the Oath, and he offered a sacrifice to the God of his
2 father Isaac on the seventh of this month. And Jacob remembered the dream that he had seen
3 at Bethel, and he feared to go down into Egypt. And while he was thinking of sending word
to Joseph to come to him, and that he would not go down, he remained there seven days, if

5. **thy**: for 'my' (Gen. xlv. 9).
10. **delights in his cup**: a change of *jāsta'adēm* into *jāstaqasēm* ('divines') would bring text into line with Gen.
xlv. 15; but the change may be deliberate.
11. **I pray thee**: MSS. 'on me', mistranslation of יָצַד in Gen. xlv. 18.
15. **Hebrew tongue**: so Ber. rabb. 93.
16. **ye see . . . Benjamin see**, emended in text. See my Eth. text, p. 157.
XLIV. 1. †Haran† for 'Hebron' (cp. Gen. xxxvii. 14).

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 44. 4-28

4 perchance he should see a vision as to whether he should remain or go down. And he celebrated the harvest festival of the first-fruits with old grain, for in all the land of Canaan there was not a handful of seed [in the land], for the famine was over all the beasts and cattle and 5 birds, and also over man. And on the sixteenth the Lord appeared unto him, and said unto him, 'Jacob, Jacob'; and he said, 'Here am I.' And He said unto him: 'I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham and Isaac; fear not to go down into Egypt, for I will there make of thee 6 a great nation. I will go down with thee, and I will bring thee up (again), and in this land shalt thou be buried, and Joseph shall put his hands upon thy eyes. Fear not; go down into Egypt.' 7 And his sons rose up, and his sons' sons, and they placed their father and their possessions upon 8 wagons. And Israel rose up from the Well of the Oath on the sixteenth of this third month, and he 9 went to the land of Egypt. And Israel sent Judah before him to his son Joseph to examine the Land of Goshen, for Joseph had told his brothers that they should come and dwell there that they 10 might be near him. And this was the goodliest (land) in the land of Egypt, and near to him, for all 11 (of them) and also for the cattle. And these are the names of the sons of Jacob who went into 12 Egypt with Jacob their father. Reuben, the first-born of Israel; and these are the names of his 13 sons: Enoch, and Pallu, and Hezron and Carmi—five. Simeon and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Jemuel, and Jamin, and Ohad, and Jachin, and Zohar, and Shaul, the son 14 of the Zephathite woman—seven. Levi and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: Gershon, and Kohath, and Merari—four. Judah and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: 15 Shela, and Perez, and Zerah—four. Issachar and his sons; and these are the names of his sons: 16 Tola, and Phûa, and Jâsûb, and Shimron—five. Zebulon and his sons; and these are the names of 17 his sons: Sered, and Elon, and Jahleel—four. And these are the sons of Jacob, and their sons whom Leah bore to Jacob in Mesopotamia, six, and their one sister, Dinah: and all the souls of the sons of Leah, and their sons, who went with Jacob their father into Egypt, were twenty-nine, and Jacob their 18 father being with them, they were thirty. And the sons of Zilpah, Leah's handmaid, the wife of 19 Jacob, who bore unto Jacob Gad and Asher. And these are the names of their sons who went with him into Egypt: The sons of Gad: Ziphion, and Haggi, and Shuni, and Ezbon, (and Eri), and Areli, 20 and Arodî—eight. And the sons of Asher: Imnah, and Ishvah, (and Ishvi), and Beriah, and Serah, 21 their one sister—six. All the souls were fourteen, and all those of Leah were forty-four. And the 22 sons of Rachel, the wife of Jacob: Joseph and Benjamin. And there were born to Joseph in Egypt before his father came into Egypt, those whom Asenath, daughter of Potiphar priest of Heliopolis 23 bare unto him, Manasseh, and Ephraim—three. And the sons of Benjamin: Bela and Becher, and Ashbel, Gera, and Naaman, and Ehi, and Rosh, and Muppim, and Huppim, and Ard—eleven. 24 And all the souls of Rachel were fourteen. And the sons of Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, the 25 wife of Jacob, whom she bare to Jacob, were Dan and Naphtali. And these are the names of their 26 27 28

4-8. Cf. Gen. xlv. 1-6. Jacob's vision is on the day after the Feast of 'Weeks'.

4. [in the land]: a dittography.

9. Gen. xlv. 28. For readings see p. 6.

12-33. Our text makes the number of Jacob's descendants together with himself seventy. This was the view of the writer of Gen. xlv. 27. On the other hand in Gen. xlv. 15, 18, 22, 25 and Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 7. 4 Jacob is expressly not included in the number seventy. Cf. Exod. i. 5. That chapter has admittedly undergone revision. Our text makes up the number seventy by a method somewhat different from that in Gen. xlv. Thus whereas Dan and Naphtali have respectively one and four sons in Gen., our text assigns them five each. On the other hand Gen. includes in its reckoning two grandchildren of Asher, Er, Onan, two sons of Perez, and Dinah, against Jubilees. The numbers in our text may be represented as follows:—

Leah's children	{	Reuben and 4 sons . . .	5	Rachel's children	{	Joseph and 2 sons . . .	3		
		Simeon and 6 sons . . .	7			Benjamin and 10 sons . . .	11		
		Levi and 3 sons . . .	4				—		
		Judah, 1 son, 2 grandsons . . .	4				14		
		Issachar and 4 sons . . .	5						
		Zebulon and 3 sons . . .	4						
			29						
Zilpah's	”	{	Gad and 7 sons . . .	8	Bilhah's	”	{	Dan and 5 sons . . .	6
			Asher, 4 sons and 1 daughter . . .	6				Naphtali and 5 sons . . .	6
									12
									14

29 + 14 + 14 + 12 = 69. Thus the number 70 includes Jacob. It is noteworthy that the LXX reads 75 in Gen. xlv. 27: likewise in Exod. i. 5, while in Deut. x. 22 most MSS. give 70, but some give 75. The number 75 in Acts vii. 14 is of course due to the LXX.

13. Zephathite, i.e. of Zephath, a Canaanite city (Judges. i. 17).

20, 21. () names required to complete numbers 'eight' and 'six'.

28. Cf. Gen. xlv. 23 which gives Hushim only.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 44. 28—45. 16

sons who went with them into Egypt. And the sons of Dan were Hushim, and Sámôn, and Asûdi, 29 and 'Îjâka, and Salômôn—six. And they died the year in which they entered into Egypt, and there 30 was left to Dan Hushim alone. And these are the names of the sons of Naphtali: Jahziel, and Guni, 31 and Jezer, and Shallum, and 'Îv. And 'Îv, who was born after the years of famine, died in Egypt. 32, 33 And all the souls of Rachel were twenty-six. And all the souls of Jacob which went into Egypt were seventy souls. These are his children and his children's children, in all seventy; but five died 34 in Egypt before Joseph, and had no children. And in the land of Canaan two sons of Judah died, Er and Onan, and they had no children, and the children of Israel buried those who perished, and they were reckoned among the seventy Gentile nations.

Joseph receives Jacob, and gives him Goshen, 1-7. Joseph acquires all the land and its inhabitants for Pharaoh, 8-12. Jacob dies and is buried in Hebron, 13-15. His books given to Levi, 16. (Cf. Gen. xlv. 28-30; xlvii. 11-13, 19, 20, 23, 24, 28; 1. 13.)

45 1 And Israel went into the country of Egypt, into the land of Goshen, on the new moon of the fourth 2172 A.M.
2 month, in the second year of the third week of the forty-fifth jubilee. And Joseph went to meet his
3 father Jacob, to the land of Goshen, and he fell on his father's neck and wept. And Israel said unto
Joseph: 'Now let me die since I have seen thee, and now may the Lord God of Israel be blessed,
the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac who hath not withheld His mercy and His grace from
4 His servant Jacob. It is enough for me that I have seen thy face whilst †I am† yet alive; yea, true
is the vision which I saw at Bethel. Blessed be the Lord my God for ever and ever, and blessed be
5 His name.' And Joseph and his brothers eat bread before their father and drank wine, and Jacob
rejoiced with exceeding great joy because he saw Joseph eating with his brothers and drinking before
him, and he blessed the Creator of all things who had preserved him, and had preserved for him his
6 twelve sons. And Joseph had given to his father and to his brothers as a gift the right of dwelling
in the land of Goshen and in Rameses and all the region round about, which he ruled over before
Pharaoh. And Israel and his sons dwelt in the land of Goshen, the best part of the land of Egypt;
7 and Israel was one hundred and thirty years old when he came into Egypt. And Joseph nourished
his father and his brethren and also their possessions with bread as much as sufficed them for the
8 seven years of the famine. And the land of Egypt suffered by reason of the famine, and Joseph
acquired all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh in return for food, and he got possession of the people
9 and their cattle and everything for Pharaoh. And the years of the famine were accomplished, and
Joseph gave to the people in the land seed and food that they might sow (the land) in the eighth
10 year, for the river had overflowed all the land of Egypt. For in the seven years of the famine it had
(not) overflowed and had irrigated only a few places on the banks of the river, but now it overflowed
11 and the Egyptians sowed the land, and it bore much corn that year. And this was the first year of 2178 A.M.
12 the fourth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. And Joseph took of the corn of the harvest the fifth part
for the king and left four parts for them for food and for seed, and Joseph made it an ordinance for
13 the land of Egypt until this day. And Israel lived in the land of Egypt seventeen years, and all the
days which he lived were three jubilees, one hundred and forty-seven years, and he died in the fourth 2188 A.M.
14 year of the fifth week of the forty-fifth jubilee. And Israel blessed his sons before he died and told
them everything that would befall them in the land of Egypt; and he made known to them what
would come upon them in the last days, and blessed them and gave to Joseph two portions in
15 the land. And he slept with his fathers, and he was buried in the double cave in the land of
Canaan, near Abraham his father in the grave which he dug for himself in the double cave in
16 the land of Hebron. And he gave all his books and the books of his fathers to Levi his son
that he might preserve them and renew them for his children until this day.

33. before Joseph (*b c*); 'before they married' (*a*); 'who did not marry' (*d*).

XLV. 1-4 *a*. Gen. xlv. 28-30.

4. whilst †I am† yet alive: change *ana* to *anta* = 'thou' and read 'that' for 'whilst', then = Gen. xlv. 30.

6. Gen. xlvii. 11.

one hundred and thirty years: from Gen. xlvii. 9.

7. as much as sufficed: emend *ya'aklômû* to *'aklômû* = 'according to their persons', as LXX, Gen. xlvii. 12.

8. for Pharaoh: with Latin *b* reads 'and Pharaoh'.

9, 10. Gen. xlvii. 23. Restore (the land) and (not) from Latin and emend 'it bore' to 'they harvested' (Latin *collegerunt*).

12. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 24.

the corn of. Read with Lat. 'all the'.

13. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 28. Date conflicts with that in xix. 13. See xxv. 4.

14. told them, &c. Cf. Gen. xlix. 1; Jub. xxx. 21.

15. Cf. Gen. l. 13.

16. Cf. x. 14. Our author, who published these traditions, was probably himself a priest.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 46. 1-13

Prosperity of Israel in Egypt, 1-2. Death of Joseph, 3-5. War between Egypt and Canaan during which the bones of all the sons of Jacob except Joseph are buried at Hebron, 6-11. Egypt oppresses Israel, 12-16. (Cf. Gen. I. 22, 25-6; Exod. i. 6-14.)

- 46** ¹ And it came to pass that after Jacob died the children of Israel multiplied in the land of Egypt, and they became a great nation, and they were of one accord in heart, so that brother loved brother and every man helped his brother, and they increased abundantly and multiplied exceedingly, ten ^{2242 A.M.}
² weeks of years, all the days of the life of Joseph. And there was no Satan nor any evil all the days of the life of Joseph which he lived after his father Jacob, for all the Egyptians honoured the children
³ of Israel all the days of the life of Joseph. And Joseph died being a hundred and ten years old; seventeen years he lived in the land of Canaan, and ten years he was a servant, and three years in
⁴ prison, and eighty years he was under the king, ruling all the land of Egypt. And he died and all his brethren and all that generation. And he commanded the children of Israel before he died that
⁵ they should carry his bones with them when they went forth from the land of Egypt. And he made them swear regarding his bones, for he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring forth and bury him in the land of Canaan, for Mākamārōn, king of Canaan, while dwelling in the land of Assyria, fought in the valley with the king of Egypt and slew him there, and pursued after the
⁶ Egyptians to the gates of 'Ērmōn. But he was not able to enter, for another, a new king, had become king of Egypt, and he was stronger than he, and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of
⁷ Egypt were closed, and none went out and none came into Egypt. And Joseph died in the forty-sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, in the second year, and they buried him in the land of Egypt, and ^{2242 A.M.}
⁸ all his brethren died after him. And the king of Egypt went forth to war with the king of Canaan ^{2263 A.M.}
⁹ in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week in the second year, and the children of Israel brought forth all the bones of the children of Jacob save the bones of Joseph, and they buried them in the
¹⁰ field in the double cave in the mountain. And the most (of them) returned to Egypt, but a few of them remained in the mountains of Hebron, and Amram thy father remained with them. And the
¹¹ king of Canaan was victorious over the king of Egypt, and he closed the gates of Egypt. And he devised an evil device against the children of Israel of afflicting them and he said unto the people of
¹² Egypt: 'Behold the people of the children of Israel have increased and multiplied more than we. Come and let us deal wisely with them before they become too many, and let us afflict them with slavery before war come upon us and before they too fight against us; else they will join themselves

XLVI. 1. Cf. Exod. i. 7.

3. Cf. Gen. I. 22, 26 (Joseph's death at 110).

6-9. This war between the Egyptians and the Canaanites is referred to in the T. Sim. viii. 2 and T. Benj. xii. 3 as being waged when the bodies of these patriarchs were buried at Hebron. Thus in Sim. viii. 2 ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν θήκῃ ξύλων ἀσηπτῶν τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν τὰ ὀστά αὐτοῦ ἐν Χεβρών. καὶ ἀνήνεγκαν αὐτὰ ἐν πολέμῳ Αἰγυπτίων κρυφῇ: and Benj. xii. 2, 3 καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐν παραθήκῃ καὶ . . . ἀνήγαγον τὰ ὀστά τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν ἐν κρυφῇ, ἐν πολέμῳ Χαναάν (Arm. = ὅτε ἦσαν ἐν πολέμῳ οἱ Χανααῖοι). If we could trust the date in T. Gad viii. 5 which says that the body of Gad was buried in Hebron five years after his death: ἐκοιμήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ. καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἔτη ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν καὶ ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν εἰς Χεβρών, we could arrive at the date to which the authors of Jubilees and the Testaments assigned this war between Egypt and Canaan. Since Gad died at the age of 125 (T. Gad I. 1; Midrash Tadshe and Book of Jashar, *op. cit.* ii. 1246) and was 40 when he went down into Egypt (see note on xxviii. 11-24), his burial in Hebron took place 90 years after the descent into Egypt in the year of the world 2262. But this date would be too early for Levi and Benjamin. The statement in Benj. xii. 3 that this expedition to Hebron was in the 91st year (Greek MSS.) before the exodus, is not supported by the Armenian version. Our text fixes it at 2263. Notwithstanding it seems clearly to have been the view of the author of the Testaments that the bones of all the patriarchs save those of Joseph were buried in Hebron on the occasion of a war between Egypt and Canaan. Thus, in addition to the statements in Simeon, Gad and Benjamin, observe that after mentioning the death of Levi, Zebulon and Dan, the Testaments (Lev. xix. 5; Zeb. x. 7; Dan vii. 2) add that 'afterwards' (ὕστερον) they were buried in Hebron. Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 8. 2) appears to have held the same view, though he makes no mention of the war. He states: 'His (Joseph's) brethren also died . . . and their posterity and sons carried their bodies after some time (κομισάμεντες μετὰ χρόνον) and buried them in Hebron.' St. Stephen is beholden to this tradition for the statement in Acts vii. 15-16.

Merenptah (about this date?) waged war against Palestine. See Articles on Egypt in *Encyc. Bib.* ii and *Bible Dictionary* i. 662, 665. But our text, which emphasizes the weakness of Egypt, points rather to the period of the successors of Rameses III when Egypt lost her Syrian dependencies.

In Josephus (*Ant.* ii. 10) there is an account of a war between Cush and Egypt in which the latter prevails under the generalship of Moses. An enlarged form of this legend having many details in common with that in Josephus is given in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xlv. Here the war is between Cush and Syria and the people of the East. Another form appears in the *Palaea Historica* (Vassiliev, *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina*, i. 228), where Egypt is at strife with India. A later and still more elaborate and still more grotesque edition is found in the Book of Jashar (*op. cit.* ii. 1244-53). The oldest form of the tradition is that in our text where the war is between Egypt and Canaan. The account in the Chronicles of Jerahmeel comes nearest to this in representing Cush and Canaan as the opposing countries.

6. 'Ērmōn = Heroōnopolis, near the desert on the canal of Ramses.

10. No other mention of this stay of Amram in Palestine; but cf. Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 8. 2.

13-15. Cf. Exod. i. 10-12, 14.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 46. 13—48. 2

unto **our enemies** and get them up out of our land, for their hearts and faces are towards the land of Canaan.' And he set over them taskmasters to afflict them with slavery; and they built strong cities for Pharaoh, Pithom, and Raamses and they built all the walls and all the fortifications which had fallen in the cities of Egypt. And they made them serve with rigour, and the more they dealt evilly with them, the more they increased and multiplied. And the people of Egypt abominated the children of Israel.

Birth of Moses, 1-4. Adopted by Pharaoh's daughter, 5-9. Slays an Egyptian and flees (into Midian), 10-12. (Cf. Exod. i. 22; ii. 2-15.)

47 ¹ And in the seventh week, in the seventh year, in the forty-seventh jubilee, thy father went forth from the land of Canaan, and thou wast born in the fourth week, in the sixth year thereof, in the forty-eighth jubilee; this was the time of tribulation on the children of Israel. And Pharaoh, king of Egypt, issued a command regarding them that they should cast all their male children which were born into the river. And they cast them in for seven months until the day that thou wast born. And thy mother hid thee for three months, and they told regarding her. And she made an ark for thee, and covered it with pitch and asphalt, and placed it in the flags on the bank of the river, and she placed thee in it seven days, and thy mother came by night and suckled thee, and by day Miriam, thy sister, guarded thee from the birds. And in those days Tharmuth, the daughter of Pharaoh, came to bathe in the river, and she heard thy voice crying, and she told her **maidens** to bring thee forth, and they brought thee unto her. And she took thee out of the ark, and she had compassion on thee. And thy sister said unto her: 'Shall I go and call unto thee one of the Hebrew women to nurse and suckle this babe for thee?' And she said (unto her): 'Go.' And she went and called thy mother Jochebed, and she gave her wages, and she nursed thee. And afterwards, when thou wast grown up, they brought thee unto the **daughter** of Pharaoh, and thou didst become her son, and Amram thy father taught thee writing, and after thou hadst completed three weeks they brought thee into the royal court. And thou wast three weeks of years at court until the time when thou didst go forth from the royal court and didst see an Egyptian smiting thy friend who was of the children of Israel, and thou didst slay him and hide him in the sand. And on the second day thou didst find two of the children of Israel striving together, and thou didst say to him who was doing the wrong: 'Why dost thou smite thy brother?' And he was angry and indignant, and said: 'Who made thee a prince and a judge over us? Thinkest thou to kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian yesterday?' And thou didst fear and flee on account of these words.

Moses returns from Midian to Egypt. Mastêmâ seeks to slay him on the way, 1-3. The ten plagues, 4-11. Israel goes forth out of Egypt: the destruction of the Egyptians on the Red Sea, 12-19. (Cf. Exod. ii. 15; iv. 19, 24; vii. seqq.)

48 ¹ And in the sixth year of the third week of the forty-ninth jubilee thou didst depart and dwell (in the land of Midian) five weeks and one year. And thou didst return into Egypt in the second week in the second year in the fiftieth jubilee. And thou thyself knowest what He spake unto thee on Mount Sinai, and what prince Mastêmâ desired to do with thee when thou wast returning into Egypt

13. **our enemies**: so Lat.; Eth. 'the enemy'.

their hearts, &c. Rönsch compares Ezek. xxi. 2.

14. **strong cities**: with LXX. Heb. = עִירֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת.

Raamses: Latin adds 'et Oon' from LXX, Exod. i. 11.

XLVII. 2-4. Cf. Exod. i. 22, ii. 2-4.

3. **seven months**: Cedren. i. 85, quotes it as 'ten months'.

5. Greek form 'Thermuthis' in Syr. Frag.; Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 9. 5; Syncell. i. 227.

her maidens: plural only in Syr. of Exod. ii. 5.

7. (unto her) restored from Latin and Exod. ii. 8.

8. **Jochebed**: Exod. vi. 20; Num. xxvi. 59.

9-12. Exod. ii. 10-14.

9. **daughter** = Exod. i. 10. Eth. and Lat. = 'house'.

'Amram . . . taught thee writing: not the view of Acts vii. 22; Philo, *Vit. Mosis*, ii. 83.

three weeks: cf. Joseph. *Ant.* ii. 9. 6.

XLVIII. 1. **in the land of Midian**: restored from Latin with Exod. ii. 15.

one year: read 'three years'.

return into Egypt, as Exod. iv. 19.

2. Author avoids offence by ascribing God's deed to Mastêmâ. Cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 1; Jubilees xvii. 16. < > Eth. text corrupt; emended from Latin.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 48. 3—49. 1

3 (on the way when thou didst meet him at the lodging-place). Did he not with all his power seek to slay thee and deliver the Egyptians out of thy hand when he saw that thou wast sent to execute judgment and vengeance on the Egyptians? And I delivered thee out of his hand, and thou didst perform the signs and wonders which thou wast sent to perform in Egypt against Pharaoh, and against all his house, and against his servants and his people. And the Lord executed a great vengeance on them for Israel's sake, and smote them through (the plagues of) blood and frogs, lice and dog-flies, and malignant boils breaking forth in blains; and their cattle by death; and by hail-stones, thereby He destroyed everything that grew for them; and by locusts which devoured the residue which had been left by the hail, and by darkness; and (by the death) of the first-born of men and animals, and on all their idols the Lord took vengeance and burned them with fire. And everything was sent through thy hand, that thou shouldst declare (these things) before they were done, and thou didst speak with the king of Egypt before all his servants and before his people. And everything took place according to thy words; ten great and terrible judgments came on the land of Egypt that thou mightest execute vengeance on it for Israel. And the Lord did everything for Israel's sake, and according to His covenant, which He had ordained with Abraham that He would take vengeance on them as they had brought them by force into bondage. And the prince Mastêmâ stood up against thee, and sought to cast thee into the hands of Pharaoh, and he helped the Egyptian sorcerers, and they stood up and wrought before thee. The evils indeed we permitted them to work, but the remedies we did not allow to be wrought by their hands. And the Lord smote them with malignant ulcers, and they were not able to stand, for we destroyed them so that they could not perform a single sign. And notwithstanding all (these) signs and wonders the prince Mastêmâ was not put to shame because he took courage and cried to the Egyptians to pursue after thee with all the powers of the Egyptians, with their chariots, and with their horses, and with all the hosts of the peoples of Egypt. And I stood between the Egyptians and Israel, and we delivered Israel out of his hand, and out of the hand of his people, and the Lord brought them through the midst of the sea as if it were dry land. And all the peoples whom he brought to pursue after Israel, the Lord our God cast them into the midst of the sea, into the depths of the abyss beneath the children of Israel, even as the people of Egypt had cast their children into the river. He took vengeance on 1,000,000 of them, and one thousand strong and energetic men were destroyed on account of one suckling of the children of thy people which they had thrown into the river. And on the fourteenth day and on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth and on the seventeenth and on the eighteenth the prince Mastêmâ was bound and imprisoned behind the children of Israel that he might not accuse them. And on the nineteenth we let them loose that they might help the Egyptians and pursue the children of Israel. And he hardened their hearts and made them stubborn, and the device was devised by the Lord our God that He might smite the Egyptians and cast them into the sea. And on the fourteenth we bound him that he might not accuse the children of Israel on the day when they asked the Egyptians for vessels and garments, vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of bronze, in order to despoil the Egyptians in return for the bondage in which they had forced them to serve. And we did not lead forth the children of Israel from Egypt empty handed.

The Passover: regulations regarding its celebration. (Cf. Exod. xii. 6, 9, 11, 13, 22-3, 30, 46; xv. 22.)

49 1 Remember the commandment which the Lord commanded thee concerning the passover, that thou shouldst celebrate it in its season on the fourteenth of the first month, that thou shouldst kill

3. Author explains away meaning of Exod. iv. 24, unlike Jerahmeel xlvii. 1, 2, where the angel seeks to slay Moses for not circumcising his son.

5. (by the death): Lat. and Eth. omit.

6. declare (*tenger*) emended from 'shouldst do' (*tegar*).

8. Gen. xv. 13, 14.

9. prince Mastêmâ: *a b* here and in verses 12 and 15, and xviii. 9, 12 read 'prince of the Mastêmâ'.

11. Exod. ix. 11.

12. Exod. xiv. 8, 9. because. So I read for 'until'.

took courage: *a* has 'took thought'.

13. *a b* read 'between thee and' before 'between'; *c d* add these words after 'Egyptians and'.

14. *Lex talionis*: cf. iv. 31; Wisd. xi. 1, 7, 8, xii. 23, xvi. 1, xviii. 45; Philo, *adv. Flacc.* xx; Joseph. *contra Ap.* ii. 13; Exod. xviii. 11; Gen. ix. 6.

17. Cf. xvii. 16, xviii. 2.

18. fourteenth: with *b* and Cedren. i. 87; *a d* read 'seventeenth'.

XLIX. 1-21. Exod. xii. 6, 13, 22, 23, 28.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 49. 1-15

it before it is evening, and that they should eat it by night on the evening of the fifteenth from the
² time of the setting of the sun. For on this night—the beginning of the festival and the beginning
of the joy—ye were eating the passover in Egypt, when all the powers of Mastêmâ had been let
loose to slay all the first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh to the first-born
³ of the captive maid-servant in the mill, and to the cattle. And this is the sign which the Lord gave
them: Into every house on the lintels of which they saw the blood of a lamb of the first year, into
(that) house they should not enter to slay, but should pass by (it), that all those should be saved that
⁴ were in the house because the sign of the blood was on its lintels. And the powers of the Lord did
everything according as the Lord commanded them, and they passed by all the children of Israel,
and the plague came not upon them to destroy from amongst them any soul either of cattle, or
⁵ man, or dog. And the plague was very grievous in Egypt, and there was no house in Egypt
⁶ where there was not one dead, and weeping and lamentation. And all Israel was eating the flesh
of the paschal lamb, and drinking the wine, and was lauding and blessing, and giving thanks to
the Lord God of their fathers, and was ready to go forth from under the yoke of Egypt, and from
⁷ the evil bondage. And remember thou this day all the days of thy life, and observe it from year to
year all the days of thy life, once a year, on its day, according to all the law thereof, and do not
⁸ adjourn (it) from day to day, or from month to month. For it is an eternal ordinance, and engraven
on the heavenly tablets **regarding all** the children of Israel that they should observe it every year on
its day once a year, throughout all their generations; and there is no limit of days, for this is ordained
⁹ for ever. And the man who is free from uncleanness, and does not come to observe it on occasion
of its day, so as to bring an acceptable offering before the Lord, and to eat and to drink before the
Lord on the day of its festival, that man who is clean and close at hand shall be cut off: because
he offered not the oblation of the Lord in its appointed season, he shall take the guilt upon himself.
¹⁰ Let the children of Israel come and observe the passover on the day of its fixed time, on the fourteenth
day of the first month, between the evenings, from the third part of the day to the third part of
¹¹ the night, for two portions of the day are given to the light, and a third part to the evening. This
¹² is that which the Lord commanded thee that thou shouldst observe it between the evenings. And
it is not permissible to slay it during any period of the light, but during the period bordering on the
evening, and let them eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night, and
whatever is left over of all its flesh from the third part of the night and onwards, let them burn
¹³ it with fire. And they shall not cook it with water, nor shall they eat it raw, but roast on the
fire: **they shall eat it** with diligence, its head with the inwards thereof and its feet they shall roast
with fire, and not break any bone thereof; for †of the children of Israel no bone shall be crushed†.
¹⁴ For this reason the Lord commanded the children of Israel to observe the passover on the day of its
fixed time, and they shall not break a bone thereof; for it is a festival day, and a day commanded,
and there may be no passing over from day to day, and month to month, but on the day of its
¹⁵ festival let it be observed. And do thou command the children of Israel to observe the passover

2. See notes on xlvi. 17, x. 8, &c.

5. Cf. Exod. xii. 30.

6. **drinking the wine**: first mention of this practice at the Passover.

7-8. Cf. vi. 20, 22.

8. **regarding all** = *lakuëllômâ* emended with Lat. from *la'êla*.

9. Cf. Numb. ix. 13. Explained in Pesach. ix. 4.

10. Exod. xii. 6.

12. **slay it . . . during the period (or 'time') bordering on the evening**. According to our text the Passover victim might be slain 'during the period bordering on the evening'. This is the meaning it attaches to the phrase 'between the evenings' (בֵּין הָעֶרְבַּיִם). It corresponds well with Deut. xvi. 6, which gives directions for the sacrificing of the passover 'at even, at the going down of the sun'. But in ver. 10 of our text, a wider definition is given—'from the third part of the day to the third part of the night.'—The Pharisees and the Sadducees differed in the interpretation of the phrase 'between the evenings'. The former said it meant from the time when the sun inclined towards his setting till his final disappearance, i.e. from 3 to 6 p.m., but according to the latter it was the time between actual sunset and darkness, i.e. 6 and 7 p.m. (Pesachim v. 1). The hours (the 9th to the 11th) assigned by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3) agree with the Pharisaic determination (θόουσιν μὲν ἀπὸ ἐνάτης ὥρας μέχρις ἑνδεκάτης). If then we combine the statements in verses 10 and 12 of our text we may infer that the slaughtering of the victim might take place any time during 'the third part of the day' before sunset; and this harmonizes on the whole with the rabbinic tradition. The Samaritans and Karaite Jews support the usage of the Sadducees in limiting the act of sacrificing to the hour between sunset and complete darkness.

eat it at the time of the evening until the third part of the night. Night was divided into three parts: 6 to 10 p.m., 10 p.m. to 2 a.m., and 2 to 6 a.m. Hence the time for eating seems to be from 6 to 10 p.m. The rabbinic rule fixed midnight as the hour when the eating must be concluded (Berachoth i. 1; Pesach. x. 9).

13. **they shall eat it**: emended with Lat.

†of the children . . . †. The Latin seems better: 'non erit tribulatio in filiis Istrahel in die hac.'

15. No evil will come in the year of a Passover rightly performed.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 49. 15—50. 8

throughout their days, every year, once a year on the day of its fixed time, and it shall come for a memorial well pleasing before the Lord, and no plague shall come upon them to slay or to smite in that year in which they celebrate the passover in its season in every respect according to His command. And they shall not eat it outside the sanctuary of the Lord, but before the sanctuary of the Lord, and all the people of the congregation of Israel shall celebrate it in its appointed season. And every man who has come upon its day shall eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord from twenty years old and upward; for thus is it written and ordained that they should eat it in the sanctuary of the Lord. And when the children of Israel come into the land which they are to possess, into the land of Canaan, and set up the tabernacle of the Lord in the midst of the land in one of their tribes until the sanctuary of the Lord has been built in the land, let them come and celebrate the passover in the midst of the tabernacle of the Lord, and let them slay it before the Lord from year to year. And in the days when the house has been built in the name of the Lord in the land of their inheritance, they shall go there and slay the passover in the evening, at sunset, at the third part of the day. And they shall offer its blood on the threshold of the altar, and shall place its fat on the fire which is upon the altar, and they shall eat its flesh roasted with fire in the court of the house which has been sanctified in the name of the Lord. And they may not celebrate the passover in their cities, nor in any place save before the tabernacle of the Lord, or before His house where His name hath dwelt; and they shall not go astray from the Lord. And do thou, Moses, command the children of Israel to observe the ordinances of the passover, as it was commanded unto thee; declare thou unto them every year †and the day of its days, and ‡ the festival of unleavened bread, that they should eat unleavened bread seven days, (and) that they should observe its festival, and that they bring an oblation every day during those seven days of joy before the Lord on the altar of your God. For ye celebrated this festival with haste when ye went forth from Egypt till ye entered into the wilderness of Shur; for on the shore of the sea ye completed it.

Laws regarding the jubilees, 1-5, and the Sabbath, 6-13.

50 ¹ And after this law I made known to thee the days of the Sabbaths in the desert of Sin[ai], which ² is between Elim and Sinai. And I told thee of the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai, and I told thee of the jubilee years in the sabbaths of years: but the year thereof have I not told thee till ye enter the land which ye are to possess. And the land also shall keep its sabbaths while they dwell ³ upon it, and they shall know the jubilee year. Wherefore I have ordained for thee the year-weeks ⁴ and the years and the jubilees: there are forty-nine jubilees from the days of Adam until this day, ^{2410 A.M.} and one week and two years: and there are yet forty years to come (lit. 'distant') for learning the ^{2450 A.M.} commandments of the Lord, until they pass over into the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan to the west. And the jubilees shall pass by, until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication, and uncleanness, and pollution, and sin, and error, and dwells with confidence in all the land, and there shall be no more a Satan or any evil one, and the land shall be clean from that time for evermore. ⁶ And behold the commandment regarding the Sabbaths—I have written (them) down for thee— ⁷ and all the judgments of its laws. Six days shalt thou labour, but on the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord your God. In it ye shall do no manner of work, ye and your sons, and your men- ⁸ servants and your maid-servants, and all your cattle and the sojourner also who is with you. And the man that does any work on it shall die: whoever desecrates that day, whoever lies with (his)

17. from twenty years old (Exod. xxx. 14, Numb. i. 32). Rabbis said fourteen.
 20. Eat its flesh . . . in the court of the house, &c. This direction can be justified by an appeal to Deut. xvi. 7 (cf. 6) 'thou shalt eat it in the place which the Lord thy God shall choose'. But the Mishnah extended this privilege to Jerusalem at large (Sebach. v. 8; Makkoth iii. 3). This extension was necessitated by the vast multitudes which came up to this feast (cf. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 9. 3, ii. 14. 3).
 21. Based on Deut. xvi. 5 (LXX).
 nor. Eth. reads 'and' but Latin omits.
 go astray from the Lord: Zeph. i. 6.
 22. †and the day of its days, and ‡—Latin *in tempore dierum suorum*, 'during its days.'
 23. Cf. Exod. xii. 11.
 Shur: from Exod. xv. 22.
 L. 1. Cf. Exod. xvi. 1. Sinai, corrupt for Sin.
 2. Cf. Lev. xxv. 8.
 3. Cf. Lev. xxvi. 34.
 4. 'Jubilees' are periods of forty-nine years in our author's opinion; of fifty in most Jewish writers.
 5. Cf. xxiii. 26-8.
 7. Exod. xx. 9, 10.
 8. The man that does any work on it shall die. This statement found in Exod. xxxv. 2 makes death the penalty for any and every breach of the Sabbath.
 Whoever lies with (his) wife. This law sprang probably from the fanatical period referred to in Sanh. 46 a,

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES 50. 8-13

wife, or whoever says he will do something on it, that he will set out on a journey thereon in regard to any buying or selling: and whoever draws water thereon which he had not prepared for himself on the sixth day, and whoever takes up any burden to carry it out of his tent or out of his house shall die. Ye shall do no work whatever on the Sabbath day save what ye have prepared for yourselves on the sixth day, so as to eat, and drink, and rest, and keep Sabbath from all work on that day, and to bless the Lord your God, who has given you a day of festival and a holy day: and a day of the holy kingdom for all Israel is this day among their days for ever. For great is the honour which the Lord has given to Israel that they should eat and drink and be satisfied on this festival day, and rest thereon from all labour which belongs to the labour of the children of men, save burning frankincense and bringing oblations and sacrifices before the Lord for days and for Sabbaths. This work alone shall be done on the Sabbath-days in the sanctuary of the Lord your God; that they may atone for Israel with sacrifice continually from day to day for a memorial well-pleasing before the Lord, and that He may receive them always from day to day according as thou hast been commanded. And every man who does any work thereon, or goes a journey, or tills (his) farm, whether in his house or any other place, and whoever lights a fire, or rides on any beast, or travels by ship on the sea, and whoever strikes or kills anything, or slaughters a beast or a bird, or whoever catches an animal or a bird or a fish, or whoever fasts or makes war on the Sabbaths: The man who does any of these things on the Sabbath shall die, so that the children of Israel shall observe the Sabbaths according to the commandments regarding the Sabbaths of the land, as it is written in the tablets, which He gave into my hands that I should write out for thee the laws of the seasons, and the seasons according to the division of their days.

Herewith is completed the account of the division of the days.

the period of the Syro-Grecian domination, when a man was put to death for riding a horse. That certain regulations of this nature existed we must infer from our text, as well as from the Talmudic treatise Nidda 38*a*. Early Chasids refrained from cohabitation with their wives from the close of the Sabbath to the fourth day of the week, in order that their wives might not desecrate the Sabbath 271 to 273 days later by child-bearing. Against this ascetic attitude towards marriage a reaction set in which resulted in the laws of the Mishnah on this subject. Thus the cohabitation of husband and wife is enjoined on the Sabbath in Nedar iii. 10, viii. 6, while in Baba kamma 82*a* it is stated that one of the ordinances instituted by Ezra directed that a man should 'eat garlic' (i.e. cohabit) on the eve of the Sabbath. The severer usage is followed by the modern Samaritans (Eichhorn's *Repertorium*, xiii. 257, 282; de Sacy, *Notices et extraits de la Bible*, xii. 175: also by the Abyssinian Falashas (*Univ. Isr.* 1851, p. 482) and the Karaite Jews (see Singer, pp. 198-9 note). The Karaite Jews inferred the unlawfulness of cohabitation on the Sabbath from a literal interpretation of Exod. xxxiv. 21. As regards the usage of the ancient Samaritans there has been some diversity of opinion. Karo (Beer, *Buch der Jubiläen*, p. 54) argues that the text in Nedar iii. 10 speaks for the existence of the strict law having existed among the Samaritans at a date anterior to the time of the Karaite Jews, but this is disputed by Frankel (*Einfluss d. pal. Exeg.* 252 seq.).

That he will set out on a journey thereon (*b d*). *a c* omit 'thereon'. This command was derived from Exod. xvi. 29, where the people are bidden to 'abide every man in his place . . . on the seventh day' and not to go in quest of manna. Permission was given to go a distance of 2,000 cubits (Erubin iv. 3, i, v. 7), which was called the 'Sabbath limit' (תחום השבת) or simply 'limit' (תחום), or Sabbath-day's journey (σαββαρίον ὁδός, Acts i. 12). See Lightfoot, *Exercitationes on the Acts*, i. 12; Buxtorf and Levy's Lexicons on תחום; Schürer, *History of the New Testament Times*, ii. 2. 102-3. Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 8. 4) speaks of this halacha: οὐκ ἐξέρχεται δὲ ἡμῖν οὔτε τοῖς σαββαρίοις οὔτ' ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ ὁδεύειν.

In regard to any buying or selling. All the MSS. prefix 'and'. The true text is uncertain and probably transposed. Buying and selling are prohibited in Neh. x. 31, xiii. 16, 17.

whoever draws water. This was forbidden by the Karaite Jews (Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* ii. 304, quoted by Singer, p. 199 note).

which he had not prepared on the sixth day. This clause comes in awkwardly. A command against 'eating or drinking anything' may have originally preceded this clause in our text. Cf. ii. 30, note.

takes up any burden to carry it, &c. See note on ii. 29. This is the thirty-ninth form of work forbidden in the treatise Shabbath. If a man dropped his false teeth it would be unlawful to lift and carry them; for they would constitute a 'burden'. Similarly as much ink as would suffice for writing two letters (Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*,² ii. 782, 784).

12. **tills (his) farm:** cf. Exod. xxxiv. 21; Shabb. vii. 2.

lights a fire: forbidden in Exod. xxxv. 3; Numb. xv. 32, 33.

rides on any beast: cf. Sanh. 46*a*; Beza v. 2.

strikes or kills anything: cf. Shabb. vii. 2.

fasts: cf. Judith, viii. 6.

makes war: cf. Shabb. vi. 2, 4; 1 Macc. ii. 31-8; 2 Macc. vi. 11, xv. 1; Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 12. 4, xiv. 4. 2. Partially superseded in 1 Macc. ii. 41. It was a constant hindrance to the Jews, especially at Pompey's siege of Jerusalem (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2), but was once abandoned with success in the final war (Joseph. *Bell.* ii. 19. 2).

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. THE CHARACTER OF THE EPISTLE.

THE Epistle claims to be a contemporary record, written with the personal knowledge of an eye-witness, by Aristeas, an officer at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–247 B.C.), to his brother Philocrates, giving an account of the circumstances which led up to the composition of the LXX version of the Jewish law. The events with which it deals are supposed to take place during the lifetime of Queen Arsinoe (§ 41). As Arsinoe became Queen about 278 B.C. and died in 270 B.C., these dates provide us with the time limits within which the story must be placed. If the allusion to the royal children in § 41 is not an anachronism, but contains a reference to the fact that Arsinoe, finding herself childless, adopted the offspring of her predecessor, the date must be fixed towards the end of this period.¹ The writer strives to give us the impression that the Epistle was composed almost immediately after the occurrence of the events which it records.

This claim, however, cannot be sustained. There are many reasons which make it quite certain that the Epistle could not have been written by a Greek Court-official in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

1. On two occasions the writer makes statements which betray the fact that he belongs to a later age. In § 28 he speaks of the manner in which ‘the affairs of state *used to be carried out* by these Egyptian kings’ and in § 182, after referring to the arrangement which was made for the entertainment of guests at court in the time of Philadelphus, he adds the significant words, ‘it is an arrangement which is still maintained to-day’.

2. The writer is guilty of several serious historical anachronisms.

(a) He represents Demetrius of Phalerum as head of the library of Alexandria and ascribes the translation of the law to his influence and initiative (§§ 9–11 *et passim*). The evidence, however, proves quite conclusively that Demetrius was banished by Philadelphus at the commencement of his reign (*c.* 283 B.C.) for supporting the claim of Keraunos to the throne, and died shortly afterwards (see note on § 9).

(b) In § 180 Aristeas makes Philadelphus allude to a ‘naval victory over Antigonus’. If the reference is to the battle of Kos (258 B.C.), he is guilty not only of turning a defeat into a victory, but also of antedating the event by some twenty years or so. If, as many scholars suppose, the reference is to the battle of Andros, the former objection is removed (for Egypt was victorious at Andros) but the latter difficulty is intensified, for the battle was not fought till at any rate the last year of the reign of Philadelphus (247 B.C.) and possibly not till the beginning of the reign of his successor.

(c) In § 201 Menedemus the philosopher is represented as being present at the banquet and taking part in the discussion. Menedemus lived at Eretria and we have no evidence that he ever visited Alexandria. Moreover, he probably died in 277 B.C., a year or two before the time when Aristeas introduces him into the narrative. The references to Theopompus (§ 314) and Theodektes (§ 316) seem to be equally impossible, and the stories which are told about them must be regarded as purely fictitious.

(d) At times the Epistle assumes the existence of the LXX before the translation was made. In §§ 57–8 the specifications of the table which Philadelphus sent as a present to Eleazar are taken from the LXX, which differs very considerably from the Hebrew. In § 228 a phrase from the LXX of Deut. xiii. 6 is put into the mouth of one of the Jewish envoys. In the description of the dress of the High Priest (§§ 96–9) many terms are used from the LXX of Exodus xxviii and xxix.

¹ Epiphanius gives the date as the 7th year of Philadelphus ‘more or less’; other ecclesiastical writers give the 2nd, 17th, 19th, or 20th year.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

In § 155 there is a conflate quotation made up of phrases taken from the LXX of two different passages in Deuteronomy. And—most important of all—the law is spoken of as Scripture (§§ 155 and 168).

3. The writer of the Epistle could not have been a Greek courtier, as he claims to be in § 16. To write under a Greek mask was a favourite literary device of Jewish apologists. We have examples of it in the Sibylline books, in pseudo-Hecataeus, and in the forged additions which were made to the Greek poets (Schürer, *ET* ii. 3, p. 294 ff.). The whole tone of the letter from beginning to end proves conclusively that its author was a Jew and that the Greek rôle was assumed to strengthen the force of the argument and commend it to non-Jewish readers.

The Epistle of Aristeas therefore must not, in spite of its author's asseverations, be regarded as a historical document. It is really a piece of apologetic—'a panegyric' as Schürer describes it—'upon Jewish law, Jewish wisdom, and the Jewish name in general'. We may compare it to a modern historical novel written with a purpose. It is only valuable because it indicates the views which were held at the time when it was written with regard to the origin of the LXX.

It may be added that the genuineness and authenticity of the letter were first questioned by Ludovicus de Vives in his commentary on Aug. *de Civ. Dei* xviii. 4 (1522), and subsequently by Scaliger. Ussher and Voss defended the letter, but its claim to belong to the period of Philadelphus was finally destroyed by Humphry Hody (1684–1705), though unsuccessful attempts were made later on by Grinfield in his *Apology for the LXX* (1850) and by Oeconomus in his *περὶ τῶν ὁ ἐρμηνευτῶν* (Athens, 1844–9) to resuscitate its reputation.

§ 2. THE CONTENTS AND PURPOSE OF THE EPISTLE.

The contents of the Epistle may be analysed as follows:—

- I. Introduction, dedicating the book to Philocrates, §§ 1–8.
- II. Preliminary proceedings, §§ 9–51.
 - (a) The proposal of Demetrius, §§ 9–12.
 - (b) The emancipation of the Jewish captives, §§ 13–28.
 - (c) The letter of Philadelphus to Eleazar, §§ 29–40.
 - (d) The reply of Eleazar, §§ 41–6.
 - (e) The names of the translators, §§ 47–50.
- III. The description of the royal presents to Eleazar, §§ 52–82.
 - (a) The sacred table, §§ 52–72.
 - (b) The other presents, §§ 73–82.
- IV. The description of Jerusalem, §§ 83–120.
 - (a) The temple, including the arrangements for the water supply, §§ 83–91.
 - (b) The ministration of the priests and of Eleazar in particular, §§ 92–9.
 - (c) The Akra or citadel, §§ 100–4.
 - (d) A brief description of the city itself, §§ 105–6.
 - (e) A description of the country districts of Palestine, §§ 107–20.
- V. Eleazar's farewell to the translators, §§ 120–7.
- VI. Eleazar's defence of the Jewish law, §§ 128–71.
- VII. The reception of the translators at Alexandria, §§ 172–86.
- VIII. The banquet, and the table-talk of the translators. The 72 questions and answers, §§ 187–300.
- IX. The translation and reception of the law, §§ 301–22.

The apologetic interest of the Epistle reveals itself in the following directions:—

1. The account of the liberation of the Jewish captives by Ptolemy Philadelphus indicates that one of the aims of the author was to vindicate the right of the Jewish people to political liberty. The writer holds up the magnanimity of the king as a mirror to his own age and cites it as an illustration of the attitude which ought to be adopted by rulers towards the Jewish race. The appeal of Aristeas and Sosibius to Philadelphus is really directed to the authorities of the writer's own day.
2. The vindication of the purpose and function of the Jewish law forms the theme of one of the most important sections of the book (§§ 128–71). The writer admits that there were many enact-

INTRODUCTION

ments in the Mosaic code which seemed incomprehensible to the ordinary mind, e.g. the distinction between clean and unclean meats. The method by which he justifies these injunctions is ingenious and interesting. For the first time in the history of Jewish apologetic he resorts to the allegorical method for which Alexandria in later times became so famous. He rejects 'the degrading notion' that the regulations were made in the interests of the animals themselves (§ 144) and insists that they are merely 'symbols', drawn up to teach men lessons of righteousness (§ 151).

3. The long section, which relates the table-talk between Philadelphus and his guests, is introduced to exemplify the wisdom, moral insight, intellectual ability, and philosophical acumen of the leaders of the Jewish people. The high commendation which is given to the answers by the philosophers at the court and especially by Menedemus (§§ 200, 201) serves to exalt the endowments of the Jewish translators at the expense of other teachers. The writer, however, is aware that he has overdone the encomium on Jewish wisdom, for he adds: 'I suppose it will seem incredible to those who will read my narrative', § 296. The writer's argument is in line with the theory commonly adopted by Jewish apologists, that the philosophers of Greece derived their wisdom from the teaching of Moses.

4. There are other signs, too, that the Epistle was intended by its author to advocate the Jewish propaganda:—

(a) In § 16 an attempt is made to show that the God of the Jews is to be identified with the being 'whom all men worship', though they call him by other names.

(b) The idealized picture of Eleazar and the Jewish priests in §§ 92–9 is obviously intended to affect the mind of the reader. 'I am convinced', writes Aristeeas, 'that any man who takes part in the spectacle . . . will be filled with indescribable wonder and be profoundly affected in his mind', § 99.

(c) The stamp of approval which is given to the LXX in § 310 is intended to vindicate it against the attacks of critics and secure appreciation for it in the minds of Greek readers.

It is not too much to say that the writer's one object is to demonstrate the supremacy of the Jewish people—the Jewish priesthood, the Jewish law, the Jewish philosophy, and the Jewish Bible.

§ 3. THE DATE OF THE EPISTLE.

The date of the Epistle constitutes an almost insoluble problem. There are three main theories—(1) Schürer holds that it was written about 200 B.C.; (2) Wendland places it between 96–93 B.C.; (3) Graetz and Willrich assign it to the age of Caligula (later than 33 A.D.).

The arguments upon which Schürer relies are as follows:—(1) The reference to the translation of the LXX in Aristobulus (170–150 B.C.). The words of Aristobulus as reported by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.* xiii. 12. 2) are as follows:—*ἡ δὲ ὅλη ἑρμηνεία τῶν διὰ τοῦ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως. . . . Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων.* 'The complete translation of the whole of the Jewish law *was made* in the time of the king who was surnamed Philadelphus, and was due to the efforts of Demetrius of Phalerum.' Schürer argues that the introduction of the anachronism with regard to Demetrius makes it certain that Aristobulus is dependent upon Aristeeas, and as Aristobulus is dated about 170–150 B.C., Aristeeas must be written some years earlier. The argument of Schürer is corroborated to some extent by the interesting parallel between Aristeeas § 306 and a passage of Aristobulus quoted in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 10. 377 a.

Aristeeas.

πᾶσα γὰρ ἐνέργεια διὰ τῶν χειρῶν γίνεται.

Aristobulus.

ὥστε . . . τὴν πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶναι.

Unfortunately for Schürer, however, the genuineness of these quotations, and indeed of the whole work attributed to Aristobulus, has been seriously questioned by some modern scholars, e.g. Kuenen, Graetz, Joel, L. Cohn, and Wendland. And even if their authenticity be admitted, there is nothing to prove that Aristeeas must be the earlier of the two writers. It is quite possible that, instead of Aristobulus using Aristeeas as Schürer supposes, it may have been Aristeeas who used Aristobulus.

(2) Schürer lays great stress on the political condition of Palestine as described in the Epistle: 'A period when the Jewish people were leading a peaceful and prosperous existence under the conduct of their high priest and in a relation of very slight dependence upon Egypt, i.e. the *period before the conquest of Palestine by the Seleucidae*, evidently from the background of the book. There is nowhere any allusion to the complications which begin with the Seleucidian conquest. The

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

Jewish people and their high priest appear as almost politically independent. Especially is it worthy of remark that the fortress of Jerusalem is in the possession of the Jews' (*ET* ii. 3. 309 f.). There would be additional force in Schürer's argument if we could rely upon the statement of Josephus that during the Maccabean war the Jews razed the Akra to the ground (see note on § 100). In view of the fact, however, that Josephus is in conflict with 1 Maccabees and the possibility, which G. A. Smith suggests, that Aristeas may not be referring to the original Akra but to the later Baris, the point cannot be pressed.

The argument would possess considerable weight if it could be proved that the section which deals with Palestine was written from the author's own observations. But if, as Wendland has made extremely probable, Aristeas obtained his information second-hand from the writings of Hecataeus, the data cannot be used as Schürer uses them and the ground is cut from underneath his position.

It is extremely difficult to maintain so early a date as 200 B.C. in view of the internal evidence supplied by the Epistle itself. There are a number of points—none of them conclusive in itself, but possessing cumulative effect when they are taken together—which seem to render it extremely probable that the document belongs to the post-Maccabean period:—

1. In the list of the seventy-two translators, which is due to the writer's imagination, there are many names which are particularly associated with the Maccabean age, e.g. Mattathias, Judas (three times), Simon (three times), Jonathan (three times). Moreover, the high priest in Aristeas bears the same name as the famous Eleazar who is the hero of 2 Maccabees. The unusual names Chelchias (among the 72), Sosibius, and Dositheus are found among the courtiers of the later Ptolemies, and possibly the author himself, as Wendland suggests, assumes the name of the later historian Aristeas (see note on § 6).

2. The evidence of the Papyri affords a clear presumption in favour of the later date. Three points seem to have been made out:—

(a) The omission of the pronoun in the formula *ἐὰν φαίνηται* does not occur on the Papyri till 163 B.C. (see note on § 32).

(b) Strack has proved that while the title *ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ* is often found in the singular in the Papyri of the third cent. B.C., the plural form which is used in § 40 of Aristeas does not occur till about 145 B.C.

(c) The use of the word 'friends' as a court title is not found till the Papyri of the period of Ptolemy V (205–182 B.C.), see note on § 45.¹

3. Certain statements of the Epistle seem to bear out the same point. To quote Thackeray: 'The alleged widespread interest in the Jewish law (§ 128) and the false views which were in circulation about it (§ 144), the pointed reference to a difference between the Greek text and the Hebrew in a passage of Exodus (§ 57), and the probable allusion to attempts which had been made to improve on the rendering of the translators—all these appear to indicate a date further removed from the age of Philadelphus than that which Schürer would adopt.

If Schürer's view is too early, the date assigned to the Epistle by² Graetz and Willrich is too late. It is difficult to see how the document could have sufficiently established its reputation to be used by Philo and Josephus, if it had been composed as late as 33 B.C. Moreover, the description of Palestine, even though it is borrowed from Hecataeus, could scarcely have been written in its present form after the Roman occupation of Palestine. The island of Pharos, too, is described as inhabited. The conquest of Egypt by Julius Caesar rendered it desolate (Strabo xvii. 6).

The evidence seems to suggest a date between 130 and 70 B.C. May we go further with Wendland and fix upon a definite point within this period? The grounds upon which Wendland decides for 96–93 B.C. are as follows:—In § 115 the ports of Ascalon, Joppa, Gaza, and Ptolemais are said to be in possession of the Jews. Joppa was conquered about 146 B.C., but Gaza was not captured till 96 B.C., and Ascalon and Ptolemais never became Jewish territory. It is of course the capture of Gaza which is the determining point with Wendland. It is quite conceivable, however, that the author, writing at an earlier time, may have made the same mistake about Gaza as he did about Ptolemais and Ascalon.

There are one or two facts, however, which it seems difficult to reconcile with a date within the period 130–70 B.C. Twice in the Epistle the law is spoken of as Scripture. There seems to be no trace of the application of the term Scripture to the Old Testament before the commencement of the Christian era. We have no other instance either of the application of the allegorical method in the manner in which it is used in Aristeas before that date.

¹ Too much stress should not perhaps be laid on this point as the term may possibly be used in the technical sense in 1 Kings iv. 5.

² For the arguments of Graetz see notes on §§ 28, 167. Drummond, *Philo*, 233 ff.

INTRODUCTION

We seem to have therefore one set of facts, e.g. the Ptolemaic background and the absence of any reference to the Roman occupation of Palestine, which compel us to date the Epistle before 70 B.C., and another set of facts which suggest that it could not have originated till the Christian era.

The solution of the problem will probably be found in some such hypothesis as the following. The Epistle was issued in its present form at the commencement of the Christian era, possibly as late as the date suggested by Graetz and Willrich—but a large part of it—possibly the whole except the law section, §§ 128–71—was in existence before and belongs to the period 130–70 B.C. The law section is quite separate from the rest of the book and might easily have been inserted. It may also be found, when a detailed comparison has been made between Aristeas and 2 and 3 Maccabees, that other sections or at any rate sentences are the work of the later editor. Nothing except some form of the partition theory seems likely to provide the key for the riddle.

§ 4. THE AUTHOR.

Nothing is known with regard to the author of the Epistle. We may, however, draw some inferences from the book with regard to his personality. We may conclude that (1) *he was a Jew*. This is obvious from the tone and purpose of the book; (2) *he belonged to Alexandria*. Lumbroso has proved that the acquaintance which the book shows with the technicalities of the Court life of the later Ptolemies clearly indicates that it was of Alexandrian origin. The employment of the allegorical method of interpreting the law points to the same conclusion. (3) *He was a propagandist*, as is evidenced by the apologetic interest of the book. (4) He belonged to what may be termed 'the common sense school of philosophy'. There are no flights of speculation in the book. No problems trouble the mind of the author, who is simple and conventional in his treatment of the ethical and religious questions which emerge. (5) His attachment and devotion to the Jewish law indicate that the *author had leanings towards Pharisaism*, though it must be admitted that his Pharisaism is not of a pronounced type, except in the section dealing with the Jewish law. (6) He was interested (a) in psychology (§§ 155–6) and especially in the psychology of sleep (§§ 160, 213–16); (b) in political and social problems (*passim*, see Introduction, § 6). (7) Swete has an interesting suggestion that he was a native of Cyprus, based on the fact that his brother came from that island, and that the name Aristeas frequently occurs on the Inscriptions found in the islands of the Aegean (*Introd. to LXX*. 10).

§ 5. SOURCES.

The author claims to write as an eyewitness and consequently gives little indication of the sources from which his information was derived. The only indications which he affords us of having used other authorities are (1) the quotation from Hecataeus in § 31; (2) his reference to the Minutes of Court Proceedings in § 298. We may dismiss the latter at once as an attempt on the part of the author to secure credence for his narrative. The allusion to Hecataeus, however, is more important, and if Wendland is right, reveals the real source which lies behind the Epistle. The quotations which Josephus gives from Hecataeus, though they may be coloured by later tradition or even by Josephus himself, indicate that he covered pretty much the same ground as Aristeas in his description of Palestine. Similar resemblances are pointed out between Diodorus Siculus, who embodied a great deal of Hecataeus in his writings, and our Epistle. Among the points of similarity between the statements of Aristeas and what may be assumed to have been said by Hecataeus, Wendland mentions the following—(a) the account of the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt, §§ 12, 13; (b) the comparison between the God of the Jews and Zeus (§ 16); (c) the high praise which is bestowed upon agriculture (§ 107 ff.); (d) the description of the Temple and the priesthood at Jerusalem (§§ 83 f., 92 f.); (e) the description of the produce and agriculture of Palestine (§§ 107–20).

There are, however, some points of discrepancy between Hecataeus and Aristeas which weaken the force of Wendland's argument; (a) in § 105 Aristeas describes the extent of the city as 40 furlongs, while Hecataeus says 50; (b) in § 95 Aristeas estimates the number of Jewish priests at 700, while Hecataeus puts the figure at 1,500. We may conclude therefore that while it is certain that Aristeas made use of Hecataeus, very possibly Wendland has exaggerated the extent of his indebtedness.

For the table-talk section it is possible that Aristeas made use of a collection of 'Moral Sayings', though whether they were Jewish or Greek cannot be determined. The theological conclusion, which the writer adds, is sometimes forced and fails to fit on to the previous statement.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

§ 6. THEOLOGY AND ETHICAL TEACHING.

The Epistle is not directly interested in theological problems. The most interesting features are its doctrine of God and its view with regard to the significance of the Jewish law.

1. The conception of God is in many ways quite modern. The most noteworthy point is the identification of the God of the Hebrews with Zeus (§ 16). Stress is laid upon Monotheism (§§ 132, 139). It is through God that 'all things are endowed with life and come into being' (§ 16). 'His power is manifested throughout the Universe and every place is filled with His sovereignty' (§ 132). He is the source of all the endowments and blessings of life (§ 190). Evil as well as good comes from His hand (§ 197). We are dependent upon him for success (§ 196) and for virtue (§ 226 *et passim*). He is the 'ruler and lord of the Universe' (§§ 16, 201, 210), *ὁ κυριεύων πάντων θεός* (§§ 18, 45), the most High God (*μέγιστος θεός* § 19), the great godhead (*μεγάλη θειότης* § 95), the Almighty (*ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεός* § 185). Nothing can be hid from Him. 'None of the things which are wrought in secret by men upon the earth escapes His knowledge' (§ 132). He sways the lives of men (§ 17) and grants answers to their prayers (§ 192). The utmost emphasis is laid upon the benignity, the forbearance, and the forgiveness of God, who is described as *χωρὶς ὀργῆς ἀπάσης* (§ 254). Though there is a general reference to the punishments which He inflicts upon the guilty in § 131, yet it is elsewhere asserted that these punishments are mild and that 'God instils fear into the minds of men by granting reprieves and makes merely a display of the greatness of his power' (§ 194). There is a vigorous attack upon idolatry in §§ 134-7 which is remarkable for its Euhemeristic explanation of the origin of idol-worship.

2. The section on the Jewish law is the outstanding feature of the book. The law is described as 'Scripture' (§ 168, cf. § 155) and as the 'Oracles of God' (§§ 158, 177). Its divine origin is continually emphasized (§§ 31, 240, 313). It is entirely free from blemish (§ 31), and the utmost sanctity attaches to it (§§ 31, 171). It is the peculiar protection of Israel, 'It has fenced us round with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron that we might not mingle with the other nations' (§ 139). It contains the moral ideal. 'The good life consists in keeping the enactments of the law' (§ 127). 'All its ordinances have been drawn up to assist the quest for virtue and the perfecting of character' (§ 144, cf. §§ 168, 169). Some of its regulations may seem trivial but there is a hidden meaning attached to them, and they are all intended to teach a moral lesson (§ 150). By a novel application of the allegorical method, Aristeas endeavours to show the real significance of the law with regard to unclean food, and he is specially ingenious in his interpretation of the 'cloven hoof' and 'chewing the cud' (§§ 150-6).

3. Aristeas has no doctrine of sin. The word only occurs once and then it is used in quite a general sense (§ 192). On more than one occasion, however, he refers to the natural bias toward evil in human nature. 'Every man has a natural tendency towards the pursuit of pleasure' (§ 108, cf. §§ 222-3). 'All men are by nature intemperate and inclined to pleasure. Hence injustice springs up and a flood of avarice' (§ 277).

4. *Ethical Teaching.* A great part of the book is devoted to ethical teaching but it is very largely conventional and possesses very little originality. The utmost emphasis is laid on the connexion between morality and religion. God is 'the starting point' (*καταρχή*) of ethics (§§ 189, 200, 235). The moral ideal is embodied in the law (§ 127), and it is through the power of God that its realization becomes possible. The latter point is brought out clearly in § 236, 'The soul is so constituted that it is able by the divine power alone to receive the good and reject the opposite'; and again, in § 231, 'It is the gift of God to be able to do good actions' (see also §§ 226, 238, 248). Virtue is spoken of as a general principle which is 'the source of good deeds' (§ 272). The Aristotelian virtue of 'the middle course' or moderation comes into prominence on several occasions (§§ 122, 223, 256). A version of 'the Golden Rule' in its negative form appears in § 207. There is no trace of dualism—in fact the divine origin of the body, and the manifestation of the wisdom of God in its various organs and functions are clearly enunciated in §§ 155-6. Stress is sometimes laid on outward observances and etiquette (§ 246). The teaching shows no sign of asceticism though men are constantly warned not to allow themselves to be carried away by passion and impulse and urged to a life of self-discipline and self-control (§§ 209, 216, 221, 238, 248, 256). The other virtues emphasized are justice and righteousness ('injustice is equivalent to the deprivation of life', § 212), sobriety, temperance, kindness, duty to parents and children, truthfulness, forbearance, sympathy, and forgiveness. Among the vices to be avoided are injustice, pride, intemperance, lying, pleasure-seeking, churlishness, anger, and malice. The general teaching of the book may be summed up in the words of § 195: 'The highest good in life is to know that God is the Lord of the Universe and that in our finest achievements it is not we who attain success but God who by his power brings all things to fulfilment and leads us to the goal'.

INTRODUCTION

5. *Political Philosophy.* Aristetas incidentally draws a picture of the ideal monarch who is portrayed as a benevolent despot and a philosopher-king. No other form of government is discussed at all. The question is indeed raised as to whether a man born to the purple or a private citizen makes the best ruler, but it is left unanswered (§§ 288–90). The absoluteness of the monarchy is taken for granted. He has power of life and death over his subjects (§ 253). But he is urged to remember that only justice and benevolence, and clemency, and a real desire to promote the welfare of his subjects can render his throne secure (§§ 205, 225, and 283). The ideal condition is reached ‘when subjects continually dwell in a state of peace and justice is speedily administered’ (§ 291). In order to secure this end, the king must study the part he has to play, as actors do (§ 219), and strict rules of etiquette must be maintained at Court (§ 246). He must pay careful attention to the official reports which are sent up from the provinces, with a view to the correction of abuses and the removal of grievances (§ 283). He must take special precautions to see that his subordinates are not guilty of injustice or oppression (§ 271), and he must put down informers with a strong hand (§§ 166, 167). Moreover, he must see to it that his employes are paid a fair wage (§ 258). Above all he must remember that he owes his throne to God and only the power of God can keep it secure (§ 224).

The interest which Aristetas takes in *social problems* is seen in his views on the following points—(a) He advocates *mild* forms of punishment for offenders. ‘If you exhibit clemency, . . . you will turn men from evil and lead them to repentance’ (§ 188, see also § 208). (b) He gives an account of the measures which were adopted at Alexandria to prevent the depopulation of the rural districts by influx into the towns (§§ 107–11), and his words seem to suggest that the question was as acute in his day as it is in modern times. (c) He is impressed with the difficulties that arise from the mingling of different races in the big centres, and is opposed to ‘residence abroad’ whether for rich or poor (§ 249). (d) He is emphatic in demanding fair wages for artisans (§§ 258–9). (e) He holds pronounced views on the inferiority of women, ‘Women are by nature headstrong and energetic in the pursuit of their own desires, and subject to sudden changes of opinion through fallacious reasoning, and they are essentially weak’ (§ 250).

§ 7. THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The two chief authorities on the textual criticism of Aristetas are Wendland and Thackeray, both of whom have constructed a modern text of the Epistle. Thackeray’s text was published in 1900 as an appendix to Swete’s ‘Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek’, and Wendland’s appeared the same year.

The two texts are not made entirely out of the same materials and unfortunately the Editors use a different system of denominating the MSS. in their *apparatus criticus*.

I propose to state first the MSS. which have been used by both Editors, and then those which have been used by one of them, and finally those which do not seem as yet to have been used at all.

I. The MSS. which have been used by both editors. For the purpose of convenience I give both systems of notation.

		Wend.	Thack.
Vaticanus 383	. . . . .	A.	K.
Venice 534	. . . . .	V.	G.
Palat. 203	. . . . .	P.	I.
Flor. Laur. 44	. . . . .	L.	T.
Barberini iv. 56	. . . . .	B.	P.
Vaticanus 747	. . . . .	C.	H.

II. In addition to these Wendland has used

Monacensis 9	M.
--------------	-----------	----

III. The additional MSS. used by Thackeray are

Paris 128	. . . . .	A.
Paris 129	. . . . .	B.
Paris 5	. . . . .	C.
Paris 950	. . . . .	Q.
Zürich (Omont 169)	. . . . .	Z.

We may include also three MSS. which are the descendants of Paris 128 (A.)

Paris 130	. . . . .	D.
Brit. Mus. Burney 34	. . . . .	F.
Vatican 746	. . . . .	L.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

and one MS. which is a transcript of Vaticanus 383 (K.)

Basileensis O. iv. 10 R.

Partial use has also been made of

Vaticanus 1668 S.

Mention is made too in the introduction of a MS. which does not appear to be cited in the *apparatus criticus*.

Ottobonianus 32 M.

IV. Certain other MSS. are known to exist but do not appear to have been collated.

Atheniensis 389.
Scorialensis Σ. 1. 6.
Monacensis 82.

V. In addition to the MSS., we have (a) the paraphrase of Josephus which covers the ground of §§ 9–81, &c.; (b) the citations in Eusebius, of §§ 9–11, §§ 28–46, §§ 88–90, §§ 128–71. Eusebius is the more valuable of the two, because Josephus has taken the trouble to rewrite every sentence, and though he still employs the characteristic words and phrases of Aristeas, it is very often impossible to reconstruct the text which he was using. The citations in Eusebius are on the whole accurate and reliable; he sometimes abbreviates a little and sometimes misquotes, but as Freudenthal says, ‘it is only in extremely rare cases that he inserts additions of his own, and the cases in which we meet with fundamental alterations of the text are still more uncommon.’ (Quoted by Thackeray, Swete, *Introd. to LXX*, p. 576.)

Classification of MSS. With regard to the classification of the MSS. Wendland and Thackeray are on the whole in agreement, though there is some difference as to details. For the sake of comparison I append a table, giving the two classifications, using the notation of Thackeray in order to make the agreements and differences obvious:

	Thackeray.	Wendland.
Group I	{ (a) T B (b) C P S Z	T B P S Z
Group II	{ (a) G I M (b) H A (D F L) K (R)	{ (a) G I M C (b) H K A D F
Group III	wanting	Cod. Monacensis 9

It will be seen that the only essential differences are (a) Thackeray puts C (Paris 5) in group I, Wendland in group II; (b) Wendland uses Cod. Monacensis 9 and places it in a group by itself.

But though the two editors are in general agreement with regard to classification, they differ with regard to the comparative value of the groups. Wendland holds that the purest text is found in Cod. Monacensis 9 which Thackeray does not use at all, the next most important MSS. being T, P, and the MSS. of the first group, while the second group is ‘minoris pretii’. Thackeray, on the other hand, maintains that the first group ‘while presenting a specious text is in reality based upon a recension, though in a few passages it has kept the original readings’. In the second group ‘no correction has taken place, and though the text which has been handed down is not altogether free from corruption, yet the true reading is in most cases to be looked for here’.

A full account of the different MSS. will be found in Swete (*Introd. to LXX*, 504–16).

It remains to add the names of scholars who have worked on the emendation of the text.

C. L. Struve, *Opuscula Selecta* II, pp. 195–7, 270, 277, 310, 311, 329. Lipsiae, 1854.

C. G. Cobet, *Λόγιος Ἐρμῆς*, vol. I, pp. 177–81. Leyden, 1866.

Lumbroso, *Dell’ uso delle iscrizioni e dei papyri per la critica del libro di Aristeo: Atti della R. Accad. delle Scienze di Torino*, vol. iv, 1868–9, pp. 229–54.

L. Mendelssohn, *Zum Aristeasbriefe*: Rhein. Mus. xxx. 1875, pp. 631, 632.

Aristeae quae fertur ad Philocratem Epistulae initium. Jurievi, 1897.

Kuiper, *De Aristeae ad Philocratem fratrem epistola.* Mnemosyne, xx. 1892, pp. 252–72.

§ 8. EDITIONS.

The earliest edition of Aristeas appeared in the form of a Latin translation by Matthias Palmerius which was published at Rome in 1471 in the famous Roman Bible of Sueynheym and Pannartz, reprinted at Nürnberg 1475, and issued separately at Erfurt 1483. The *Editio princeps* in Greek was issued by Simon Schard at Basle in 1561. Upon what MSS. Schard’s edition rested, is

INTRODUCTION

a matter of dispute. We know that Codex Basileensis O. iv. 10 (R) was presented to the library at Basle by Schard, but we may be certain that he did not use it as the basis of his text. R is a transcript of Vaticanus 383 (K), and it is from this MSS. that Schard's *variae lectiones* were taken. Wendland thinks that the text was derived from Codex Monacensis 9.

Up till 1870 all editions were simply reprints of Schard, e. g. the text prefixed by Hody to his *De Bibliorum Textibus* in 1705, or the text in Havercamp's *Josephus*, or in Gallandi's *Bibliotheca Patrum* (ii. 773-804).

The modern study of Aristeas began with the publication of Schmidt's new text, which was published in Merx' *Archiv für wissenschaftl. Erforschung des Alten Testaments*, vol. i (1870), pp. 241-312. Schmidt collated and used the two Paris MSS. known as B and C. In the same year a valuable contribution was made to the subject by Prof. Lombroso, who examined the text of Aristeas in the light of the Papyri and published his results in his *Recherches sur l'économie politique de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (Turin, 1870). His critical study and his emendations have already been mentioned (Introduction, § 7). Some twenty-five years later Mendelssohn of Dorpat undertook the task of examining and collating the MSS. with a view to the construction of a scientific text. He only lived, however, to complete the text of §§ 1-51, which was published in 1897 under the title *Aristeae quae fertur ad Philocratem epistulae initium*. The work which he left unfinished was taken up by Wendland in Germany and Thackeray in England, whose texts were published in 1900 (see Introduction, § 7).

Little has been done at present in the way of commentary. The Epistle is still very largely virgin soil. The absence of a proper text, and the difficulty of looking up references, since the text was not broken up into sections till Wendland's edition, together with the general neglect of the study of non-canonical Jewish literature until the recent revival, have left, what is from many points of view a most valuable document, in obscurity.

The only good translations are Wendland's in German (Kautzsch ii. 1-30) and Thackeray's in English (*JQR* xv. 337-91). I regret that I did not discover the latter till my own translation was complete, but I have found it extremely helpful in revision, and I have made very considerable use of the footnotes, which are more extensive than those in Kautzsch.

With regard to the general literature on the Epistle, there is not very much to be said. The best account of the book (apart from the introductions in Kautzsch and Thackeray) is in Schürer, *ET* ii. 3. 306-17, where a full account is given of the older literature, and in Drummond, *Philo*, i. pp. 230-42. The only important monographs are Kurz, *Aristeae epistula ad Philocratem*, Bern, 1872; Graetz, *Die Abfassungszeit des Pseudo-Aristeas* (*Monatsschr. für Gesch. und Wissensch. des Judenthums*, 1876, pp. 289 f., 337 f.); Papageorgios, *Ueber den Aristeasbrief*, München, 1880. References are found in many Jewish Histories and Introductions to the Old Testament, e. g. Nöldeke, Freudenthal, Ewald, Hitzig. Amongst the more recent discussions may be mentioned, the articles by L. Cohn on the relation between Aristeas and Philo in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Alterth.* i (1898), 521 ff., and H. Willrich on the date in *Judaica*, Göttingen, 1900, pp. 111-30, and the references in Nestle's article on the 'Septuagint', *DBH* iv. 438 f., and in Swete's *Introduction to LXX*, pp. 10-20, 500-74, and Nestle's article on Aristeas in *Realencyclopädie*.

§ 9. THE INFLUENCE OF ARISTEAS ON LATER LITERATURE.

A complete *catena* of 'Testimonia' is printed in full in Wendland's edition of the text of Aristeas (pp. 87-166), to which some few addenda have been made by Nestle, *DBH* iv. 439. It will only be possible to mention the more important facts here.

A. Jewish Literature.

The earliest authority generally cited is Aristobulus. The relevant passages have already been quoted in Introduction § 3. See also note on § 30. The grounds for rejecting the genuineness of the fragments ascribed to Aristobulus by Eusebius are given by L. Cohn (*Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Alterth.*, i. 8 (1895)) and Wendland (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, vii (1898), 447-9).

The use of Aristeas by Philo (*De Vita Mosis*, ii. 5-7) seems clearer, though this too has been denied by Cohn (*ib.* 1898, i. 521). Philo states that Philadelphus, 'the greatest of the Ptolemies,' in his anxiety to obtain a translation of the Jewish law, sent ambassadors to the Jewish High Priest, and requested him to select men to carry out his wish. The High Priest, thinking that Ptolemy's desire was due to divine inspiration, sent some of his most distinguished men to Alexandria. Upon their arrival the king feted them, and put questions to them to test their wisdom. Owing to the unhealthiness of the town, they were located on the island of Pharos, where the translation was

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

made. The principle which governed it was that the translators regarded themselves as μήτ' ἀφελείν τι μήτε προσθεῖναι ἢ μεταθεῖναι δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἰδέαν καὶ τὸν τύπον αὐτῶν διαφυλάττοντας (cf. Aristeas, § 311). There is no specific reference to the Epistle, and many of its salient features are omitted, but on the whole it seems probable that it formed the basis of Philo's statement.

With regard to Josephus there is no possibility of doubt. In *Antiq.* xii. 2 he gives us a running paraphrase of (a) §§ 9–81, (b) §§ 172–87, (c) §§ 201, 293, 294, (d) §§ 301–21. There is a specific reference to the book itself—ὡς τῷ βουλομένῳ τὰ κατὰ μέρος γινῶναι τῶν ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ ζητηθέντων εἶναι μαθεῖν ἀναγνόντι τὸ Ἀρισταίου βιβλίον, ὃ συνέγραψε διὰ ταῦτα (§ 100 in the edition of Niese). It should be noted that Josephus always spells the name Ἀρισταῖος, instead of Ἀριστέας. There are further references to the subject matter of the Epistle in *Antiq.* i. 10; c. *Apion.* ii. 44.

B. *Christian.*

There is no clear proof that Aristeas directly influenced the language of the New Testament, though there are a few interesting parallels.

- (1) Aristeas § 177 (cf. § 158). Romans iii. 2.
εὐχαριστῶ . . . τῷ θεῷ οὐτινὸς ἐστι τὰ λόγια ταῦτα. ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ.

Hebrews v. 12.
τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν λογίων τοῦ θεοῦ.

- (2) § 280. 2 Tim. iv. 8.
θεοῦ σοὶ στέφανον δικαιοσύνης δεδοκός. ὁ τῆς δικαιοσύνης στέφανος.

This phrase also occurs in the Testaments of the Patriarchs (T. Levi viii. 2).

- (3) §§ 140–1. Matt. vi. 31–3.
. . . ὁ τοῖς λοιποῖς οὐ πρόσεστιν, . . . ἀλλ' εἰσὶν ἄνθρωποι βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν καὶ σκέπης. . . τοῖς δὲ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ ταῦτα λελόγισται, περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυναστείας δι' ὅλου τοῦ ζῆν ἢ σκέψις αὐτοῖς ἐστιν. μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε λέγοντες τί φάγωμεν; ἢ τί πῶμεν; . . . πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσιν. . . ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν . . .

- (4) Compare also the argument of § 144. with 1 Cor. ix. 9.

You must not fall into the degrading idea that it was for the sake of mice and weasels that Moses drew up his laws. These ordinances were made for the sake of righteousness. Is it for the oxen that God careth, or saith he it altogether for our sake? Yea for our sake it was written.

The earliest reference to the translation of the LXX in Patristic literature is found in JUSTIN MARTYR (*Apol.* i. 31), who states that Philadelphus, wishing to obtain a copy of the Hebrew *prophets*, sent to King *Herod* for the Book. When it arrived, it was found to be unintelligible owing to the language, and Philadelphus sent a second request to the King to send translators.

In the anonymous *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 13 we find what is probably the first attempt to embellish the story. The seventy translators were separated, and placed in cells or huts and not allowed to have any communication with each other. Their translations, when compared, were found to be in complete agreement, without the slightest variation even of language. The writer adds that during a visit to Alexandria, he had been shown the tracks (τὰ ἵχνη) of the cells in which the translators worked.

The same legendary element is repeated in almost the same form by IRENAEUS (iii. 21, 2, quoted by Eusebius, *HE* v. 8. 11) and CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *Stromateis* i. § 148.

TERTULLIAN (*Apolog.* c. 18) is the first writer to mention Aristaeus, as he calls him, by name, and his version is more sober, but he adds 'hodie apud Serapeum Ptolomaei bibliothecae cum ipsis Hebraicis litteris exhibentur'.

The long quotations from the Epistle in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius have already been mentioned (Introduction, § 7). Aristeas (Ἀρισταῖος) is described as ἀνὴρ λόγιος μὲν ἄλλως, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ παρατυχὼν τοῖς πραχθείσι κατὰ τὸν δεῦτερον Πτολεμαῖον (viii. 1. 8), and on one occasion the title of the book is given as Περὶ τῆς Ἑρμηνείας τοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων νόμου (ix. 38).

EPIPHANIUS (*De Mensuris et Ponderibus*, 3, p. 155) has a long account of the translation of the Hebrew Bible. Though he quotes Aristeas as his authority (ὡς ἐξέδωκεν Ἀρισταῖος ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ συντάγματι) there are many discrepancies. (1) He gives the number of the books in the Alexandrian

INTRODUCTION

library as 54,800 πλείω ἢ ἐλάσσω. (2) He says that the 72 translators were placed in 36 cells, and that their translations were found to be in absolute verbal agreement even in their additions and omissions. (3) He inserts two letters from Philadelphus to the teachers in Jerusalem, neither of which agrees with the letter to Eleazar in Aristeas, §§ 35 ff., and the second of which contains a quotation from Sirach xx. 30 = xli. 14 θησαυροῦ κεκρυμμένου . . . τίς ὠφέλεια ἐν ἀμφοτέροις; (4) He adds the information that it was 'the seventh year of Philadelphus more or less' when the translation was made. Draeseke maintains that Epiphanius drew his information from the lost chronicle of Justus of Tiberias.

JEROME (*Praef. in Pentateuch.* xxxviii, p. 181) takes a more sober view and rejects the story of the separate cells as being incompatible with the accounts of Aristeas and Josephus, 'nescio quis primus auctor septuaginta cellulas Alexandriae mendacio suo extruxerit . . . cum Aristeas . . . et multo post tempore Iosephus nihil tale retulerint, sed in una basilica congregatos contulisse scribant.'

The embellishments, however, appear again in the account which is given by Augustine of the origin of the LXX, *de Civ. Dei*, xviii. 42. For other 'Testimonia' see Wendland.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

¹ SINCE I have collected *material* for a memorable history of my visit to Eleazar the High priest of the Jews, and because you, Philocrates, as you lose no opportunity of reminding me, have set great store upon receiving an account of the motives and object of my mission, I have attempted to draw up a clear exposition of the matter for you, for I perceive that you possess a natural love of learning,
² *a quality* which is the highest possession of man—to be constantly attempting ‘to add to his stock of knowledge and acquirements’ whether through the study of history or by actually participating in the events themselves. It is by this means, by taking up into itself the noblest elements, that the soul is established in purity, and having fixed its aim on piety, the noblest goal of all, it uses this as its infallible guide and so acquires a definite purpose.
³ It was my devotion to the pursuit of religious knowledge that led me to undertake the embassy to the man I have mentioned, who was held in the highest esteem by his own citizens and by others both for his virtue and his majesty and who had in his possession *documents of* the highest value to the Jews in his own country and in foreign lands for the interpretation of the divine law, for their
⁴ laws are written on leather parchments in Jewish characters. This *embassy* then I undertook with enthusiasm, having first of all found an opportunity *of pleading* with the king on behalf of the Jewish captives who had been transported from Judea to Egypt by the king’s father, when he first obtained possession of this city and conquered the land of Egypt. It is worth while that I should tell
⁵ you this story, too, since I am convinced that you, with your disposition towards holiness and your sympathy with men who are living in accordance with the holy law, will all the more readily listen to the account which I purpose to set forth, since you yourself have lately come to us from the
⁶ island and are anxious to hear everything that tends to build up the soul. On a former occasion,

1. Since I have collected. Ἀξιολόγου διηγήσεως . . . συνεσταμένης. Thackeray renders ‘As the story of our interview . . . is a remarkable one’—but this does not bring out the full force of συνεσταμένης.

as you lose no opportunity, &c. This translation is based on an emendation of Wendland, who reads παρ’ ἕκαστα ὑπομνήσκειν for the MSS. παρ’ ἕκαστα ὑπομνήσκειν which is untranslatable.

2. to add to his stock of knowledge. As Thackeray points out, ‘these words form an iambic line in Greek and are probably a quotation from a lost tragedy.’ He quotes two fragments from Sophocles which convey a similar idea : ‘And we must ever be daily acquiring knowledge while it is possible to learn better things,’ and ‘Ever desire to add something useful to thy knowledge’. (*Frag.* 779 and 662 in Dindorf, *Poetae Scenici Graeci*) *JQR* xv, p. 341.

and so acquires a definite purpose. This rendering follows the text of Thackeray. Wendland connects τὴν προαίρεσιν with the following sentence. The translation in this case would be, ‘Having fixed its aim on piety . . . it directs its course by an infallible rule. It was my determination to make a careful study of things divine that led me,’ &c.

3. Documents of the highest value. There is no word for ‘documents’ in the Greek, which reads κατακεκτημένον μεγίστην ὠφέλειαν. I have adopted the rendering of Wendland and Thackeray though with some hesitation. Possibly we should translate more simply ‘who had acquired the power of rendering the greatest benefits to the Jews by his interpretation of the divine law.’

for the interpretation. Thackeray disagreeing with Wendland connects this phrase with the following clause which he translates ‘the object of our mission was the translation of the law of God’.

4. This embassy then I undertook, ἣν δὲ καὶ ἐποιησάμεθα ἡμεῖς σπουδῇ. Mendelssohn emends by reading σπουδῇ on the ground that it is difficult to supply πρεσβεῖαν as an antecedent, owing to the distance which separates it from the relative, and Thackeray following this suggestion translates ‘And the interest which we displayed when an opportunity offered itself, in bringing before the king the case of the men . . . this also is worth while my telling thee’.

transported . . . by the king’s father. Ptolemy I (Lagus) 322–285 B.C. ‘When Ptolemy had succeeded to the throne of Egypt and had beaten off the attack of Perdikkas, he forthwith made an invasion into Palestine and Syria and annexed all the country. When driven out of it by Antigonos, we hear that he carried off to Egypt a large number of the inhabitants either as slaves or as compulsory settlers. And this happened apparently four times. He always retreated in time to carry his booty with him. But in spite of these repeated raids or temporary occupations and this repeated carrying off of plunder from Palestine, we are persistently informed that the house of Ptolemy was most popular with the Jews.’ (Mahaffy, *EP*, p. 87.)

5. from the island. This is generally supposed to refer to Pharos, but it is difficult to see how Philocrates could have been in ignorance of the events recorded in the Epistle if he had been living so near to Alexandria as Pharos, especially as the translation of the LXX was made on the island, § 301. Possibly Cyprus is meant ; cf. Swete (*Introd. to LXX*, p. 10, footnote), who draws an inference that Aristeas himself may have been a Cypriote.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 6-12

- too, I sent you a record of the facts which I thought worth relating about the Jewish race,—the record
7 which I had obtained from the most learned high priests of the † most learned † land of Egypt. As you
are so eager to acquire the knowledge of those things which can benefit the mind, I feel it incumbent
upon me to impart to you *all the information in my power*. *I should feel the same duty* towards all
who possessed the same disposition but I feel it especially towards you since you have aspirations
which are so noble, and since you are not only my brother in character no less than in blood
8 but are one with me as well in the pursuit of goodness. For neither the pleasure derived from gold
nor any other of the possessions which are prized by shallow minds confers the same benefit as the
pursuit of culture and the study which we expend in securing it. But that I may not weary you by
a too lengthy introduction, I will proceed at once to the substance of my narrative.
- 9 Demetrius of Phalerum, the president of the king's library, received vast sums of money, for the
purpose of collecting together, as far as he possibly could, all the books in the world. By means of
purchase and transcription, he carried out, to the best of his ability, the purpose of the king. On
one occasion when I was present he was asked, How many thousand books are there *in the library*?
10 and he replied, 'More than two hundred thousand, O king, and I shall make endeavour in the
immediate future *to gather together* the remainder also, so that the total of five hundred thousand
may be reached. I am told that the laws of the Jews are worth transcribing and deserve a place in
11 your library.' 'What is to prevent you from doing this?' replied the king. 'Everything that is
necessary has been placed at your disposal.' 'They need to be translated,' answered Demetrius,
'for in the country of the Jews they use a peculiar alphabet (just as the Egyptians, too, have
a special form of letters) and speak a peculiar dialect. They are supposed to use the Syriac
tongue, but this is not the case; their language is quite different.' And the king when he under-
stood all the facts of the case ordered a letter to be written to the Jewish High Priest that his
purpose (which has already been described) might be accomplished.
- 12 Thinking that the time had come to press the demand, which I had often laid before Sosibius
of Tarentum and Andreas, the chief of the bodyguard, for the emancipation of the Jews who had
been transported from Judea by the king's father—for when by a combination of good fortune and
courage he had brought his attack on the whole district of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia to a successful

6. **I sent you a record.** This seems to be an attempt on the part of the author to identify himself with the historian Aristeas, the writer of a book called *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων* referred to in Eusebius, *Præpar. Evang.* ix. 25. The fragment of this Aristeas quoted by Eusebius is taken from the treatise of Alexander Polyhistor, who is dated *c.* 50 B.C. Aristeas himself belongs probably to the second century B.C. If there is any reference to this Aristeas here, this date would constitute a *terminus a quo* for our Epistle. It is quite possible, however, that the Author of the Epistle is referring to another book written by himself which has been lost.

the most learned land, *λογιστάτην* probably a textual corruption accidentally introduced from the following phrase *λογιστάτων ἀρχιερέων*.

9. **Demetrius of Phalerum.** The facts known about Demetrius are as follows:—About the year 307 B.C. he was driven out of Athens, where he had ruled for ten years as deputy for Cassander, by Demetrius the Besieger. He was persuaded by Ptolemy I, who happened to be visiting Greece at the time, to migrate to Alexandria, where he was afterwards associated with the Museum. At the end of the reign of Ptolemy I he fell into disfavour because he opposed the king's desire to make his youngest son Philadelphus successor to the throne, and advocated the claims of the eldest son Keraunos, who possessed the right of primogeniture. As a result Demetrius was sent into exile and died soon afterwards from the bite of an asp (*c.* 283 B.C.). The fact and date of the exile seem to be substantiated by the statements of Plutarch (*de Exil.* p. 602), Diogenes Laertius (v. 78), and Cicero (*pro Rabir. Post.* 9), which have behind them the authority of Hermippus Callimachus, who lived under the third and fourth Ptolemies. The statements of Aristeas must therefore be regarded as an anachronism, since Demetrius could not possibly have exercised any influence over Philadelphus. Moreover, we know from the investigations of Busch (*de bibliothecariis Alexandrinis*, p. 1 ff.) that the office of librarian under Philadelphus was held first by Zenodotus of Ephesus and then by Erastosthenes. It is possible, however, as Swete suggests, that the project of translating the Jewish law may have been mooted by Demetrius in the time of Ptolemy I, though it was not carried out till the reign of his successor (see Swete, *Introd. to LXX*, p. 19; *JQR*, Jan. 1902, p. 338, Ostermann, *de Demetrii Ph. vita* (1857), Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit* I, p. 6, 138).

10. **above two hundred thousand.** Epiphanius gives the number of the books as 54,800 *πλείω ἢ ἑλάσσω*.

11. **speak a peculiar dialect,** i. e. Aramaic.

12. **his attack on Coele-Syria.** The reference is probably to Ptolemy I's second campaign against Syria and Palestine which culminated in the battle of Gaza (312 B.C.). The fragments of Hecataeus in Josephus (*con. Ap.* i. 186), which though disputed are probably genuine, confirm the statements of Aristeas and may have been the source from which they were taken. Hecataeus (see Note on § 31) says, 'Ptolemy got possession of many places in Syria after the battle of Gaza, and many, when they heard of Ptolemy's moderation and humanity, they went along with him to Egypt and were willing to assist him in his affairs.' The impression given by this fragment is that the action of Ptolemy's army was much less drastic than is represented in Aristeas. The presence of large settlements of Jews in Egypt at this time, though denied by Wilrich, seems to be abundantly proved by the Papyri. A village named Samareia in the Fayyum is mentioned more than once in the Petrie collection of Papyri. There was a Jewish colony at Psenuris (cf. *P.P.* 1. 43 *παρα τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, in which mention is also made of Jewish slaves). For further evidence see Mahaffy, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 93.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 12-20

issue, in the process of terrorising the country into subjection, he transported some of his foes and others he reduced to captivity. The number of those whom he transported from the country of the
13 Jews to Egypt amounted to no less than a hundred thousand. Of these he armed thirty thousand picked men and settled them in garrisons in the country districts. (And even before this time large numbers of Jews had come into Egypt with the Persian, and in an earlier period still others had been sent *to Egypt* to help Psammetichus in his campaign against the king of the Ethiopians. But these were nothing like so numerous as the captives whom Ptolemy the son of Lagus transported.)
14 As I have already said Ptolemy picked out the best of these, the men who were in the prime of life and distinguished for their courage, and armed them, but the great mass of the others, those who were too old or too young for this purpose, and the women too, he reduced to slavery, not that he wished to do this of his own free will, but he was compelled by his soldiers who claimed them as a reward for the services which they had rendered in war.

Having, as has already been stated, obtained an opportunity for securing their emancipation, I addressed the king with the following arguments. 'Let us not be so unreasonable as to allow
15 our deeds to give the lie to our words. Since the law which we wish not only to transcribe but also to translate belongs to the whole Jewish race, what justification shall we be able to find for our embassy while such vast numbers of them remain in a state of slavery in your kingdom? In the perfection and wealth of your clemency release those who are held in such miserable bondage, since as I have been at pains to discover, the God who gave them their law is the God who maintains your kingdom. They worship the same God—the Lord and Creator of the Universe, as all other men, as we ourselves, O king, though we call him by different names, such as Zeus or
16 Dis. This name was very appropriately bestowed upon him by our first ancestors, in order to signify that He through whom all things are endowed with life and come into being, is necessarily the ruler and lord of the Universe. Set all mankind an example of magnanimity by releasing those who are held in bondage.'

17 After a brief interval, while I was offering up an earnest prayer to God that He would so dispose the mind of the king that all the captives might be set at liberty—for the human race, being the creation of God, is swayed and influenced by Him. Therefore with many divers prayers I called upon Him who ruleth the heart that *the king* might be constrained to grant my request. For I had
18 great hopes with regard to the salvation of the men since I was assured that God would grant a fulfilment of my prayer. For when men from pure motives plan some action in the interest of righteousness and the performance of noble deeds, Almighty God brings their efforts and purposes to a successful issue)—*the king* raised his head and looking up at me with a cheerful countenance asked, 'How many thousands do you think they will number?' Andreas, who was standing near,
19 replied, 'A little more than a hundred thousand.' 'It is a small boon indeed,' said the king, 'that Aristeas asks of us!' Then Sosibius and some others who were present said, 'Yes, but it will be a fit tribute to your magnanimity for you to offer the enfranchisement of these men as an act of devotion to the supreme God. You have been greatly honoured by Almighty God and exalted above all your forefathers in glory and it is only fitting that you should render to Him the greatest thankoffering in your power.' Extremely pleased *with these arguments* he gave orders that an addition should be
20 made to the wages of the soldiers by the amount of the redemption money, that twenty drachmae should be paid to the owners for every slave, that a public order should be issued and that registers of the captives should be attached to it. He showed the greatest enthusiasm in the business, for it was God who had brought our purpose to fulfilment in its entirety and constrained him to redeem not only those who had come into Egypt with the army of his father but any who had come before that time

13. **The Persian.** The reference seems to be to Cambyses who conquered Egypt in 525 B.C. Wendland thinks that this statement is due to a misunderstanding of Hecataeus who says, 'the Persians formerly carried away many ten thousands of our people to Babylon as also not a few ten thousands were removed after Alexander's death into Egypt and Phoenicia'.

Psammetichus. We know from Herodotus (II. 151, fol.) that Psammetichus I (c. 671-617 B.C.) was the first Egyptian king to employ Greek mercenaries and that Psammetichus II, who became king in 595 B.C., carried on a campaign against the Aethiopians (Her. II. 159-61), but we have no evidence to connect the Jewish people with either. Wendland thinks the allusion a pure fiction.

16. **Zeus or Dis.** The two accusative forms of *Zeús*, viz. *Zēna* and *Δία*, are here used, and it is difficult to translate them as the nominative of the second form is obsolete. They are derived by Aristeas, as by the Stoics and Orphic writers, from *ζῆν* (to live) and *διά* (through) respectively. Compare the statement of Aristobulus (quoted by Eusebius, *Praef. Evang.* xiii. 12. 7) *καθὼς δὲ δεῖ σεσημάγκαμεν περιαιροῦντες τὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων Δία καὶ Ζῆνα*. For a similar comparison between Jehovah and Zeus see Diodor. Sic. i. 12. 2, who probably derived the idea from Hecataeus.

18. **I had great hopes, &c.** This rendering follows the suggestion of Mendelssohn who supplies *τῶν* before *ἀνθρώπων*. Otherwise we must translate with Thackeray, 'I had a good hope in bringing forward a proposal concerning the deliverance of men.' The phrase *προτιθέμενος λόγον* may mean either 'bringing forward a proposal' or 'giving a reason to oneself'—'assuring oneself'.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 20-29

or had been subsequently brought into the kingdom. It was pointed out to him that the ransom money would exceed four hundred talents.

- 21 I think it will be useful to insert a copy of the decree, for in this way the magnanimity of the king, who was empowered by God to save such vast multitudes, will be made clearer and more
- 22 manifest. The decree of the king ran as follows: 'All who served in the army of our father in the campaign against Syria and Phoenicia and in the attack upon the country of the Jews and became possessed of Jewish captives and brought them back to the city of *Alexandria* and the land of *Egypt* or sold them to others—and in the same way any captives who were in our land before that time or were brought hither afterwards—all who possess such captives are required to set them at liberty at once, receiving twenty drachmae per head as ransom money. The soldiers will receive
- 23 this money as a gift added to their wages, the others from the king's treasury. We think that it was against our father's will and against all propriety that they should have been made captives and that the devastation of their land and the transportation of the Jews to Egypt was an act of military wantonness. The spoil which fell to the soldiers on the field of *battle* was all the booty which they should have claimed. To reduce the people to slavery in addition was an act of
- 24 absolute injustice. Wherefore since it is acknowledged that we are accustomed to render justice to all men and especially to those who are unfairly in a condition of servitude, and since we strive to deal fairly with all men according to the demands of justice and piety, we have decreed, in reference to the persons of the Jews who are in any condition of bondage in any part of our dominion, that those who possess them shall receive the stipulated sum of money and set them at liberty and that no man shall show any tardiness in discharging his obligations. Within three days after the publication of this decree, they must make lists of *slaves* for the officers appointed to carry out our will,
- 25 and immediately produce the persons of *the captives*. For we consider that it will be advantageous to us and to our affairs that the matter should be brought to a conclusion. Any one who likes may give information about any who disobey the decree, on condition that if the man is proved guilty he will become his slave; his property, however, will be handed over to the royal treasury.'
- 26 When the decree was brought to be read over to the king for his approval, it contained all the other provisions except the phrase 'any captives who were in the land before that time or were brought hither afterwards,' and in his magnanimity and the largeness of his heart the king inserted this clause and gave orders that the grant of money required for the redemption should be deposited in full with the paymasters of the forces and the royal bankers, and so the matter was decided and the
- 27 decree ratified within seven days. The grant for the redemption amounted to more than six hundred and sixty talents; for many infants at the breast were emancipated together with their mothers. When the question was raised whether the sum of twenty talents was to be paid for these, the king ordered that it should be done, and thus he carried out his decision in the most comprehensive way.
- 28 When this had been done, he ordered Demetrius to draw up a memorial with regard to the transcription of the Jewish books. For all affairs of state used to be carried out by means of decrees and with the most painstaking accuracy by these *Egyptian* kings, and nothing was done in a slipshod or haphazard fashion. And so I have inserted copies of the memorial and the letters, the number of the presents sent and the nature of each, since every one of them excelled in
- 29 magnificence and technical skill. The following is a copy of the memorial. *The Memorial* of Demetrius to the great king. 'Since you have given me instructions, O king, that the books which are needed to complete your library should be collected together, and that those which are defective should be repaired, I have devoted myself with the utmost care to the fulfilment of your wishes,

20. **four hundred talents.** In § 19 the number of captives is given as a 'little more than 100,000'. The redemption money at 20 drachmae a piece comes to 2,000,000 drachmae or 333⅓ talents. Thus 66⅔ talents are allowed for the redemption of the captives, whose release was provided for by the additional clause. The number was therefore estimated at 20,000, making a total of 120,000 slaves to be emancipated. This estimate was greatly exceeded, see § 27.

27. **six hundred and sixty talents.** The estimate of 400 talents (§ 20) was found to be considerably below the mark; 660 talents provided ransom for 198,000 captives. It is difficult to account for the additional 78,000. The children could not possibly have reached that number. We must either assume that the mothers had been omitted in the previous estimate or follow Wendland in supposing that Aristeas has grossly exaggerated the total. The estimate of Josephus, i. e. 460 talents, is much more probable. This makes the total number of captives 138,000, and the number of children therefore 18,000, a much more reasonable figure. Possibly, however, the difference between the 460 of Josephus and the 660 of Aristeas is due to a copyist's blunder in the case of the latter.

28. **used to be carried out.** This phrase indicates that the Epistle belongs to a later date than the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Cp. also § 182. Graetz thinks that it proves that the Epistle was written after the fall of the Ptolemaic dynasty.

29. **which are defective.** The Greek words *ἵνα . . . τὰ διαπεπρωκτότα τύχη τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπισκευῆς* might mean 'that those which have been lost shall be duly replaced' (Thackeray). The translation given above is supported by Gifford, Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 3.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 30–36

- 30 and I now have the following proposal to lay before you. The books of the law of the Jews (with some few others) are absent *from the library*. They are written in the Hebrew characters and language and have been carelessly interpreted, and do not represent the original text as I am
 31 informed by those who know; for they have never had a king's care to protect them. It is necessary that these should be made accurate for your library since the law which they contain, in as much as it is of divine origin, is full of wisdom and free from all blemish. For this reason literary men and poets and the mass of historical writers have held aloof from referring to these books and the men who have lived †and are living† in accordance with them, because their
 32 conception of life is so sacred and religious, as Hecataeus of Abdera says. If it please you, O king, a letter shall be written to the High Priest in Jerusalem, asking him to send six elders out of every tribe—men who have lived the noblest life and are most skilled in their law—that we may find out the points in which the majority of them are in agreement, and so having obtained an accurate translation may place it in a conspicuous place in a manner worthy of the work itself and your purpose. May continual prosperity be yours!'
 33 When this memorial had been presented, the king ordered a letter to be written to Eleazar on the matter, giving also an account of the emancipation of the *Jewish* captives. And he gave fifty talents weight of gold and seventy talents of silver and a large quantity of precious stones to make bowls and vials and a table and libation cups. He also gave orders to those who had the custody of his coffers to allow the artificers to make a selection of any materials they might require for the purpose, and that a hundred talents in money should be sent to provide sacrifices for the temple and
 34 for other needs. I shall give you a full account of the workmanship after I have set before you copies of the letters. The letter of the king ran as follows:
 35 'King Ptolemy sends greeting and salutation to the High Priest Eleazar. Since there are many Jews settled in our realm who were carried off from Jerusalem by the Persians at the time of their
 36 power and many more who came with my father into Egypt as captives—large numbers of these he placed in the army and paid them higher wages than usual, and when he had proved the loyalty of their leaders he built fortresses and placed them in their charge that the native Egyptians might be

30. **The books of the law.** There is no article before 'books' in the MSS., though most editors insert or supply it. Thackeray omits and translates 'certain books of the Jewish law'.

carelessly interpreted. The exact force of *σεσήμανται* is uncertain. If we translate 'interpreted' it involves the supposition that an earlier, though imperfect, translation of the law into Greek was in existence. This hypothesis is supported by the statement of Aristobulus, *διηρμηνεύεται δὲ πρὸς Δημητρίου ὑφ' ἐτέρου* [*ν. λ. δι' ἐτέρων*] *πρὸς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως, τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγωγήν τῶν Ἑβραίων τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγενομένων ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις*. (Swete, *Introd.* to LXX, i, 2), cp. also the reference to earlier and unreliable translations in § 314. The term *σεσήμανται* need not, however, imply translation. It may simply mean 'copied' or 'committed to writing' (cp. Plutarch, *Moral.* 204 E τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τῶν ὀνομάτων γράμμασιν ἐσήμανεν), or as Diels suggests 'vocalized'.

31. **have lived and †are living†:** τῶν κατ' αὐτὰ πεπολιτευμένων καὶ πολιτευομένων ἀνδρῶν. Wendland and Thackeray obelise the words καὶ πολιτευομένων as a later addition, since they are omitted in Eusebius and Josephus. The explanation given here of the absence of any reference to the Jewish Scriptures in Greek literature is further elaborated in §§ 312–316.

Hecataeus of Abdera lived in the time of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I, and wrote a history of Egypt, which probably contained many references to Jewish History. He is credited by Josephus (*c. Apion.* 22) with being the author of a special history of the Jews, which most modern authorities regard as a later forgery, worked up from the material obtained from the History of Egypt (see Schürer, ii, 3, p. 302 *ET*). Wendland holds that Aristeas used not the later Pseudo-Hecataeus but the genuine 'History of Egypt'. His conclusion is based on numerous resemblances which he finds between Aristeas and the statements of Didorus Siculus, who used Hecataeus as his main authority in his first book. Whether the quotations in Josephus (*c. Apion.*) came from the genuine or the pseudo-Hecataeus is more difficult to decide.

32. **If it please you:** εἰ σοι δοκεῖ, a later formula as Thackeray has shown by an examination of the Papyri (*JQR* xv, 348). In the early Ptolemaic period we find the classical formula εἰ σοι δοκεῖ or εἰ σοι δοκῇ in general use. Between 252 B.C. and 163 B.C. εἰ σοι φαίνεται is generally substituted for the earlier form. From 163 B.C. to 70 B.C. the pronoun is generally omitted and the phrase is used as in Aristeas. There is no instance, however, of the omission of the pronoun in the Papyri before 163 B.C. These facts seem to indicate that our book must be later than this date.

in a conspicuous place. The meaning of the Greek *θῶμεν εὐσήμεως* is uncertain. The rendering given above is that of Thackeray and Gifford (Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 3) and refers of course to the library at Alexandria, though it is difficult to see why the idea is not conveyed in plainer terms. The words might mean 'that we may place it on record in seemly fashion' or 'make the meaning plain'.

continual prosperity, εὐτύχει, the regular salutation used by a subordinate to his superior. The formula for addressing an equal or a subordinate is *ἔρωσο* (see Mahaffy, *Petrie Papyri*, 1891, 80), which is the word used by Ptolemy and Eleazar in their correspondence with each other, §§ 40, 46.

36. **when he had proved the loyalty, &c.:** ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς προόντας. This rendering is supported by Gifford, Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* viii. 3. Thackeray, however, takes τοὺς προόντας to mean 'those who were already in the country'—'in like manner from his confidence in those who were already in the country he placed under their charge' [i.e. under the charge of the newly imported Jews], &c.

might be intimidated. The MSS. of Aristeas read *ὅπως τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔθνος φόβον μὴ ἔχη*, 'that native Egyptians might be free from fear.' Both Josephus and Eusebius, however, omit *μὴ*, and most modern editors follow them.'

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 36-44

- intimidated by them. And I, when I ascended the throne, adopted a kindly attitude towards all my subjects, and more particularly to those who were citizens of yours—I have set at liberty more than a hundred thousand captives, paying their owners the appropriate market price for them, and if ever evil has been done to your people through the passions of the mob, I have made them reparation. The motive which prompted my action has been the desire to act piously and render unto the supreme God a thankoffering for maintaining my kingdom in peace and great glory in all the world. Moreover those of your people who were in the prime of life I have drafted into my army, and those who were fit to be attached to my person and worthy of the confidence of the court, I have established in official positions. Now since I am anxious to show my gratitude to these men and to the Jews throughout the world and to the generations yet to come, I have determined that your law shall be translated from the Hebrew tongue which is in use amongst you into the Greek language, that these books may be added to the other royal books in my library. It will be a kindness on your part and a reward for my zeal if you will select six elders from each of your tribes, men of noble life and skilled in your law and able to interpret it, that *in questions of dispute* we may be able to discover the verdict in which the majority agree, for the investigation is of the highest possible importance. I hope to win great renown by the accomplishment of this work. I have sent Andreas, the chief of my bodyguard, and Aristeas—men whom I hold in high esteem—to lay the matter before you and present you with a hundred talents of silver, the firstfruits of my offering for the temple and the sacrifices and other religious rites. If you will write to me concerning your wishes in these matters, you will confer a great favour upon me and afford me a *new* pledge of friendship, for all your wishes shall be carried out as speedily as possible. Farewell.
- To this letter Eleazar replied appropriately as follows: ‘Eleazar the High priest sends greetings to King Ptolemy his true friend. My highest wishes are for your welfare and the welfare of Queen Arsinoe your sister and your children. I also am well. I have received your letter and am greatly rejoiced by your purpose and your noble counsel. I summoned together the whole people and read it to them that they might know of your devotion to our God. I showed them too the cups which you sent, twenty of gold and thirty of silver, the five bowls and the table of dedication, and the hundred talents of silver for the offering of the sacrifices and providing the things of which the temple stands in need. These gifts were brought to me by Andreas, one of your most honoured servants, and by Aristeas, both good men and true, distinguished by their learning, and worthy in every way to be the representatives of your high principles and righteous purposes. These men imparted to me your message and received from me an answer in agreement with your letter. I will consent to everything which is advantageous to you even though your request is very

40. **Andreas chief of the bodyguard.** Ἀνδρέαν τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων. Strack has proved that the plural form of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ does not occur in the Papyri till 145 B.C. Jerome describes Aristeas as Ptolemaei ὑπερασπιστής (*Praef. in Pent.* xxviii, p. 181).

41. **replied appropriately.** There is some question as to the meaning of ἐνδεχομένως which I have rendered ‘appropriately’ (so too Gifford), cp. αἱ ἐνδεχόμεναι τιμωρίαι, Lycurg. 164. 38. The adverb, however, seems to be generally used as the equivalent of ὅσον ἐνδέχεται, ‘as far as possible’. Wendland suggests ‘so far as he could write Greek’. Diels would substitute ἐκδεχομένως = straightway. Josephus paraphrases ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα φιλοτίμως. Thackeray renders ‘Eleazar wrote much as follows’.

Queen Arsinoe your sister. On the famous Mendes stele Arsinoe is described as ‘the daughter, sister and great wife of a king who loves him, the divine Arsinoe Philadelphos’. Arsinoe was the daughter of Ptolemy I. She was first married about 301 B.C. to Lysimachus King of Thrace to whom she bore at least three children. After the death of Lysimachus, who was killed at the battle of Korupedion 281 B.C., she married Ptolemy Keraunos her half-brother who was endeavouring to secure the throne of Thrace. No sooner, however, had Keraunos got Arsinoe into his power than he murdered her children whom he regarded as his rivals, and banished her to Samothrace. Arsinoe was not content to remain quietly in exile but made her way to Egypt, where she succeeded in inducing Ptolemy Philadelphus to abandon his wife, her namesake and stepdaughter Arsinoe I, and marry her instead. Arsinoe’s third marriage took place about 278 B.C. With regard to this type of Marriage Mahaffy remarks ‘It is only in the researches of our own day that the Egyptian dogmas and sentiment in this matter have been duly examined and it is now clear that far from being a licence or an outrage, the marriage of full brother and sister was in the royal family of Egypt, the purest and most excellent of all marriages and the highest security that the sacred blood of kings was not polluted by inferior strains’ (*The Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 77). Compare the statement of Maspero. ‘The marriage of brother and sister was the marriage *par excellence*, and it contracted an unspeakable sanctity when this brother and sister were born of parents who stood in the same relation’ (*Annuaire de l’École des Hautes Études* for 1896, p. 19, quoted by Mahaffy, p. 77). From the time of her marriage to her death in 270 B.C. Arsinoe held the highest possible place in popular esteem. ‘She became a great figure not only in the Egyptian but in the Hellenistic world. Of no other queen do we find so many memorials in various parts of the Greek world.’ (Mahaffy, p. 76.)

your children, Ptolemy Philadelphus and Arsinoe II had no children of their own, and this statement is often supposed to be another instance of Aristeas’ mistakes. We know, however, that Arsinoe II adopted the children of her predecessor and the reference may be to these. Compare the statement of Theocritus in the scholia on the Encomium of Ptolemy II (Idyll. xviii) καὶ εἰσποιήσατο αὐτῇ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς προτέρας Ἀρσινόης γεννηθέντας παῖδας αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ Ἀρσινόη ἄτεκνος ἀπέθανεν.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 44-57

unusual. For you have bestowed upon our citizens great and never to be forgotten benefits in many
45 (ways). Immediately therefore I offered sacrifices on behalf of you, your sister, your children, and
your friends, and all the people prayed that your plans might prosper continually, and that
Almighty God might preserve your kingdom in peace with honour, and that the translation of the
46 holy law might prove advantageous to you and be carried out successfully. In the presence of all
the people I selected six elders from each tribe, good men and true, and I have sent them to you
with *a copy* of our law. It will be a kindness, O righteous king, if you will give instruction that
as soon as the translation of the law is completed, the men shall be restored again to us in safety.
Farewell.⁷

47 *The following* are the names of the elders: Of the first tribe, Joseph, Ezekiah, Zachariah, John,
Ezekiah, Elisha. Of the second tribe, Judas, Simon, Samuel, Adaeus, Mattathias, Eschlemias. Of
48 the third tribe, Nehemiah, Joseph, Theodosius, Baseas, Ornias, Dakis. Of the fourth tribe,
Jonathan, Abraeus, Elisha, Ananias, Chabrias. . . . Of the fifth tribe, Isaac, Jacob, Jesus, Sab-
49 bataeus, Simon, Levi. Of the sixth tribe, Judas, Joseph, Simon, Zacharias, Samuel, Selemias. Of
the seventh tribe, Sabbataeus, Zedekiah, Jacob, Isaac, Jesias, Natthaeus. Of the eighth tribe,
Theodosius, Jason, Jesus, Theodotus, John, Jonathan. Of the ninth tribe, Theophilus, Abraham,
50 Arsamos, Jason, Endemias, Daniel. Of the tenth tribe, Jeremiah, Eleazar, Zachariah, Baneas,
Elisha, Dathaeus. Of the eleventh tribe, Samuel, Joseph, Judas, Jonathes, Chabu, Dositheus. Of
the twelfth tribe, Isaelus, John, Theodosius, Arsamos, Abietes, Ezekiel. They were seventy-two in
all. Such was the answer which Eleazar and his friends gave to the king's letter.

51 I will now proceed to redeem my promise and give a description of the works of art. They were
wrought with exceptional skill, for the king spared no expense and personally superintended the
workmen individually. They could not therefore scamp any part of the work or finish it off negli-
52 gently. First of all I will give you a description of the table. The king was anxious that this piece
of work should be of exceptionally large dimensions, and he caused enquiries to be made of the Jews
53 in the locality with regard to the size of the table already in the temple at Jerusalem. And when
they described the measurements, he proceeded to ask whether he might make a larger structure.
And some of the priests and the other Jews replied that there was nothing to prevent him. And he
said that he was anxious to make it five times the size, but he hesitated lest it should prove useless
54 for the temple services. He was desirous that his gift should not merely be stationed in the temple,
for it would afford him much greater pleasure if the men whose duty it was to offer the fitting
55 sacrifices were able to do so appropriately on the table which he had made. He did not suppose
that it was owing to lack of gold that the former table had been made of small size, but there seems
to have been, he said, some reason why it was made of this dimension. †For had the order been given,
there would have been no lack of means†. Wherefore we must not transgress or go beyond the proper
56 measure. At the same time he ordered them to press into service all the manifold forms of art, for
he was a man of the most lofty conceptions and nature had endowed him with a keen imagination
which enabled him to picture the appearance which would be presented *by the finished work*. He
gave orders too, that where there were no instructions laid down in the *Jewish* Scriptures, everything
should be made as beautiful as possible. When such instructions were laid down, they were to be
carried out to the letter.

57 They made the table two cubits long (one cubit broad) one and a half cubits high, fashioning it of

44. **unusual**, lit. contrary to nature, *παρὰ φύσιν*. The translation of the Jewish law into a foreign language was regarded as contrary to nature.

in many ways. In the MSS. of Aristeas we read simply *κατὰ πολλούς*. Eusebius, however, adds *τρόπους*, which is the justification for the translation given above.

45. **friends**, a special court title, which came into prominence in the time of Ptolemy V. (205-182 B.C.). It occurs frequently on the Papyri of this period but is not found at an earlier date, though Strack thinks it may have occurred in some of the *lacunae* of the Papyri of Ptolemy IV (222-205 B.C.). We seem to have here another anachronism (Mahaffy, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 161), though as the title is apparently used in the O.T. (1 Kings, iv. 5) too much stress must not be laid upon this point.

48. The fifth and sixth names of the fourth tribe are given by Epiphanius, who uses Aristeas in his *De mens. et pond.* as Zacharias and Chelkias. Probably the Chabrias of Aristeas is a corruption.

50. For Chabu (*Χαβεῦ*) Epiphanius reads Caleb, which seems obviously to be correct.

55. **had the order been given**: the text is corrupt at this point. The MSS. read *ἐτι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς οὐσῆς, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐσπένυε*. This is difficult to translate, though it might perhaps be rendered 'Nothing would have been lacking for the present table'. It is better, however, to accept Mendelssohn's brilliant conjecture and substitute *ἐπιταγῆς* for *ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς*.

56. **picture the appearance**, *εἰς τὸ συνιδεῖν πραγμάτων ἔμφασιν*. This might also mean 'To design the appearance of objects'. The interest which Philadelphus took in art and architecture is well attested.

in the scriptures: the reference is to the instructions laid down in Exodus, xxv. 23, 24. The technical term for Scripture (*ἡ γραφή*) does not occur here—though it is found in §§ 155, 168. The phrases used here are *ὅσα δ' ἂν ἡ ἄγραφα*, . . . *ὅσα δὲ διὰ γραπτῶν*, see note on § 168.

57. **one cubit broad**: these words are not in the MSS. of Aristeas but are found in Josephus and in Exodus xxv, 23. Wendland thinks that their omission here is purely accidental.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 57–65

pure solid gold. What I am describing was not thin gold laid over another foundation, but the whole
 58 structure was of massive gold welded together. And they made a border of a hand's breadth round
 about it. And there was a wreath of wave-work, engraved in relief in the form of ropes marvellously
 59 wrought on its three sides. For it was triangular in shape and the style of the work was exactly
 the same on each of the sides, so that whichever side they were turned, they presented the same
 appearance. †Of the two sides under the border, the one which sloped down to the table was a very
 60 beautiful piece of work, but it was the outer side which attracted the gaze of the spectator†. Now the
 upper edge of the two sides, being elevated, was sharp since, as we have said, *the rim* was three-sided,
 †from whatever point of view one approached it†. And there were layers of precious stones on it in the
 midst of the embossed cord-work, and they were interwoven with one another by an inimitable artistic
 61 device. For the sake of security they were all fixed by golden needles which were inserted in perfora-
 62 tions *in the stones*. At the sides they were clamped together by fastenings to hold them firm. On the
 part of the border round the table which slanted upwards and met the eyes, there was wrought a pattern
 of eggs in precious stones, †elaborately engraved† by a continuous piece of fluted relief-work, closely
 63 connected together round the whole table. And under the stones which had been arranged to repre-
 sent eggs the artists made a crown containing all kinds of fruits, having at its top clusters of grapes
 and ears of corn, dates also and apples, and pomegranates and the like, conspicuously arranged.
 These fruits were wrought out of precious stones, of the same colour as the fruits themselves and
 64 they fastened them edgeways round all the sides of the table with a band of gold. And after the
 crown *of fruit* had been put on, *underneath* there was inserted another pattern of eggs *in precious*
stones, and other fluting and embossed work, that both sides of the table might be used, according
 to **the wishes** of the owners and for this reason the wave-work and the border were extended
 65 down to the feet of the table. They made and fastened under the whole width of the table
 a massive plate four fingers thick, that the feet might be inserted into it, and clamped fast with
 lynch-pins which fitted into sockets under the border, so that which ever side of the table people
 preferred, might be used. Thus it became manifestly clear that the work was intended to be used

massive gold welded together: lit. the plate of beaten metal was attached to it.

58. **They made a border**. The description of the table is an elaboration of the data in Exod. xxv. 23: 'Thou shalt make a table of acacia wood: two cubits shall be the length thereof, and a cubit the breadth thereof, and a cubit and a half the height thereof. And thou shalt overlay it with pure gold and make thereto a crown of gold round about. And thou shalt make a border of an handbreadth round about and thou shalt make a golden crown to the border thereof round about'. In the LXX as in Aristeas there is no mention of the foundation of acacia wood. The whole table is to be made χρυσὴν χρυσίου καθαροῦ. The use of the LXX phrase στρεπτά κυμάτια is also significant. Either we have an anachronism. The table is supposed to be made according to the specifications of the LXX text which did not as yet exist. Or else the LXX translation was influenced by the table of Philadelphus, and the differences between it and the Hebrew were introduced to bring the new table more into accord with Scripture.

There is considerable difficulty with regard to the exact significance of the word translated border (ῥῆ, στεφάνη, κυμάτια στρεπτά). AV and RV render by 'crown', RV m. by 'rim or moulding'. The phrase κυμάτια στρεπτά suggests a cable moulding—and this is the interpretation which Aristeas puts upon it; (so also Josephus, τὸ ἑδάφος ἑλικος, a spiral). On the other hand 'the same phrase is used in architecture to denote an ogee moulding, and this is certainly the nature of the ornament on the table of the Arch of Titus. In any case both the sides and the ends of the massive top were separately decorated by a solid gold moulding which gave them the appearance of four panels sunk into the table', DBH iv. 663.

wreath of wavework: the meaning of this phrase, and indeed of the whole sentence, is very dubious. Thackeray translates 'They made . . . its ledges of twisted work' but suggests that the phrase may mean 'its mouldings (or rims) were made so as to revolve'.

59. **It was triangular**, ἥν γὰρ τριγώνια. This cannot refer to the table, which had four legs and must have been oblong in shape. If the text is correct, it must refer to the border. Thackeray suggests that we ought to follow Josephus in reading τρίγωνα and translate 'the ledges were triangular in shape'.

whichever side they were turned: the meaning is very obscure. The words might be translated 'to which-ever side a man turned himself, the same appearance met his eyes' (Wendland).

Of the two sides, &c. The text of this sentence is so corrupt that its meaning cannot be made out. I have followed the conjecture which substitutes κειμένω, for the κειμένον or κειμένης of the MSS. at the commencement of the sentence. Thackeray translates 'and while the ledge rested on the border that side of it which sloped towards the table was beautifully worked although the side which sloped outwards [alone] met the eye of the spectator'. Wendland renders 'Während aber die nach dem Tische gerichtete Seite der auf den Rand aufliegenden [Leiste] ihre schöne Arbeit dem Anblick entzog, bot sich die äussere Seite den Blicken des Beschauers dar'.

62. **elaborately engraved**: the text ἐκτύπωσιν ἔχουσα προσοχῆς is corrupt and we can only conjecture its meaning.

63. **These fruits were wrought**, lit. 'They worked the stones which had the colour of each species of the aforesaid fruits to resemble those fruits'.

with a band of gold, or 'they attached them to the gold all round the table' (Thackeray).

64. **according to the wishes**. We must follow Wendland and read αἰρῶνται for αἰρῶνται here and in the following section.

the wave work, &c. Thackeray translates this sentence 'with such symmetry that the ledges and the border reappeared on the side nearest the feet'.

65. **Thus it became**, &c. The meaning of the Greek is obscure. Thackeray renders 'This metal plate was visible on the surface as the work was constructed so as to be reversible'.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 66–82

66 either way. On the table itself they engraved a ‘maeander’, having precious stones standing out in the middle of it, rubies and emeralds and an onyx too and many other kinds of stones which excel
67 in beauty. And next to the ‘maeander’ there was placed a wonderful piece of network, which made the centre of the table appear like a rhomboid in shape, and on it a crystal and amber, as it is called,
68 had been wrought, which produced an incomparable impression on the beholders. They made the feet *of the table* with heads like lilies, so that they seemed to be like lilies bending down beneath the
69 table, and the parts which were visible represented leaves which stood upright. The basis of the foot on the ground consisted of a ruby and measured a hand’s breadth *high* all round. It had the appearance of a shoe and was eight fingers broad. Upon it the whole expanse of the foot rested.
70 And they made *the foot appear like* ivy growing out of the stone, interwoven with akanthus and surrounded with a vine which encircled it with clusters of grapes, which were worked in stones, up to the top *of the foot*. All the four feet were made in the same style, and everything was wrought and fitted so skilfully, and such remarkable skill and knowledge were expended upon making it true to nature, that when the air was stirred by a breath of wind, movement was imparted to the leaves, and
71 everything was fashioned to correspond with the actual reality *which it represented*. And they made the top of the table in three parts like a triptychon, and they were so fitted and dovetailed together with spigots along the whole breadth of the work, that the meeting of the joints could not be seen or even discovered. The thickness of the table was not less than half a cubit, so that the whole work
72 must have cost many talents. For since the king did not wish to add to its size he expended on the details the same sum of money which would have been required if the table could have been of larger dimensions. And everything was completed in accordance with his plan, in a most wonderful and remarkable way, with inimitable art and incomparable beauty.
73 Of the mixing bowls, two were wrought (in gold), and from the base to the middle were engraved with relief work in the pattern of scales, and between the scales precious stones were inserted with
74 great artistic skill. Then there was a ‘maeander’ a cubit in height, **with its surface** wrought out of precious stones of many colours, displaying great artistic effort and beauty. Upon this there was a mosaic, worked in the form of a rhombus, having a net-like appearance and reaching right up to the
75 brim. In the middle, small shields which were made of different precious stones, placed alternately, and varying in kind, not less than four fingers broad, enhanced the beauty of their appearance. On the top of the brim there was an ornament of lilies in bloom, and intertwining clusters of grapes were
76 engraven all round. Such then was the construction of the golden bowls, and they held more than two firkins each. The silver bowls had a smooth surface, and were wonderfully made as if they were intended for looking-glasses, so that everything which was brought near to them was reflected even more
77 clearly than in mirrors. But it is impossible to describe the real impression which these works of art produced upon the mind when they were finished. For, when these vessels had been completed and placed side by side, first a silver bowl and then a golden, then another silver, and then another golden, the appearance they presented is altogether indescribable, and those who came to see
78 them were not able to tear themselves from the brilliant sight and entrancing spectacle. The impressions produced by the spectacle were various in kind. When men looked at the golden vessels, and their minds made a complete survey of each detail of workmanship, their souls were thrilled with wonder. Again when a man wished to direct his gaze to the silver vessels, as they stood before him, everything seemed to flash with light round about the place where he was standing, and afforded a still greater delight to the onlookers. So that it is really impossible to describe the artistic beauty of the works.
79 The golden vials they engraved in the centre with vine wreaths. And about the rims they wove a wreath of ivy and myrtle and olive in relief work and inserted precious stones in it. The other parts of the relief work they wrought in different patterns, since they made it a point of honour to
80 complete everything in a way worthy of the majesty of the king. In a word it may be said that neither in the king’s treasury nor in any other, were there any works which equalled these in costliness or in artistic skill. For the king spent no little thought upon them, for he loved to gain glory for the
81 excellence of his *designs*. For oftentimes he would neglect his official business, and spend his time with the artists in his anxiety that they should complete everything in a manner worthy of the place to which the gifts were to be sent. So everything was carried out on a grand scale, in a manner
82 worthy of the king who sent the gifts and of the high priest who was the ruler of the land. There was no stint of precious stones, for not less than five thousand were used and they were all of large size.

69. **the whole expanse of the foot**, lit. ‘the whole plate of the foot’. Thackeray renders ‘upon this rested the whole plate into which the leg was inserted’.

71. **fitted and dovetailed**, lit. ‘being fitted together by dove-tailing which was secured by pegs in the thickness of the structure’ (Thackeray).

74. **with its surface**: we must read here with Wendland *ἐν ὑπεροχῇ* for *ἐνυπεῖρθε*.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 82-93

The most exceptional artistic skill was employed, so that the cost of the stones and the workmanship was five times as much as that of the gold.

- 83 I have given you this description of the presents because I thought it was necessary. The next point in the narrative is an account of our journey to Eleazar, but I will first of all give you a description of the whole country. When we arrived **in the land of the Jews** we saw the city situated 84 in the middle of the whole of Judea on the top of a mountain of considerable altitude. On the summit the temple had been built in all its splendour. It was surrounded by three walls more than seventy cubits high and in length and breadth corresponding to the structure of the edifice. All the buildings 85 were characterised by a magnificence and costliness quite unprecedented. It was obvious that no expense had been spared on the door and the fastenings, which connected it with the door-posts, and 86 the stability of the lintel. The style of the curtain too was thoroughly in proportion to that of the entrance. Its fabric owing to the draught of wind was in perpetual motion, and as this motion was communicated from the bottom and the curtain bulged out to its highest extent, it afforded a pleasant 87 spectacle from which a man could scarcely tear himself away. The construction of the altar **was in keeping** with the place itself and with the burnt offerings which were consumed by fire upon it, and the approach to it was on a similar scale. There was a *gradual* slope up to it, conveniently arranged for the purpose of decency, and the ministering priests were robed in linen garments, down to their 88 ankles. The Temple faces the east and its back is toward the west. The whole of the floor is paved with stones and slopes down to the appointed places, that water may be conveyed to wash away the 89 blood from the sacrifices, for many thousand beasts are sacrificed there on the feast days. And there is an inexhaustible supply of water, because an abundant natural spring gushes up from within the temple area. There are moreover wonderful and indescribable cisterns underground, as they pointed out to me, at a distance of five furlongs all round the site of the temple, and each of them has countless pipes 90 so that the different streams converge together. And all these were fastened with lead at the bottom and at the sidewalls, and over them a great quantity of plaster had been spread, and every part of the work had been most carefully carried out. There are many openings for water at the base *of the altar* which are invisible to all except to those who are engaged in the ministration, so that all the blood of the sacrifices which is collected in great quantities is washed away in the twinkling of an 91 eye. Such is my opinion with regard to the character of the reservoirs and I will now show you how it was confirmed. They led me more than four furlongs outside the city and bade me peer down towards a certain spot and listen to the noise that was made by the meeting of the waters, so that the great size of the reservoirs became manifest to me, as has already been pointed out.
- 92 The ministration of the priests is in every way unsurpassed both for its physical endurance and for its orderly and silent service. For they all work spontaneously, though it entails much painful exertion, and each one has a special task allotted to him. The service is carried on without interruption—some provide the wood, others the oil, others the fine wheat flour, others the spices; others 93 again bring the pieces of flesh for the burnt offering, exhibiting a wonderful degree of strength. For they take up with both hands the limbs of a calf, each of them weighing more than two talents, and throw them with each hand in a wonderful way on to the high place *of the altar* and never miss placing them on the proper spot. In the same way the pieces of the sheep and also of the goats are wonderful both for their weight and their fatness. For those, whose business it is, always select *the beasts* which are without blemish and specially fat, and thus the sacrifice which I have described,

83. **In the land of the Jews.** Text corrupt.

86. **in proportion to that of the entrance.** Reading *θυρώσι*. Thackeray prefers the reading *θυρώσει* and translates 'The fashion of the curtain bore a very close resemblance to a door'.

the curtain bulged out. The text is uncertain and the meaning obscure. The MSS. read *κατὰ τὴν κόλπῳσιν μέχρι τῆς ἄνω διατάσεως*. Schmidt conjectures *κατατέλειν* for *κατά*. Thackeray renders 'the swell extended to the upper and tauter part of the curtain'.

87. **was in keeping.** Following the conjecture of Mendelssohn *συμμέτρως ἔχουσιν*.

in linen garments. *Βυσσίνους χιτῶσιν*, quoted from LXX of Ex. xxxvi. 35. See note § 228.

89. **an abundant natural spring.** This statement is supported by Tacitus, who speaks of a 'fons perennis aquae' (*Hist.* v. 12). There are objections, however, to the statement: (a) No trace of such a well has been discovered, (b) the system of aqueducts which brought water from a distance would have been unnecessary if such a spring had existed. These 'two facts or rather our *present* evidence for them are sufficient to make very doubtful the existence of a fountain within the Temple *enceinte*', G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 85, 86.

wonderful . . . cisterns. Some thirty-six or thirty-seven of these remarkable reservoirs have been discovered and surveyed. Full lists and descriptions are given in *Recovery of Jerus.* 204 ff.; P. E. F. *Mem.* 'Jerus.' 217 ff.; P. E. F. 2. 1880; Schick, *Stiftshütte u. Tempel*, 292 ff. Speaking of their general characteristics, G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 120, says: 'They may be distinguished into the smaller surface pits arched over, and probably not all originally cisterns; and the great deep basins hollowed out of the low-lying *meleki* rock, 30, 40, 50, and 60 feet deep (one of them 'the Great Sea' with a capacity of two million gallons) carefully cemented; their roofs of the harder upper *mizzeh* rock, occasionally supported by heavy piers of masonry; with channels of communication, passages for inspection and conduits for draining the water at different levels.'

90. **fastened with lead,** or 'had their bases and sides of lead'.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 94-102

94 is carried out. There is a special place set apart for them to rest in, where those who are relieved from duty sit. When this takes place, those who have already rested and are ready to resume their duties rise up *spontaneously* since there is no one to give orders with regard to the arrangement of 95 the sacrifices. The most complete silence reigns so that one might imagine that there was not a single person present, though there are actually seven hundred men engaged in the work, besides the vast number of those who are occupied in bringing up the sacrifices. Everything is carried out with 96 reverence and in a way worthy of the great God.

We were greatly astonished, when we saw Eleazar engaged in the ministration, at the mode of his dress, and the majesty of *his appearance*, which was revealed in the robe which he wore and the precious stones upon his person. There were golden bells upon the garment which reached down to his feet, giving forth a peculiar kind of melody, and on both sides of them there were pomegranates 97 with variegated flowers of a wonderful hue. He was girded with a girdle of conspicuous beauty, woven in the most beautiful colours. On his breast he wore the oracle of God, as it is called, on which twelve stones, of different kinds, were inset, fastened together with gold, containing the names of the leaders of the tribes, according to their original order, each one flashing forth in an indescribable way 98 its own particular colour. On his head he wore a tiara, as it is called, and upon this in the middle of his forehead an inimitable turban, the royal diadem full of glory with the name of God inscribed in sacred letters on a plate of gold . . . having been judged worthy to wear these *emblems* in the 99 ministrations. Their appearance created such awe and confusion of mind as to make one feel that one had come into the presence of a man who belonged to a different world. I am convinced that any one who takes part in the spectacle which I have described will be filled with astonishment and indescribable wonder and be profoundly affected in his mind at the thought of the sanctity which is attached to each detail of the service.

100 But in order that we might gain complete information, we ascended to the summit of the neighbouring citadel and looked around us. It is situated in a very lofty spot, and is fortified with many towers, which have been built up to the very top of immense stones, with the object, as we were informed, of 101 guarding the temple precincts, so that if there were an attack, or an insurrection or an onslaught of the enemy, no one would be able to force an entrance within the walls that surround the temple. On the towers of the citadel engines of war were placed and different kinds of machines, and the position was 102 much higher than the circle of walls which I have mentioned. The towers were guarded too by most

95. **seven hundred.** This number is at variance with the estimate given in the passage from Hecataeus which is quoted by Josephus *c. Apion.* i. 22: 'All the Jewish priests who are in receipt of the tithe of the produce [of the soil] and administer the public moneys [or affairs] are at the most fifteen hundred'. Josephus states that there were four tribes of priests, each containing more than five thousand (*c. Apion.* ii. 8) but probably he includes the Levites and the servants.

96-9. The description of the dress of the High-priest is based upon Exodus xxviii and xxix. For other accounts of this dress see Charles' *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, ET, p. 42. Many phrases are taken from the LXX, showing that the writer must have been perfectly familiar with the version. For further illustrations of the use of the LXX see §§ 56, 57, 87, 228.

97. **the oracle of God.** Exod. xxviii. 30 reads: 'Thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgment the Urim and the Thummim'—which the LXX renders *καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δόλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν*. This mistaken rendering (which is followed by Aristeas) is mainly responsible for the view that the Urim and Thummim are to be identified with the jewels in the breastplate, see *DBH*, iv. 839. We have here another proof that the LXX translation had superseded, in the mind of Aristeas, the Hebrew original before our Epistle was written.

98. **sacred letters**—i.e. the older Hebrew characters such as are found on old Hebrew seals, the Moabite Stone, and in Phoenician inscriptions before they had changed into the later square characters. Driver, *Exodus* (*Cam. B.b.*, p. 309).

99. **Their appearance.** Following an emendation of Wendland, who reads *ἐμφάνεια* for *συμφάνεια*.

100. **the summit of the neighbouring citadel.** There are many problems connected with the site and the history of the *ἄκρα*. 'Theories of the position of the Akra are almost as numerous as the writers who have devoted attention to the subject' (for a discussion of the various views see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 444 ff.). The earliest reference to the *ἄκρα* is found in Josephus, who says that it was occupied by an Egyptian garrison when in 198 B.C. the Jews welcomed Antiochus the Great to Jerusalem. In 168 B.C. the forces of Antiochus Epiphanes 'fortified the City of David with a great and strong wall, with strong towers, and it became unto them an *ἄκρα* or citadel' (1 Mac. i. 33-6). 'It became a great trap, an ambush against the Sanctuary and throughout an evil adversary to Israel' (1 Mac. iv. 40). For further references in the Maccabean period see G. Adam Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 157 f. Josephus, however, tells us that during the Maccabean war the Jews razed the *ἄκρα* to the ground. (*BJ*, ii. 2, iv. 1, *Ant.* xiii. 6. 7). In the passages in the *Antiquities* he states that Simon, anxious 'that the Akra should no more be a base from which the foe might storm or harass Jerusalem, thought it the best way to cut down also the hill on which the Akra stood, so that the temple should be higher. Having called the people to an assembly, he persuaded them to set themselves to the work, which cost them three whole years, night and day, before they reduced the hill to its base and made it a perfect level. Thereafter the temple overtopped everything, both the Akra and the hill on which it stood being demolished.' This statement, however, is difficult to reconcile with the assertion of 1 Mac. xiv. 37 that 'Simon garrisoned and fortified the Akra.' If the assertion of Josephus could be relied upon, it would suggest a point which would have to be considered in discussing the date of Aristeas. There is a further difficulty, however. Possibly, as G. Adam Smith suggests (*ib.* ii. 447) Aristeas is referring not to the Akra but to the later Baris. Graetz thinks that the description of the Castle points to the tower of Antonia built by Herod the Great (*op. cit.* 295-6).

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 102-112

trusty men who had given the utmost proof of their loyalty to their country. These men were never allowed to leave the citadel, except on feast days and then only in detachments, nor did they permit any stranger to enter it. They were also very careful when any command came from the chief officer to admit any visitors to inspect the place, as our own experience taught us. They were very reluctant to admit us,—though we were but two unarmed men—to view the offering of the sacrifices. And they asserted that they were bound by an oath when the trust was committed to them, for they had all sworn and were bound **to carry out** the oath sacredly to the letter, that though they were five hundred in number they would not permit more than five men to enter at one time. The citadel was the special protection of the temple and its founder had fortified it so strongly that it might *efficiently* protect it.

105 The size of the city is of moderate dimensions. It is about forty furlongs in circumference, as far as one could conjecture. It has its towers arranged in the shape of a theatre, with thoroughfares leading between them† now the cross roads of the lower towers are visible but those of the upper towers are more frequented†. For the ground ascends, since the city is built upon a mountain. There are steps too which lead up to the cross roads, and †some people are always going up, and others down and they keep as far apart from each other as possible on the road† because of those who are bound by the rules of purity, lest they should touch anything which is unlawful. It was not without reason that the original founders of the city built it in due proportions, for they possessed clear insight *with regard to what was required*. For the country is extensive and beautiful. Some parts of it are level, especially the districts which belong to Samaria, as it is called, and which border on the land of the Idumeans, other parts are mountainous, especially (those which are contiguous to the land of Judea). The people therefore are bound to devote themselves to agriculture and the cultivation of the soil that by this means they may have a plentiful supply of crops. In this way 108 cultivation of every kind is carried on and an abundant harvest reaped in the whole of the aforesaid land. The cities which are large and enjoy a corresponding prosperity are well-populated, but they neglect the country districts, since all men are inclined to a life of enjoyment, for every one has a natural tendency towards the pursuit of pleasure. The same thing happened in Alexandria, which excels all cities in size and prosperity. Country people by migrating from the rural districts and settling 110 in the city brought agriculture into disrepute: and so to prevent them from settling *in the city*, the king issued orders that they should not stay in it for more than twenty days. And in the same way he gave the judges written instructions, that if it was necessary to issue a summons against any one 111 *who lived in the country*, the case must be settled within five days. And since he considered the matter one of great importance, he appointed also legal officers for every district with their assistants, that the farmers and their advocates might not in the interests of business empty the granaries of the 112 city, I mean, of the produce of husbandry. I have permitted this digression because it was Eleazar who pointed out with great clearness the points which have been mentioned. For great is the energy

104. **And were . . . to carry out.** So Thackeray emends.

105. **forty furlongs.** This estimate agrees with the statement of Timochares (quoted by Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* ix. 34), but Hecataeus states that the circuit was about 'fifty furlongs' (quoted by Josephus, *c. Apion.* i. 197).

in the shape of a theatre, 'with the comparison to a theatre,' cf. *Ency. Bib.* ii. 2412. 'There is, however, a second affluent or head of the central Tyropoeon valley on the west side of its main course—a kind of dell or *theatre-shaped* depression extending westwards, a depression which would face a spectator looking westwards from the temple-mount, where the writer of our letter professes to be standing' (Thackeray, *JQR*, xv. 360).

now the cross roads. The text is uncertain and the meaning obscure. The MSS. read *καὶ φαινόμενων διόδων τῶν ὑποκειμένων, τῶν δ' ἐπάνωθεν ἡθισμένων*, but it seems impossible to extract any relevant meaning from the words as they stand. In the phrase *τῶν δ' ἐπάνωθεν εἰθισμένων* Thackeray reads *εἰθισμένως* and translates 'the resemblance extending to the cross streets, which are seen some below, some above, in the usual manner [of a theatre]'. Wendland following a conjecture of Diels substitutes *μή* for *καὶ* at the commencement of the sentence, and *ἐσχισμένων* for *ἡθισμένων* and renders 'und man sieht zwar nicht die Durchgänge der unteren [Türme], wohl aber die der oberen, die bei den Durchgängen durchbrochen sind.'

106. **the ground ascends,** *ἀνάκλασιν γὰρ τὰ τῶν τόπων*. Thackeray translates 'the ground is irregular' and takes *ἀνάκλασιν* to mean 'a bending back'. He quotes in illustration a statement from Smith's *DB* i, ii, 1587: 'the northern and southern outliers of the Mount of Olives *bend round slightly towards the city*.'

some . . . are . . . going up. The meaning is obscure. Thackeray translates: 'Some persons take their way along the higher level, and others underneath, the distinction in the means of journeying being chiefly made for the sake of those who are undergoing the usual purifications'. Wendland substitutes *διστηκνύας* for *διστηκότες*. 'They ascend by the one, they descend by the other, especially if they have a long journey to make, with a view to observing', &c.

107. **contiguous to the land of Judea.** These words are supplied by conjecture to fill a *lacuna* in the MSS. Wendland's reading, 'namely those which are in the centre', is possibly more correct.

108. **a natural tendency.** For a further explanation of this inherent bias in human nature, see §§ 222-3, and especially 277.

111. **farmers and their advocates.** The meaning of the latter term (*προστάται*) is uncertain. Thackeray translates 'directors or agents', but suggests that we might render 'the agricultural class who are also the protectors (backbone) of the country.' Legislation in the interests of agriculture is illustrated in the Papyri (cf. Paris Papyri, no. 63, *Notices et Extraits*, tom. xviii, Letronne and Brunet, and Thackeray's Note, *JQR*, p. 361).

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 112-124

which they expend on the tillage of the soil. For the land is thickly planted with multitudes of olive trees, with crops of corn and pulse, with vines too, and there is abundance of honey. Other kinds of fruit trees and dates do not count compared with these. There are cattle of all kinds in
113 great quantities and a rich pasturage for them. Wherefore they rightly recognise that the country districts need a large population, and the relations between the city and the villages are properly
114 regulated. A great quantity of spices and precious stones and gold is brought into the country by the Arabs. For the country is well adapted not only for agriculture but also for commerce, and the
115 city is rich in the arts and lacks none of the merchandise which is brought across the sea. It possesses too suitable and commodious harbours at Askalon, Joppa, and Gaza, as well as at Ptolemais which was founded by the King and holds a central position compared with the other places named, being not far distant from any of them. The country produces everything in abundance,
116 since it is well watered in all directions and well protected *from storms*. The river Jordan, as it is called, which never runs dry, flows through the land. Originally (the country) contained not less than 60 million acres—though afterwards the neighbouring peoples made incursions against it—and 600,000 men were settled upon it in farms of a hundred acres each. The river like the Nile rises in harvest-time and irrigates a large portion of the land. Near the district belonging to the people of
117 Ptolemais it issues into another river and this flows out into the sea. Other mountain torrents, as they are called, flow down into the plain and encompass the parts about Gaza and the district of
118 Ashdod. The country is encircled by a natural fence and is very difficult to attack and cannot be assailed by large forces, owing to the narrow passes, with their overhanging precipices and deep
119 ravines, and the rugged character of the mountainous regions which surround all the land.

We were told that from the neighbouring mountains of Arabia copper and iron were formerly obtained. This was stopped, however, at the time of the Persian rule, since the authorities of the time spread
120 abroad a false report that the working of the mines was useless and expensive, in order to prevent their country from being destroyed by the mining in these districts and possibly taken away from them owing to the *Persian* rule, †since by the assistance of this false report they found an excuse for entering the district†.

I have now, my dear brother Philocrates, given you all the essential information upon this subject
121 in brief form. I shall describe the work of translation in the sequel. The High priest selected men of the finest character and the highest culture, such as one would expect from their noble parentage. They were men who had not only acquired proficiency in Jewish literature, but had studied most
122 carefully that of the Greeks as well. They were specially qualified therefore for serving on embassies and they undertook this duty whenever it was necessary. They possessed a great facility for conferences and the discussion of problems connected with the law. They espoused the middle course—and this is always the best course to pursue. They abjured the rough and uncouth manner, but they were altogether above pride and never assumed an air of superiority over others, and in conversation they were ready to listen and give an appropriate answer to every question. And all of them carefully observed this rule and were anxious above everything else to excel each other in
123 its observance and they were all of them worthy of their leader and of his virtue. And one could observe how they loved Eleazar by their unwillingness to be torn away from him and how he loved them. For besides the letter which he wrote to the king concerning their safe return, he also earnestly
124 besought Andreas to work *for the same end* and urged me, too, to assist to the best of my ability. And

114. **rich in the arts**, *πολύτεχνος*. The description of Jerusalem as 'a city of many crafts' is an exaggeration even when we admit that the phrase need not necessarily imply technical originality. Apollonius of Rhodes goes to the opposite extremes when he says 'the Jews are the most inept of the Barbarians and the only ones who have not contributed any invention useful to life', Josephus, *c. Apion.* ii. 15. Cf. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 373.

115. **Ptolemais founded by the King**. The reference is to Philadelphus II, who gave his name to the town which was previously called Acco or Akka, though some authorities regard it as the foundation of Ptolemy I (cf. Mahaffy, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, 60). The place figures very largely in the relations between Egypt and Palestine, see *Ency. Bib.*, art. 'Ptolemais'. Wendland attaches considerable importance to the data afforded by the mention of these harbours for fixing the date of Aristeas. Joppa did not belong to the Jews till after 146 B.C. (1 Mac. x. 76, xiv. 5, 34) Gaza was not Jewish territory till it was captured by Alexander Jannaeus about 96 B.C. The fact, however, that Ascalon and Ptolemais were never Jewish towns makes it impossible to attach too much importance to this evidence. The writer might obviously have made the same mistake about Joppa and Gaza as about Ascalon and Ptolemais.

116. **made incursions**. Two MSS. read *ὑπέβησαν* ('retired') for *ἐπέβησαν*. It is difficult, however, to make this reading fit in with the general sense of the passage.

a hundred acres. The writer may possibly be transferring the land system of the Fayûm to Palestine. We know from the Papyri that cleruchies of 100 arouae were common in this district of Egypt. Cf. Mahaffy, *Ptolemaic Dynasty*, p. 90.

122. **They espoused the middle course**. An illustration of the influence of the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean on Jewish thought, cp. § 223 *πλὴν ἐν πᾶσι μετριότης καλόν*, and also § 256.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 124-139

although we promised to give our best attention to the matter, he said that he was still greatly distressed, for he knew that the king out of the goodness of his nature considered it his highest privilege, whenever he heard of a man who was superior to his fellows in culture and wisdom, to
125 summon him to his court. For I have heard of a fine saying of his to the effect that by securing just and prudent men about his person he would secure the greatest protection for his kingdom, since such friends would unreservedly give him the most beneficial advice. And the men who were
126 now being sent to him by Eleazar undoubtedly possessed these qualities. And he frequently asserted upon oath that he would never let the men go if it were merely some private interest of his own that constituted the impelling motive—but it was for the common advantage of
127 all the citizens that he was sending them. For, *he explained*, the good life consists in the keeping of the enactments of the law, and this end is achieved much more by hearing than by reading. From this and other similar statements it was clear what his feelings towards them were.
128 It is worth while to mention briefly the information which he gave in reply to our questions. For **I suppose that most people** feel a curiosity with regard to some of the enactments in the law, especially those about meats and drinks and animals recognised as unclean. When we asked why, since there is but one form of creation, some animals are regarded as unclean for eating, and others unclean even to the touch (for though the law is scrupulous on most points, it is specially scrupulous on such
130 matters as these) he began his reply as follows: 'You observe,' he said, 'what an effect our modes of life and our associations produce upon us; by associating with the bad, men catch their depravities and become miserable throughout their life; but if they live with the wise and prudent, they find
131 the means of escaping from ignorance and amending their lives. Our Lawgiver first of all laid down the principles of piety and righteousness and inculcated them point by point, not merely by prohibitions but by the use of examples as well, demonstrating the injurious effects of *sin* and the
132 punishments inflicted by God upon the guilty. For he proved first of all that there is only one God and that his power is manifested throughout the universe, since every place is filled with his sovereignty and none of the things which are wrought in secret by men upon the earth escapes His knowledge. For all that a man does and all that is to come to pass in the future are manifest to
133 Him. Working out these truths carefully and having made them plain, he showed that even if a man should think of doing evil—to say nothing of actually effecting it,—he would not escape
134 detection, for he made it clear that the power of God pervaded the whole of the law. Beginning from this starting point he went on to show that all mankind except ourselves believe in the existence of many gods, though they themselves are much more powerful than the beings whom
135 they vainly worship. For when they have made statues of stone and wood, they say that they are the images of those who have invented something useful for life and they worship them, though
136 they have clear proof that they possess no feeling. For it would be utterly **foolish** to suppose that any one **became a god** in virtue of his inventions. For *the inventors* simply took certain objects already created and by combining them together, showed that they possessed a fresh utility: they
137 did not themselves create the substance of the thing, and so it is a vain and foolish thing for people to make gods of men like themselves. For in our times there are many who are much more inventive and much more learned than the men of former days *who have been deified*, and yet they would never come to worship them. The makers and authors of these myths think that they are
138 the wisest of the Greeks. Why need we speak of other infatuated people, Egyptians and the like, who place their reliance upon wild beasts and most kinds of creeping things and cattle, and worship them, and offer sacrifices to them both while living and when dead?'
139 'Now our Lawgiver being a wise man and specially endowed by God to understand all things, took

124. **to give our best attention.** The MSS. read ἀφρορτίσειν which is obviously a corruption. Wendland suggests εὖ φροντίσειν, which gives the sense required.

127. **The good life consists:** a good statement of the Pharisaic position which is advocated in this section of the Epistle. For the ethical function of the law cp. §§ 144, 168, 169.

128. **I suppose people.** So Euseb.

129. **specially scrupulous.** The reading is uncertain. Some MSS. read πάνι δεισιδαιμόνως. Eusebius has πάλιν for πάνι. Other MSS. of Aristeas combine the two. Schmidt suggests παντάσῃσι and Wendland reads παντελῶς. The meaning however is clear.

133. **the power of God pervaded,** or 'throughout the whole of the law, he displayed the power of God' (Thackeray).

135. **who have invented something useful.** Aristeas' explanation of the origin of idolatry is Euhemeristic. Euhemerus, who lived at the Court of Cassander in Macedonia about 316 B.C., maintained that the gods were originally men who had distinguished themselves either as warriors or benefactors of mankind, and who after their death received divine worship from the grateful people. Contrast the explanation of the origin of idolatry in the *Book of Wisdom*, where it is derived from Nature-worship (ch. xiii), 'Vain are all men by nature who are ignorant of God . . . and deem either fire or wind or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the turbulent water, or the lights of heaven to be the gods which govern the world.'

136. **it would be . . . foolish,** reading ἀνόητον (Eusebius) for the MSS. ἀνόητοι.

became a god. So Wendland emends.

a comprehensive view of each particular detail, and fenced us round with impregnable ramparts and walls of iron, that we might not mingle at all with any of the other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, free from all vain imaginations, worshipping the one Almighty God above the whole
 140 creation. Hence the leading Egyptian priests having looked carefully into many matters, and being cognizant with (our) affairs, call us "men of God". This is a title which does not belong to the rest of mankind but only to those who worship the true God. The rest are men *not of God* but of meats and drinks and clothing. For their whole disposition leads them to find solace in these things.
 141 Among our people such things are reckoned of no account, but throughout their whole life their
 142 main consideration is the sovereignty of God. Therefore lest we should be corrupted by any abomination, or our lives be perverted by evil communications, he hedged us round on all sides by
 143 rules of purity, affecting alike what we eat, or drink, or touch, or hear, or see. For though, speaking generally, all things are alike in their natural constitution, since they are all governed by one and the same power, yet there is a deep reason in each individual case why we abstain from the use of certain things and enjoy the common use of others. For the sake of illustration I will run over one or two
 144 points and explain them to you. For you must not fall into the degrading idea that it was out of regard to mice and weasels and other such things that Moses drew up his laws with such exceeding care. All these ordinances were made for the sake of righteousness to aid the quest for virtue and
 145 the perfecting of character. For all the birds that we use are tame and distinguished by their cleanliness, feeding on various kinds of grain and pulse, such as for instance pigeons, turtle-doves,
 146 locusts, partridges, geese also, and all other birds of this class. But the birds which are forbidden you will find to be wild and carnivorous, tyrannising over the others by the strength which they possess, and cruelly obtaining food by preying on the tame birds enumerated above. And not only so, but
 147 they seize lambs and kids, and injure human beings too, whether dead or alive, and so by naming them unclean, he gave a sign by means of them that those, for whom the legislation was ordained, must practise righteousness in their hearts and not tyrannise over any one in reliance upon their own strength nor rob them of anything, but steer their course of life in accordance with justice, just as the tame birds, already mentioned, consume the different kinds of pulse that grow upon the earth
 148 and do not tyrannise to the destruction of their own kindred. Our legislator taught us therefore that it is by such methods as these that indications are given to the wise, that they must be just and effect nothing by violence, and refrain from tyrannising over others in reliance upon their own
 149 strength. For since it is *considered* unseemly even to touch such *unclean* animals, as have been mentioned, on account of their particular habits, ought we not to take every precaution lest our own
 150 characters should be destroyed to the same extent? Wherefore all the rules which he has laid down with regard to what is permitted in the case of these *birds* and other animals, he has enacted with the object of teaching us a moral lesson. For the division of the hoof and the separation of the claws are intended to teach us that we must discriminate between our individual actions with a view
 151 to the practice of virtue. For the strength of our whole body and its activity depend upon our shoulders and limbs. Therefore he compels us to recognise that we must perform all our actions

140. cognizant with (our) affairs, μετεσχηκότες πραγμάτων, 'conversant with the world' (Thackeray). Diels suggests γραμμάτων, for πραγμάτων, 'conversant with literature.'

men of meats and drinks, &c. Cp. Matt. vi. 31-2 'After all these things do the Gentiles seek.' The word translated 'clothing' (σκεπή) also means 'shelter' or 'protection' and this may possibly be the meaning here.

144. the degrading idea, εἰς τὸν καταπεπτωκότα λόγον, or 'Thou must not be led to follow the rejected view' (Thackeray).

mice. In Eusebius the best attested reading seems to be μυῖων, 'flies'. For the Mosaic prohibition see Lev. xi. 29. For the argument cp. I Cor. ix. 9, 'Doth God care for the oxen?'

145. locusts, Lev. xi. 22. In both RV and AV the word ἀττάκης is translated 'bald locust'. In Eusebius the best attested reading is ἀτταγαί a species of moor-fowl. There is a full description of this bird in Athen. ix. 387, where it is said to be 'rather bigger than a partridge, striped all over the back and of the colour of clay but rather redder, corresponding perhaps to the "attagen Ionicus" of Hor. Epod. ii. 54.' Cp. Gifford's note on Eusebius, *Praef. Evang.* 372 c.

147. destruction of their own kindred. Eusebius (whom Wendland follows here) inserts οὔτε τῶν ὑποβεβηκότων οὔτε, before τῶν συγγενικῶν 'for the destruction either of those beneath them or of their own kind'.

150. teaching us a moral lesson. The allegorical method seems to have been first employed on a large scale by the Stoics, though there are traces of it in Plato and Aristotle. Philo is of course the great exponent of the method, though the fact that he speaks of it as a well-established system and warns men that the allegorical interpretation does not destroy the literal force of the enactments of the law, proves that it had already found its way into Jewish circles—a fact which is further substantiated by the New Testament (Drummond, *Philo*, i. 20). There is a sign of it, too, in the Book of Wisdom (x. 17, xviii. 24). But we have no trace of so elaborate an employment of the method, as we find in Aristeas, amongst the Jews before Philo. It is curious, too, that it is only used in the law section. Aristeas does not take the opportunity of introducing it into his explanation of the High Priest's dress, which was a favourite subject with later allegorists (cf. Philo, *Vit. Mos.* iii. 11-14, *De Monarchia*, ii. 225. 7 and Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 7. 7). The best illustration of the method of Aristeas is found in the Epistle of Barnabas.

division of the hoof, cp. Lev. xi. 3 ff., Deut. xiv. 6 ff.

151. compels us to recognise. The text is uncertain. There are two readings (1) ἀναγκάζει τὸ σημειοῦσθαι, 108

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 151-165

with discrimination according to the standard of righteousness—more especially because we have
152 been distinctly separated from the rest of mankind. For most other men defile themselves by
promiscuous intercourse, thereby working great iniquity, and whole countries and cities pride them-
selves upon such vices. For they not only have intercourse with men but they defile their own
153 mothers and even their daughters. But we have been kept separate from such sins. And the
people who have been separated in the aforementioned way are also characterised *by the Lawgiver*
as possessing the *gift* of memory. For all animals “which are cloven-footed and chew the cud”
154 represent to the initiated the *symbol* of memory. For the act of chewing the cud is nothing else
than the reminiscence of life and existence. For life is wont to be sustained by means of food,
155 wherefore he exhorts us in the Scripture also in these words: “Thou shalt surely remember the Lord
that wrought in thee those great and wonderful things”. For when they are properly conceived,
they are manifestly great and glorious; first the construction of the body and the disposition of the
156 food and the separation of each individual limb and, far more, the organisation of the senses, the operation
and invisible movement of the mind, the rapidity of its particular actions and its discovery of the
157 arts, display an infinite *resourcefulness*. Wherefore he exhorts us to remember that the aforesaid
parts are kept together by the divine power with consummate skill. For he has marked out every
158 time and place that we may continually remember the God who rules and preserves (us). For in the
matter of meats and drinks he bids us first of all offer part as a sacrifice and then forthwith *enjoy*
our meal. Moreover, upon our garments he has given us a symbol of remembrance, and in like
manner he has ordered us to put the *divine* oracles upon our gates and doors as a remembrance of
159 God. And upon our hands, too, he expressly orders the symbol to be fastened, clearly showing that
we ought to perform every act in righteousness, remembering (our own creation), and above all the
160 fear of God. He bids men also, when lying down to sleep and rising up again, to meditate upon the
works of God, not only in word, but by observing distinctly the change and impression produced
upon them, when they are going to sleep, and also their waking, how divine and incomprehensible
161 the change from one of these states to the other is. The excellency of the analogy in regard to
discrimination and memory has now been pointed out to you, according to our interpretation of “the
cloven hoof and the chewing of the cud”. For our laws have not been drawn up at random or in
accordance with the first *casual* thought that occurred to the mind, but with a view to truth and the
162 indication of right reason. For by means of the directions which he gives with regard to meats and
drinks and particular cases of touching, he bids us neither to do nor listen to anything thoughtlessly
163 nor to resort to injustice by the abuse of the power of reason. In the case of the wild animals, too,
the same principle may be discovered. For the character of the weasel and of mice and such
164 animals as these, which are expressly mentioned, is destructive. Mice defile and damage everything,
not only for their own food but even to the extent of rendering absolutely useless to man whatever
165 it falls in their way to damage. The weasel class, too, is peculiar: for besides what has been said, it

(2) . . . τῇ σημειοῦσθαι. Thackeray conjectures δ σημειοῦται, and translates ‘He constrains us to do everything . . . as he signifies by these symbols’. Gifford in Eusebius rendering (2) translates ‘by the signification herein given’.

152. **we have been kept separate**, διαστάλμεθα or ‘we have received express injunctions’, see Lev. xviii. 6 ff. It is significant as Wendland says that there is no reference to the Egyptian practice of marrying a sister.

154. **life is wont to be sustained**, or ‘He considers that life exists by taking food’ (Thackeray).

155. **in the scripture**. For this remarkable introduction to the quotation, see note on § 168.

Thou shalt remember. A loose quotation of phrases conflated from Deut. vii. 18, 19, and x. 21. ‘The great and wonderful things’ of Deut. refer to the Divine deliverances of Israel, but here the phrase is applied to the human anatomy. Gifford thinks there is a reminiscence of Job xlii. 3.

156. **display an infinite**, &c., lit. ‘contain an infinite manner,’ ἀπέραστον περιέχει τρόπον. Thackeray renders ‘bear the marks of an infinite wisdom’. Gifford, reading ἐπέραστον, renders ‘have a delightful character’.

157. **kept together . . . with consummate skill**. Thackeray renders ‘are both created and preserved’.

158. **enjoy**. So Euseb.

upon our garments, ἐκ τῶν περιβολαίων. There seems to be an allusion to Num. xv. 38, and Deut. xxii. 12 ἐπὶ τῶν τεσσάρων κρασπέδων τῶν περιβολαίων σου. The reference is to the *zizith* or *gedilim* fringes or twisted threads at the four corners of the garment, see *DBH* art. ‘Fringes’. Schürer, *ET* ii. 2. 112.

the divine oracles, see note on § 177.

upon our gates, cp. Deut. vi. 7 ff., a reference to the *Mesusa*, an oblong box fixed to house and room doors above the right-hand door-post on which was written in twenty-two lines the two paragraphs, Deut. vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21. Schürer, *ET* ii. 2. 112.

159. **upon our hands**, cp. Deut. vi. 8, a reference to the *Tephilla*, a small dice-shaped hollow parchment case on which were written the passages Ex. xiii. 1-10, xiii. 11-16; Deut. vi. 4-9, xi. 13-21. It was fastened by means of a strap drawn through it to the upper part of the left arm, Schürer *ET*, ii. 2. 113.

our own creation. Restored from Euseb.

160. **going to sleep**. Aristeas seems to have been interested in the psychology of sleep. See §§ 213-16, and cp. the discussion in 3 Mac. v. 11.

162. **by the abuse of the power**, &c., or ‘and not by availing ourselves of the overbearing power of speech have recourse to unrighteousness’ (Thackeray), or ‘nor to resort to injustice by employing the mastery of language’.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 165-177

- has a characteristic which is defiling : It conceives through the ears and brings forth through the
166 mouth. And it is for this reason that a like practice is declared unclean in men. For by embodying
in speech all that they receive through the ears, they involve others in evils and work no ordinary
impurity, being themselves altogether defiled by the pollution of impiety. And your king, as we
are informed, does quite right in destroying such men.’
- 167 Then I said ‘I suppose you mean the informers, for he constantly exposes them to tortures and to
168 painful forms of death’. ‘Yes,’ he replied, ‘these are the men I mean ; for to watch for men’s
destruction is an unholy thing. And our law forbids us to injure any one either by word or deed. My
brief account of these matters ought to have convinced you, that all our regulations have been drawn
up with a view to righteousness, and that nothing has been enacted in the Scripture thoughtlessly or
without due reason, but its purpose is to enable us throughout our whole life and in all our actions
169 to practise righteousness before all men, being mindful of Almighty God. And so concerning meats
and things unclean, creeping things, and wild beasts, the whole system aims at righteousness and
righteous relationships between man and man.’
- 170 He seemed to me to have made a good defence on all the points ; for in reference also to the
calves and rams and goats which are offered, he said that it was necessary to take them from the
herds and flocks, and sacrifice tame animals and offer nothing wild, that the offerers of the sacrifices
might understand the symbolic meaning of the lawgiver and not be under the influence of an arrogant
self-consciousness. For he, who offers a sacrifice, makes an offering also of his own soul in all
171 its moods. I think that these particulars with regard to our discussion are worth narrating, and
on account of the sanctity and natural meaning of the law, I have been induced to explain them
to you clearly, Philocrates, because of your own devotion to learning.
- 172 And Eleazar, after offering the sacrifice, and selecting the envoys, and preparing many gifts for the
173 king, despatched us on our journey in great security. And when we reached Alexandria, the king
was at once informed of our arrival. On our admission to the palace, Andreas and I warmly greeted
174 the king and handed over to him the letter written by Eleazar. The king was very anxious
to meet the envoys, and gave orders that all the other officials should be dismissed and the envoys
175 summoned to his presence *at once*. Now this excited general surprise, for it is customary for those
who come to seek an audience with the king on matters of importance to be admitted to his presence
on the fifth day, while envoys from kings or very important cities with difficulty secure admission
to the Court in thirty days—but these men he counted worthy of greater honour, since he held their
master in such high esteem, and so he immediately dismissed those whose presence he regarded as
superfluous and continued walking about until they came in and he was able to welcome them.
- 176 When they entered with the gifts which had been sent with them and the valuable parchments, on
which the law was inscribed in gold in Jewish characters, for the parchment was wonderfully
prepared and the connexion *between the pages* had been so effected as to be invisible, the king as soon
177 as he saw them began to ask them about the books. And when they had taken the rolls out of their
coverings and unfolded the pages, the king stood still for a long time and then making obeisance
about seven times, he said : ‘I thank you, my friends, and I thank him that sent you still more, and

165. **through the mouth**, cf. *Ep. Barn.* x. 8. Aristotle, *De Generatione Animalium*, iii. 6. 5, refutes this common belief and explains its origin. ‘The weasel has just the same kind of womb as all other quadrupeds. How then can the embryo pass from it into the mouth? But because the weasel, like all other cloven-footed animals . . . brings forth extremely small young and often carries them from place to place in her mouth, she has given rise to this opinion’ (quoted by Gifford, *Euseb.* 374 d).

167. **informer**s, ἐμφανισταί—*delatores*. Graetz cites this passage as an argument for the late date of the Epistle—and thinks that it refers incontestably to the punishment inflicted on two Roman knights at the instigation of the Emperor for bringing false charges against the Praetor Magius Caecilianus in A.D. 21 : cp. the concluding words of § 166, ‘Your king as we are informed does quite right in putting such men to death’.

168. **has been enacted in the Scripture**, οὐδὲν εἰκὴ κατατέτακται διὰ τῆς γραφῆς. Compare § 155. This is probably the first instance where the law is spoken of as Scripture. It is quite a question whether ἡ γραφή is used in this sense even in the New Testament (see Lightfoot’s note on Gal. iii. 22). We find the phrase ἐν γραφῇ νόμου Μωσέως used in the *Testaments of the Patriarchs* (T. Zab. iii. 4), but there appears to be no instance of ἡ γραφή used alone in the pre-Christian era. Deissmann has shown that the phrase [κατὰ τὴν] γραφήν is found on a Fayûm Papyrus of 5-6 A.D.—and argues that in the first instance it was used as the equivalent of τὸ γεγραμμένον in legal documents (*Biblical Studies*, p. 250). Compare the use of ἀγραφα and διὰ γραπτῶν in § 56. Possibly the usage may go back to earlier times.

168. **without due reason**, lit. ‘of a legendary character’, or ‘in a fabulous way’, reading μυθωδῶς (as in Eusebius) for θυμωδῶς as in the MSS.

170. **He seemed to me**. There is some doubt as to whether this rendering of ἐνόμιζε is possible. Gifford thinks this usage of the word is peculiar to Aristeas and compares the phrases νομίζειν γὰρ τοῖς πολλοῖς in § 128. Wendland and Thackeray conjecture ἐνομίζετο. Otherwise we must translate ‘He thought that he had given me a good defence on all the points’.

171. **sanctity and natural meaning**, διὰ τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ φυσικὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ νόμου. The meaning of the latter phrase is uncertain. Schürer thinks it refers to the ‘naturalness’ or ‘reasonableness’ of the law. Thackeray translates ‘the solemnity and inner meaning of the law’.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 178-187

- 178 most of all God, whose oracles these are.' And when all, the envoys and the others who were present as well, shouted out at one time and with one voice: 'God save the King!' he burst into tears of joy. For his exaltation of soul and the *sense of the* overwhelming honour which had been
- 179 paid him compelled him to weep over his good fortune. He commanded them to put the rolls back in their places and then after saluting the men, said: 'It was right, men of God, that I should first of all pay my reverence to the books for the sake of which I summoned you here and then, when I had done that, to extend the right-hand *of friendship* to you. It was for this reason that I
- 180 did this first. I have enacted that this day, on which you arrived, shall be kept as a great day and it will be celebrated annually throughout my life time. It happens also that it is the anniversary of
- 181 my naval victory over Antigonus. Therefore I shall be glad to feast with you to-day.' 'Everything that you may have occasion to use', he said, 'shall be prepared (for you) in a befitting manner and for me also with you.' After they had expressed their delight, he gave orders that the best quarters near the citadel should be assigned to them, and that preparations should be made for the banquet.
- 182 And Nicanor summoned the lord high steward, Dorotheus, who was the special officer appointed to look after *the Jews*, and commanded him to make the necessary preparation for each one. For this arrangement had been made by the king and it is an arrangement which you see maintained to-day. For as many cities (as) have (special) customs in the matter of drinking, eating, and reclining, have special officers appointed *to look after their requirements*. And whenever they come to visit the kings, preparations are made in accordance with their own customs, in order that there may be no discomfort to disturb the enjoyment of their visit. The same precaution was taken in the case of the Jewish envoys. Now Dorotheus who was the patron appointed to look after *Jewish* guests was
- 183 a very conscientious man. All the stores which were under his control and set apart for the reception of such guests, he brought out for the feast. He arranged the seats in two rows in accordance with the king's instructions. For he had ordered him to make half the men sit at his right hand and the rest behind him, in order that he might not withhold from them the highest possible honour. When they had taken their seats he instructed Dorotheus to carry out everything in
- 184 accordance with the customs which were in use amongst his Jewish guests. Therefore he dispensed with the services of the sacred heralds and the sacrificing priests and the others who were accustomed to offer the prayers, and called upon one of our number, Eleazar, the oldest of the Jewish priests, to offer prayer instead. And he rose up and made a remarkable prayer. 'May Almighty
- 185 God enrich you, O king, with all the good things which He has made and may He grant you and your wife and your children and your comrades the continual possession of them as long as you live!' At these words a loud and joyous applause broke out which lasted for a considerable time, and then
- 186 they turned to the enjoyment of the banquet which had been prepared. All the arrangements for service at table were carried out in accordance with the injunction of Dorotheus. Among the *attendants* were the royal pages and others who held places of honour at the king's court.
- 187 Taking an opportunity afforded by a pause *in the banquet* the king asked the envoy who sat in

177. *whose oracles these are*. Cp. § 158. This is probably the earliest instance of the application of the term τὰ λόγια to the law as a whole, though it is used in Sirach xxxvi. 14 of divine utterances in general. This use of the word is found several times in the New Testament: Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12.

180. *celebrated annually*. Philo asserts that an annual festival was held at Pharos in his day to celebrate the translation of the LXX (*de vita Moysis*, ii. 7. 140 M).

naval victory over Antigonus. Philadelphus was decisively defeated by Antigonus Gonatas at the battle of Kos (c. 258). As a result of this battle Egypt lost its supremacy for some years, though it regained its power in the battle of Andros. Wendland thinks that Aristeas has purposely turned a defeat into a victory. Thackeray holds that the reference may be to the victory at Andros. This latter suggestion seems very improbable. According to Droysen the battle of Andros did not take place till 245 B.C.—two years after the death of Philadelphus. And even if with Mahaffy we date it 247 B.C.—in the last year of the reign of Philadelphus—it would be impossible to reconcile the statement here with other historical data in Aristeas. A victory in 247 B.C. could not have been made the subject of an annual celebration before the death of Arsinoe (in 270 B.C.), who is assumed to be alive throughout the Epistle.

181. *that you may have occasion to use*. I adopt the conjecture of Wendland, who reads οἷς συγχρησθε for the συγχρησεσθε or συγχρησησθε of the MSS. One important MS. reads συγχρησθαι, which seems to justify the emendation.

near the citadel. See note on § 41.

182. *the lord high steward*. The MSS. read ἀρχίητρος, the chief physician. This does not seem satisfactory, and Josephus paraphrases ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν ξένων ἀποδοχῆς τεταγμένος . . . Letronne conjectures ἀρχεδέαιρος (which is accepted by Wendland). This word is found only on an Inscription (C.I.G. 4678). The term ἐδέαιρος originally meant the official who tasted dishes before the king, and was borrowed from Persia by Alexandria. Ἀρχεδέαιρος may be translated 'the lord high steward', cp. Thackeray, *JQR*, xv, p. 371. Lumbroso, *Recherches sur l'économie polit. de l'Égypte*, 205.

183. *all the stores*, &c. Thackeray translates 'He laid out all the coverings for the couches which were in his keeping and were set apart for receptions of this kind'.

184. *Eleazar*. According to Josephus the man's name was Elisha, and Wendland suggests that this ought to be regarded as the true reading here.

185. *your wife and your children*. See notes on § 41.

your comrades: ὁμονοοῦσι, lit. 'Those who are in harmony with you.' Wendland suggests ὁμογενεῖσι 'relatives'.

186. *among the attendants*, or 'among the guests were royal children', &c.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 188-199

- the seat of honour (for they were arranged according to seniority), How he could keep his kingdom
188 unimpaired to the end? After pondering for a moment he replied, 'You could best establish its
security if you were to imitate the unceasing benignity of God. For if you exhibit clemency and
inflict mild punishments upon those who deserve them in accordance with their deserts, you will
189 turn them from evil and lead them to repentance.' The king praised the answer and then asked
the next man, How he could do everything for the best in all his actions? And he replied, 'If
a man maintains a just bearing towards all, he will always act rightly on every occasion, remembering
that every thought is known to God. If you take the fear of God as your starting-point, you
will never miss the goal.'
- 190 The king complimented this man, too, upon his answer and asked another, How he could have
friends like-minded with himself? He replied, 'If they see you studying the interests of the
multitudes over whom you rule; you will do well to observe how God bestows his benefits on the
191 human race, providing for them health and food and all other things in due season.' After expressing
his agreement with the reply, the king asked the next guest, How in giving audiences and passing
judgments he could gain the praise even of those who failed to win their suit? And he said,
'If you are fair in speech to all alike and never act insolently nor tyrannically in your treatment of
192 offenders. And you will do this if you watch the method by which God acts. The petitions of the
worthy are always fulfilled, while those who fail to obtain an answer to their prayers are informed by
means of dreams or events of what was harmful *in their requests* and that God does not smite them
according to their sins or the greatness of His strength, but acts with forbearance towards them.'
- 193 The king praised the man warmly for his answer and asked the next in order, How he could be
invincible in military affairs? And he replied, 'If he did not trust entirely to his multitudes or his
warlike forces, but called upon God continually to bring his enterprises to a successful issue, while
194 he himself discharged all his duties in the spirit of justice.' Welcoming this answer, he asked another
how he might become an object of dread to his enemies. And he replied, 'If while maintaining
a vast supply of arms and forces he remembered that these things were powerless to achieve
a permanent and conclusive result. For even God instils fear into the minds of men by granting
reprieves and making merely a display of the greatness of his power.'
- 195 This man the king praised and then said to the next, What is the highest good in life? And he
answered 'To know that God is Lord of the Universe, and that in our finest achievements it is not
we who attain success but God who by his power brings all things to fulfilment and leads us
to the goal.'
- 196 The king exclaimed that the man had answered well and then asked the next How he could keep
all his possessions intact and finally hand them down to his successors in the same condition? And
he answered 'By praying constantly to God that you may be inspired with high motives in all your
undertakings and by warning your descendants not to be dazzled by fame or wealth, for it is God
who bestows all these gifts and men never by themselves win the supremacy.'
- 197 The king expressed his agreement with the answer and enquired of the next guest, How he could
bear with equanimity whatever befell him? And he said, 'If you have a firm grasp of the thought
that all men are appointed by God to share the greatest evil as well as the greatest good, since it is
impossible for one who is a man to be exempt from these. But God, to whom we ought *always*
to pray, inspires us with courage to endure.'
- 198 Delighted with the man's reply, the king said that all their answers had been good. 'I will put
a question to one other', *he added*, 'and then I will stop for the present: that we may turn our attention
199 to the enjoyment of *the feast* and spend a pleasant time.' Thereupon he asked the man, What is the
true aim of courage? And he answered, 'If a right plan is carried out in the hour of danger in
accordance with the original intention. For all things are accomplished by God to your advantage,
O king, since your purpose is good.'

188. **inflict mild punishments**, βλιμάζων τοὺς ἀξίους ἐπεικέστερον καθὼς εἰσιν ἄξιοι. Thackeray, following Schmidt, inserts ἡ before καθὼς, 'punish with greater forbearance than is due to them.' Cp. also § 208.

189. **do everything for the best**, following the emendation of Wendland πῶς ἂν ἕκαστα (κάλλιστα) πράττοι.

If a man . . . act rightly. I follow the text of Wendland here: δίκαιον εἰ πρὸς ἅπαντας διατηροῖ ἑαυτὸν, καλῶς τὰ ἕκαστα πράξει. Thackeray reads ἐαυτῷ and connects with the following clause ἐαυτῷ καλῶς τὰ ἕκαστα πράξει. This is very difficult to translate because we cannot render 'he will act rightly by Himself.' Dr. Charles has suggested to me that we might possibly read ἑαυτόν (which is found in some MSS.) and translate 'He will do everything best as regards himself so long as he observes what is just towards all'; or else we might suppose that a καί has dropped out before ἐαυτῷ, and then changing πράξει to πράσσοι or πράσσει we might translate 'If a man maintains righteousness towards all and always acts rightly in himself,' &c.

starting-point. The emphasis on the connexion between morality and religion is one of the characteristics of the Epistle. For the conception of God as the καταρχή of Ethics see §§ 200, 235.

194. **Even God instils**. It will be observed that there is no logical parallel here between the human and divine action. Wendland suggests that Aristeas makes use of an older collection of sayings, appending to each of them a not always appropriate theological conclusion.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 200-211

- 200 When all had signified by their applause their agreement with the answer, the king said to the philosophers (for not a few of them were present), 'It is my opinion that these men excel in virtue and possess extraordinary knowledge, since on the spur of the moment they have given fitting answers to these questions which I have put to them, and have all made God the starting-point of their words.'
- 201 And Menedemus, the philosopher of Eretria, said, 'True, O King—for since the universe is managed by providence and since we rightly perceive that man is the creation of God, it follows
- 202 that all power and beauty of speech proceed from God.' When the king had nodded his assent to this sentiment, the speaking ceased and they proceeded to enjoy themselves. When evening came on, the banquet ended.
- 203 On the following day they sat down to table again and continued the banquet according to the same arrangements. When the king thought that a fitting opportunity had arrived to put inquiries to his guests, he proceeded to ask further questions of the men who sat next in order to those who
- 204 had given answers on the previous day. He began to open the conversation with the eleventh man, for there were ten who had been asked questions on the former occasion. When silence was
- 205 established, he asked How he could continue to be rich? After a brief reflection, the man who had been asked the question replied—'If he did nothing unworthy of his position, never acted licentiously, never lavished expense on empty and vain pursuits, but by acts of benevolence made all his subjects well disposed towards himself. For it is God who is the author of all good things and
- 206 Him man must needs obey.' The king bestowed praise upon him and then asked another How he could maintain the truth? In reply to the question he said, 'By recognizing that a lie brings great disgrace upon all men, and more especially upon kings. For since they have the power to do whatever they wish, why should they resort to lies? In addition to this you must always remember, O King, that God is a lover of the truth.'
- 207 The king received the answer with great delight and looking *at another* said, 'What is the teaching of wisdom?' And the other replied, 'As you wish that no evil should befall you, but to be a partaker of all good things, so you should act on the same principle towards your subjects and offenders, and you should mildly admonish the noble and good. For God draws all men *to Himself* by his benignity.'
- 208 The king praised him and asked the next in order How he could be the friend of men? And he replied, 'By observing that the human race increases and is born with much **trouble** and great suffering: wherefore you must not lightly punish or inflict torments upon them, since you know that the life of men is made up of pains and penalties. For if you understood everything you would be filled with pity, for God also is pitiful.'
- 209 The king received the answer with approbation and inquired of the next 'What is the most essential qualification for ruling?' 'To keep oneself', he answered, 'free from bribery and to practise sobriety during the greater part of one's life, to honour righteousness above all things, and to make friends of men of this type. For God, too, is a lover of justice.'
- 210 Having signified his approval, the king said to another 'What is the true mark of piety?' And he replied, 'To perceive that God constantly works in the Universe and knows all things, and no man who acts unjustly and works wickedness can escape His notice. As God is the benefactor of the whole world, so you, too, must imitate Him and be void of offence.'
- 211 The king signified his agreement and said to another 'What is the essence of kingship?' And he replied, 'To rule oneself well and not to be led astray by wealth or fame to immoderate or unseemly desires, *this is the true way of ruling* if you reason the matter well out. For **all that you really need** is yours, and God is free from need and benignant withal. Let your thoughts be such as become a man, and desire not many things but only such as are necessary for ruling.'

201. Menedemus, a Greek philosopher who lived at Eretria in Euboea, where he founded a school of thought. Born about 350 and died between 278 and 275 B.C. He was the disciple of Stilpo and the friend of Antigonos Gonatas. Our knowledge of his philosophy is limited and indefinite; it is derived from statements in Athenaeus, Diogenes Laertius, and Plutarch. We have no knowledge that he ever visited Alexandria, and his death had in all probability occurred before he is introduced into the narrative here. See Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, ii. 205 ff.; H. Mallett, *Histoire de l'école de Mégare et des écoles d'Élis et d'Érétrie* (1845).

206. **in addition to this**, reading προσλαμβάνειν. Wendland prefers προλαμβάνειν, which would be translated 'you must always set before your mind'.

207. **As you wish that no evil**. A similar statement of 'the golden rule' in its negative form is found in Tob. iv. 15 καὶ ὁ μισεῖς, μηδενὶ ποιήσης. Cp. Hillel, 'What is hateful to thyself, do not to thy fellow man.'

208. **with much trouble**, following an emendation of Wendland, who conjectures πόνοι for χρόνος. If we take the MSS. reading we must translate with Thackeray, 'By considering after how long a time and through what great sufferings the human race comes to maturity, aye and to the birth!'

211. **This is the true way**. The text is corrupt and some such words must be supplied to make sense.

All that you really need, following a conjecture of Wendland, who suggests ὅσα δέον, for ὡς οὐδέν. With the

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 212–225

- 212 The king praised him and asked another man How his deliberations might be for the best? and he replied, 'If he constantly set justice before him in everything and thought that injustice was equivalent to deprivation of life. For God always promises the highest blessings to the just.'
- 213 Having praised him, the king asked the next How he could be free from disturbing thoughts in his sleep? And he replied, 'You have asked me a question which is very difficult to answer, for we cannot bring our true selves into play during the hours of sleep, but are held fast **in these**
- 214 by imaginations that cannot be controlled by reason. For our souls possess the feeling that they actually see the things that enter into our consciousness *during sleep*. But we make a mistake if we suppose that we are actually sailing on the sea in boats or flying through the air or travelling to other regions or anything else of the kind. **And yet we actually do imagine such**
- 215 **things** to be taking place. So far as it is possible for me to decide, I have reached the following conclusion. You must in every possible way, O King, govern your words and actions by the rule of piety that you may have the consciousness that you are maintaining virtue and that you never choose to gratify yourself at the expense of reason and never by abusing your power do
- 216 despite to righteousness. For the mind mostly busies itself in sleep with the same things with which it occupies itself when awake. And **he who** has all his thoughts and actions set towards the noblest ends establishes himself *in righteousness* both when he is awake and when he is asleep. Wherefore you must be steadfast in the constant discipline of self.'
- 217 The king bestowed praise on the man and said to another—'Since you are the tenth to answer, when you have spoken, we will devote ourselves to the banquet.' And then he put the question,
- 218 How can I avoid doing anything unworthy of myself? And he replied, 'Look always to your own fame and your own supreme position, that you may speak and think only such things as are
- 219 consistent therewith, knowing that all your subjects think and talk about you. For you must not appear to be worse than the actors, who study carefully the rôle, which it is necessary for them to play, and shape all their actions in accordance with it. You are not acting a part, but are really a king, since God has bestowed upon you a royal authority in keeping with your character.'
- 220 When the king had applauded loud and long in the most gracious way, the guests were urged to seek repose. So when the conversation ceased, they devoted themselves to the next course of the feast.
- 221 On the following day, the same arrangement was observed, and when the king found an opportunity of putting questions to the men, he questioned the first of those who had been left over
- 222 for the next interrogation, What is the highest form of government? And he replied, 'To rule oneself and not to be carried away by impulses. For all men possess a certain natural bent of mind.
- 223 It is probable that most men have an inclination towards food and drink and pleasure, and kings a bent towards the acquisition of territory and great renown. But it is good that there should be moderation in all things. What God gives, that you must take and keep, but never yearn for things that are beyond your reach.'
- 224 Pleased with these words, the king asked the next How he could be free from envy? And he after a brief pause replied, 'If you consider first of all that it is God who bestows on all kings glory and great wealth and no one is king by his own power. All men wish to share this glory but cannot, since it is the gift of God.'
- 225 The king praised the man in a long speech and then asked another How he could despise his enemies? And he replied, 'If you show kindness to all men and win their friendship, you need fear no one. To be popular with all men is the best of **good gifts** to receive from God.'

reading of the MSS. we must translate, 'Everything is at your command, and it is as nothing.' Mendelssohn conjectures *ὡς οὐδενί* 'you, as no one else, possess everything you need.'

214. **And yet we actually**, following the conjecture of Schmidt, *καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα ὑπολαμβάνομεν καθεστάναι*. Thackeray connects with the previous sentence and reads *ἀ κατὰ ταῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνομεν*. . . . 'Other such things which we then suppose to be taking place.' Mendelssohn would substitute *σφάλλεται* for *καθεστάναι*, reading *καὶ ὁ ταῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνων σφάλλεται*, 'He who makes this supposition is under a delusion.'

216. **he who has all his thoughts**. Reading with Wendland *ὅς δὲ πάντα διαλογισμὸν* for the MSS. *ὡς δέ*. Thackeray suggests *θεὸς δέ* (on the ground that the divine name is always used in the concluding sentence of each response), and further *ἐγρηγορότος* for *ἐγρηγορώς*. The translation then runs 'but God directs every thought and action which aims at the highest both in waking hours and in sleep.'

219. **worse than the actors**, lit. 'the least of the actors.'

220. **the guests were urged**, 'they urged the guests to sleep.' The text appears to have suffered dislocation.

when the conversation ceased, *καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τούτους ὡς ἔληξεν*, lit. 'when the turn of these men was ended' (Thackeray), but probably the text is corrupt.

222. **natural bent**. For a further account of this inherent bias in human nature see § 108 and especially 277.

223. **and great renown**, following the emendation of Wendland *καὶ* (for *κατὰ*) *τὸ τῆς δόξης μέγεθος*. If we follow the MSS., the meaning is 'in proportion to the greatness of their renown.'

moderation in all things. See note on § 122, and compare § 156.

224. **by his own power**, following the reading of Wendland, *παρ' ἑαυτοῦ* for *ἐαυτοῦ*, 'king of himself.'

225. **best of good gifts**. The text is corrupt. For the MSS. *καὶ καλὸν δῶρον εἰληφέναι παρὰ θεοῦ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ κράτιστον*.—

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 226-239

- 226 Having praised this answer the king ordered the next man to reply to the question, How he could maintain his great renown? and he replied that 'If you are generous and large-hearted in bestowing kindness and acts of grace upon others, you will never lose your renown, but if you wish the aforesaid graces to continue yours, you must call upon God continually.'
- 227 The king expressed his approval and asked the next, To whom ought a man to show liberality? And he replied, 'All men acknowledge that we ought to show liberality to those who are well disposed towards us, but I think that we ought to show the same keen spirit of generosity to those who are opposed to us that by this means we may win them over to the right and to what is advantageous to ourselves. But we must pray to God that this may be accomplished, for he rules the minds of all men.'
- 228 Having expressed his agreement with the answer, the king asked the sixth to reply to the question, To whom ought we to exhibit gratitude? And he replied, 'To our parents continually, for God has given us a most important commandment with regard to the honour due to parents. In the next place He reckons the attitude of friend towards friend for He speaks of "a friend which is as thine own soul". You do well in trying to bring all men into friendship with yourself.'
- 229 The king spoke kindly to him and then asked the next, What is it that resembles beauty in value? And he said, 'Piety, for it is the pre-eminent form of beauty, and its power lies in love, which is the gift of God. This you have already acquired and with it all the blessings of life.'
- 230 The king in the most gracious way applauded the answer and asked another How, if he were to fail, he could regain his reputation again in the same degree? And he said, 'It is not possible for you to fail, for you have sown in all men the seeds of gratitude which produce a harvest of goodwill, and this is mightier than the strongest weapons and guarantees the greatest security. But if any man does fail, he must never again do those things which caused his failure, but he must form friendships and act justly. For it is the gift of God to be able to do good actions and not the contrary.'
- 232 Delighted with these words, the king asked another How he could be free from grief? And he replied, 'If he never injured any one, but did good to everybody and followed the pathway of righteousness, for its fruits bring freedom from grief. But we must pray to God that unexpected evils such as death or disease or pain or anything of this kind may not come upon us and injure us. But since you are devoted to piety, no such misfortune will ever come upon you.'
- 233 The king bestowed great praise upon him and asked the tenth, What is the highest form of glory? And he said, 'To honour God, and this is done not with gifts and sacrifices but with purity of soul and holy conviction, since all things are fashioned and governed by God in accordance with His will. Of this purpose you are in constant possession as all men can see from your achievements in the past and in the present.'
- 235 With loud voice the king greeted them all and spoke kindly to them, and all those who were present expressed their approval, especially the philosophers. For they were far superior to them [i.e. the philosophers] both in conduct and in argument, since they always made God their starting-point. After this the king to show his good feeling proceeded to drink the health of his guests.
- 236 On the following day the same arrangements were made for the banquet, and the king, as soon as an opportunity occurred, began to put questions to the men who sat next to those who had already responded, and he said to the first 'Is wisdom capable of being taught?' And he said, 'The soul is so constituted that it is able by the divine power to receive all the good and reject the contrary.'
- 237 The king expressed approval and asked the next man, What is it that is most beneficial to health? And he said, 'Temperance, and it is not possible to acquire this unless God create a disposition towards it.'
- 238 The king spoke kindly to the man and said to another, 'How can a man worthily pay the debt of gratitude to his parents?' And he said, 'By never causing them pain, and this is not possible unless God dispose the mind to the pursuit of the noblest ends.'
- 239 The king expressed agreement and asked the next How he could become an eager listener? And he said, 'By remembering that all knowledge is useful, because it enables you by the help of God in

Thackeray suggests *καὶ καλῶν δόρων* (as above). Wendland conjectures *καὶ καλὴν δόξαν εἰληφέναι δῶρον*—'To win a fair reputation is the highest gift of God.'

227. **To whom ought a man**, reading with Wendland *πρὸς τίνα* for the MSS. *πῶς τινα*.

228. **most important commandment**. Exod. xx. 12.

a friend . . . as thine own soul, *ἵσον τῇ ψυχῇ τὸν φίλον*, quoted from the LXX of Deut. xiii. 6 *φίλος ἵσος τῆς ψυχῆς σου* (A *τῇ ψυχῇ*). For the use of the LXX see §§ 56-7, 87, 96-9.

236. **The soul is so constituted**, &c., or 'The soul is through God's power so adapted as to accept all that is good and to reject what is contrary thereto' (Thackeray). For the conception that Divine assistance is needed for the attainment of virtue see §§ 226, 238, 248.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 239-252

- a time of emergency to select some of the things which you have learned and apply them to the crisis which confronts you. And so the efforts of men are fulfilled by the assistance of God.'
- 240 The king praised him and asked the next How he could avoid doing anything contrary to law? And he said, 'If you recognize that it is God who has put the thoughts into the hearts of the lawgivers that the lives of men might be preserved, you will follow them.'
- 241 The king acknowledged the man's answer and said to another, 'What is the advantage of kinship?' And he replied, 'If we consider that we ourselves are afflicted by the misfortunes which fall upon our relatives and if their sufferings become our own—then the strength of kinship is apparent at once, for it is only when such feeling is shown that we shall win honour and esteem in their eyes. For help, when it is linked with kindness, is of itself a bond which is altogether indissoluble. And in the day of their prosperity we must not crave their possessions, but must pray God to bestow all manner of good upon them.'
- 243 And having accorded to him the same praise as to the rest, the king asked another How he could attain freedom from fear? And he said, 'When the mind is conscious that it has wrought no evil, and when God directs it to all noble counsels.'
- 244 The king expressed his approval and asked another How he could always maintain a right judgement? And he replied, 'If he constantly set before his eyes the misfortunes which befall men and recognized that it is God who takes away prosperity *from some* and brings others to great honour and glory.'
- 245 The king gave a kindly reception to the man and asked the next to answer the question How he could avoid a life of ease and pleasure? And he replied, 'If he continually remembered that he was the ruler of a great empire and the lord of vast multitudes, and that his mind ought not to be occupied with other things, but he ought always to be considering how he could best promote their welfare. He must pray, too, to God that no duty might be neglected.'
- 246 Having bestowed praise upon him, the king asked the tenth How he could recognize those who were dealing treacherously with him? And he replied to the question, 'If he observed whether the bearing of those about him was natural and whether they maintained the proper rule of precedence at receptions and councils, and in their general intercourse, never going beyond the bounds of propriety in congratulations or in other matters of deportment. But God will incline your mind, O King, to all that is noble.' When the king had expressed his loud approval and praised them all individually (amid the plaudits of all who were present), they turned to the enjoyment of the feast.
- 248 And on the next day, when the opportunity offered, the king asked the next man, What is the grossest form of neglect? And he replied, 'If a man does not care for his children and devote every effort to their education. For we always pray to God not so much for ourselves as for our children that every blessing may be theirs. Our desire that **our children** may possess self-control is only realized by the power of God.'
- 249 The king said that he had spoken well and then asked another How he could be patriotic? 'By keeping before your mind,' he replied, 'the thought that it is good to live and die in one's own country. Residence abroad brings contempt upon the poor and shame upon the rich as though they had been banished for a crime. If you bestow benefits upon all, as you continually do, God will give you favour with all and you will be accounted patriotic.'
- 250 After listening to this man, the king asked the next in order How he could live amicably with his wife? And he answered, 'By recognizing that womankind are by nature headstrong and energetic in the pursuit of their own desires, and subject to sudden changes of opinion through fallacious reasoning, and their nature is essentially weak. It is necessary to deal wisely with them and not to provoke strife. For the successful conduct of life the steersman must know the goal toward which he ought to direct his course. It is only by calling upon the help of God that men can steer a true course of life at all times.'
- 252 The king expressed his agreement and asked the next How he could be free from error? And

239. **apply them to the crisis.** The text is uncertain. The MSS. read *ἀνθυποτιθῆς πρὸς τὰ τῶν καιρῶν ἀν ἀντιπράσσειν*, which is obviously corrupt. Thackeray renders 'that . . . bringing it to bear upon an emergency thou mayest counteract the events of critical times'.

242. **help, when it is linked,** τὸ γὰρ συνεργὲς εὐνῶς γινόμενον. Some editors prefer τὸ γὰρ συγγενές, 'kinship.'

246. **natural,** lit. 'free', ἐλευθέριον.

If he observed whether. It is doubtful whether the sentence refers to the conduct of the king or the courtiers. If we read *μηδὲν ὑπερτείνοντας τοῦ δέοντος*, we must adopt the latter alternative. If we read *ὑπερτείνειν*, the former is just possible and we may translate, 'If he maintained a free bearing and constantly observed the proper rule of precedence at receptions, councils, and in his general intercourse with those about him and took care to avoid exceeding the bounds of propriety in his congratulations,' &c. The other reading and rendering, however, provides the best answer to the question.

248. **Our desire,** τὸ δὲ ἐπιδεῖσθαι παῖδια for the MSS. *παιδείαν*. Wendland also suggests that we should read *ἐπιδεῖσθαι*, 'But to live to see our children endowed with self-control is a gift,' &c.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 252-266

- he replied, 'If you always act with deliberation and never give credence to slanders, but prove for yourself the things that are said to you and decide by your own judgement the requests which are made to you and carry out everything in the light of your judgement, you will be free from error, O King. But the knowledge and practice of these things is the work of the Divine power.'
- 253 Delighted with these words, the king asked another How he could be free from wrath? And he said in reply to the question, 'If he recognized that he had power over all even to inflict death upon them, if he gave way to wrath, and that it would be useless and pitiful if he, just because he was lord,
- 254 deprived many of life. What need was there for wrath, when all men were in subjection and no one was hostile to him? It is necessary to recognize that God rules the whole world in the spirit of kindness and without wrath at all, and you,' said he, 'O King, must of necessity copy His example.'
- 255 The king said that he had answered well and then inquired of the next man, What is good counsel? 'To act well at all times and with due reflection,' he explained, 'comparing *what is advantageous* to our own policy with the injurious effects that would result from the adoption of the opposite view, in order that by weighing every point we may be well advised and our purpose may be accomplished. And most important of all, by the power of God every plan of yours will find fulfilment because you practise piety.'
- 256 The king said that this man had answered well, and asked another What is philosophy? And he explained, 'To deliberate well in reference to any question that emerges and never to be carried away by impulses, but to ponder over the injuries that result from the passions, and to act rightly as the circumstances demand, practising moderation. But we must pray to God to instil into our mind a regard for these things.'
- 257 The king signified his consent and asked another How he could meet with recognition when travelling abroad? 'By being fair to all men,' he replied, 'and by appearing to be inferior rather than superior to those amongst whom he was travelling. For it is a recognized principle that God by His very nature accepts the humble. And the human race loves those who are willing to be in subjection to them.'
- 258 Having expressed his approval at this reply, the king asked another How he could build in such a way that his structures would endure after him? And he replied to the question, 'If his creations were on a great and noble scale, so that the beholders would spare them for their beauty, and if he never dismissed any of those who wrought such works and never compelled others to minister to his
- 259 needs without wages. For observing how God provides for the human race, granting them health and mental capacity and all other gifts, he himself should follow His example by rendering to men a recompense for their arduous toil. For it is the deeds that are wrought in righteousness that abide continually.'
- 260 The king said that this man, too, had answered well and asked the tenth, What is the fruit of wisdom? And he replied, 'That a man should be conscious in himself that he has wrought no evil
- 261 and that he should live his life in the truth. Since it is from these, O mighty King, that the greatest joy and steadfastness of soul and strong faith in God accrue to you if you rule your realm in piety.' And when they heard the answer they all shouted with loud acclaim, and afterwards the king in the fullness of his joy began to drink their healths.
- 262 And on the next day the banquet followed the same course as on previous occasions, and when the opportunity presented itself the king proceeded to put questions to the remaining guests, and
- 263 he said to the first, 'How can a man keep himself from pride?' And he replied, 'If he maintains equality and remembers on all occasions that he is a man ruling over men. And God brings the proud to nought, and exalts the meek and humble.'
- 264 The king spoke kindly to him and asked the next, Whom ought a man to select as his counsellors? and he replied, 'Those who have been tested in many affairs and maintain unmingled goodwill towards him and partake of his own disposition. And God manifests Himself to those who are worthy that these ends may be attained.'
- 265 The king praised him and asked another, What is the most necessary possession for a king? 'The friendship and love of his subjects,' he replied, 'for it is through this that the bond of goodwill is rendered indissoluble. And it is God who ensures that this may come to pass in accordance with *your wish*.'
- 266 The king praised him and inquired of another, What is goal of speech? And he replied, 'To

255. *comparing what is advantageous*. The meaning is not clear. I follow Wendland in supplying the clause in italics. Thackeray translates, 'And while forming our decisions not neglecting to weigh [lit. comparing] the injurious effects of following the opposite view.'

257. *It is a recognized principle*, κοινὸς. Thackeray takes the word with the latter clause only: 'the human race commonly loves,' &c.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 266-279

- convince your opponent by showing him his mistakes in a well-ordered array *of arguments*. For in this way you will win your hearer, not by opposing him, but by bestowing praise upon him with a view to persuading him. And it is by the power of God that persuasion is accomplished.'
- 267 The king said that he had given a good answer, and asked another How he could live amicably with the many different races who formed the population of his kingdom? 'By acting the proper part towards each,' he replied, 'and taking righteousness as your guide, as you are now doing with the help of the insight which God bestows upon you.'
- 268 The king was delighted by this reply, and asked another 'Under what circumstances ought a man to suffer grief?' 'In the misfortunes that befall our friends,' he replied, 'when we see that they are protracted and irremediable. Reason does not allow us to grieve for those who are dead and set free from evil, but all men do grieve *over them* because they think only of themselves and their own advantage. It is by the power of God alone that we can escape all evil.'
- 269 The king said that he had given a fitting answer, and asked another, How is reputation lost? And he replied, 'When pride and unbounded self-confidence hold sway, dishonour and loss of reputation are engendered. For God is the Lord of all reputation and bestows it where He will.'
- 270 The king gave his confirmation to the answer, and asked the next man, To whom ought men to entrust themselves? 'To those,' he replied, 'who serve you from goodwill and not from fear or self-interest, thinking only of their own gain. For the one is the sign of love, the other the mark of ill-will and time-serving. For the man who is always watching for his own gain is a traitor at heart. But you possess the affection of all your subjects by the help of the good counsel which God bestows upon you.'
- 271 The king said that he had answered wisely, and asked another, What is it that keeps a kingdom safe? And he replied to the question, 'Care and forethought that no evil may be wrought by those who are placed in a position of authority over the people, and this you always do by the help of God who inspires you with grave judgement'.
- 272 The king spoke words of encouragement to him, and asked another, What is it that maintains gratitude and honour? And he replied, 'Virtue, for it is the creator of good deeds, and by it evil is destroyed, even as you exhibit nobility of character towards all by the gift which God bestows upon you.'
- 273 The king graciously acknowledged the answer and asked the eleventh (since there were two more than seventy), How he could in time of war maintain tranquillity of soul? And he replied, 'By remembering that he had done no evil to any of his subjects, and that all would fight for him in return for the benefits which they had received, knowing that even if they lose their lives, you will care for those dependent on them. For you never fail to make reparation to any—such is the kind-heartedness with which God has inspired you.' The king loudly applauded them all and spoke very kindly to them and then drank a long draught to the health of each, giving himself up to enjoyment, and lavishing the most generous and joyous friendship upon his guests.
- 275 On the seventh day much more extensive preparations were made, and many others were present from the different cities (among them a large number of ambassadors). When an opportunity occurred, the king asked the first of those who had not yet been questioned How he could avoid being deceived *by fallacious reasoning*? and he replied, 'By noticing carefully the speaker, the thing spoken, and the subject under discussion, and by putting the same questions again after an interval in different forms. But to possess an alert mind and to be able to form a sound judgement in every case is one of the good gifts of God, and you possess it, O King.'
- 277 The king loudly applauded the answer and asked another, Why is it that the majority of men never become virtuous? 'Because,' he replied, 'all men are by nature intemperate and inclined to pleasure. Hence, injustice springs up and a flood of avarice. The habit of virtue is a hindrance to those who are devoted to a life of pleasure because it enjoins upon them the preference of temperance and righteousness. For it is God who is the master of these things.'
- 279 The king said that he had answered well, and asked, What ought kings to obey? And he said, 'The laws, in order that by righteous enactments they may restore the lives of men. Even as you

266. *by showing him his mistakes*, &c., or 'pointing out his errors by means of the chain of arguments which he has formulated' (Thackeray).

273. *in return for the benefits*, or 'for the glory of rendering thee service' (Thackeray).

for those dependent on them, τῶν βίον, or 'for their welfare' (Thackeray).

277. *by nature intemperate*. Aristeas has no developed doctrine of original sin but he lays stress on the natural bias or *yezer* in human nature, cp. § 108, 222 f. His clear enunciation of this view is remarkable, because there is little reference to the *yezer* in Alexandrian literature. Tennant says that he is unable to find 'any certain proof that the *yezer* doctrine was adopted by the Alexandrian' (*The Fall and Original Sin*, p. 138). It is of course common in Sirach and Palestinian literature.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 279-291

- by such conduct in obedience to the Divine command have laid up in store for yourself a perpetual memorial.'
- 280 The king said that this man, too, had spoken well, and asked the next, Whom ought we to appoint as governors? And he replied, 'All who hate wickedness, and imitating your own conduct act righteously that they may maintain a good reputation constantly. For this is what you do, O mighty King,' he said, 'and it is God who has bestowed upon you the crown of righteousness.'
- 281 The king loudly acclaimed the answer and then looking at the next man said, 'Whom ought we to appoint as officers over the forces?' And he explained, 'Those who excel in courage and righteousness and those who are more anxious about the safety of their men than to gain a victory by **risking** their lives through rashness. For as God acts well towards all men, so too you in imitation of Him are the benefactor of all your subjects.'
- 282 The king said that he had given a good answer and asked another, What man is worthy of admiration? And he replied, 'The man who is furnished with reputation and wealth and power and possesses a soul equal to it all. You yourself show by your actions that you are most worthy of admiration through the help of God who makes you care for these things.'
- 283 The king expressed his approval and said to another 'To what affairs ought kings to devote most time?' And he replied, 'To reading and the *study* of the records of official journeys, which are written in reference to the *various* kingdoms, with a view to the reformation and preservation of the subjects. And it is by such activity that you have attained to a glory which has never been approached by others, through the help of God who fulfils all your desires.'
- 284 The king spoke enthusiastically to the man and asked another How ought a man to occupy himself during his hours of relaxation and recreation? And he replied, 'To watch those plays which can be acted with propriety and to set before one's eyes scenes taken from life and enacted with dignity and decency is **profitable and appropriate**. For there is some edification to be found even in these amusements, for often some desirable lesson is taught by the most insignificant affairs of life. But by practising the utmost propriety in all your actions, you have shown that you are a philosopher and you are honoured by God on account of your virtue.'
- 286 The king, pleased with the words which had just been spoken, said to the ninth man, How ought a man to conduct himself at banquets? And he replied, 'You should summon to your side men of learning and those who are able to give you **useful hints** with regard to the affairs of your kingdom and the lives of your subjects (for you could not find any theme more suitable or more educative than this) since such men are dear to God because they have trained their minds to contemplate the noblest themes—as you indeed are doing yourself, since all your actions are directed by God.'
- 288 Delighted with the reply, the king inquired of the next man, What is best for the people? That a private citizen should be made king **over** them or a member of the royal family? And he replied, 'He who is best by nature. For kings who come of royal lineage are often harsh and severe towards their subjects. And still more is this the case with some of those who have risen from the ranks of private citizens, who after having experienced evil and borne their share of poverty, when they rule over multitudes turn out to be more cruel than the godless tyrants. But, as I have said, a good nature which has been properly trained is capable of ruling, and you are a great king, not so much because you excel in the glory of your rule and your wealth but rather because you have surpassed all men in clemency and philanthropy, thanks to God who has endowed you with these qualities.'
- 291 The king spent some time in praising this man and then asked the last of all, What is the

280. **crown of righteousness**, cf. 2 Tim. iv. 8. The phrase is also found in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (T. Levi viii. 1) where it is used of the crown of the High Priest.

281. **risking**. MSS. read *περιβάλλοντας*, which Schmidt has emended into *παραβάλλοντας*.

282. **possesses a soul equal to it all**, or 'yet inwardly regards himself as on an equality with all men' (Thackeray).

who makes you care, *διδόντος εἰς ταῦτα τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν*. This is the reading of the MSS., but Wendland prefers to emend *ἐπιμέλειαν* into *ἐπιτέλειαν*. 'Who grants you the capacity for attaining these things.'

283. **the records of official journeys**. Illustrations of these travel-diaries or *acta diurna* are to be found in the Papyri as Wendland points out. See Wilcken, article on *ὑπομνηματισμοί* in *Philologus*, liii. 80 ff.

written in reference to the kingdoms. Mendelssohn reads *τοὺς βασιλεῖς* for *τὰς βασιλείας*, 'written for kings.'

284. **is profitable and appropriate**, following the suggestion of Mendelssohn to read *βίη συμφερόν καὶ καθήκον* for the MSS. *βιοὶ* (*βιοῖς*) *σωφρονῶν καὶ κατέχων*, which cannot be translated without infringing the canons of Greek syntax.

286. **give you useful hints**, reading with Wendland *χρήσιμα* for *χρήματα*.

more suitable or . . . educative, *ἐμμελέστερον ἢ μουσικώτερον*. Thackeray renders 'No more harmonious or sweeter music could'st thou find'.

288. **king over them**, reading *ἐπ' αὐτῶν* (Wendland) for *ὑπ' αὐτῶν* 'appointed by them'.

He who is best, reading *τὸν ἀριστον* (with Schmidt) for *τὸ ἀριστον*.

291. **some time**. Wendland attaches this phrase to the previous clause.

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 291-306

- greatest achievement in ruling an empire? And he replied, 'That the subjects should continually dwell in a state of peace, and that justice should be speedily administered in cases of dispute.
- 292 These results are achieved through the influence of the ruler, when he is a man who hates evil and loves the good and devotes his energies to saving the lives of men, just as you consider injustice the worst form of evil and by your just administration have fashioned for yourself an undying reputation, since God bestows upon you a mind which is pure and untainted by any evil.'
- 293 And when he ceased, loud and joyful applause broke out for some considerable time. When it stopped the king took a cup and gave a toast in honour of all his guests and the words which they had uttered. Then in conclusion he said, 'I have derived the greatest benefit from your presence.
- 294 I have profited much by the wise teaching which you have given me in reference to the art of ruling.' Then he ordered that three talents of silver should be presented to each of them, and *appointed* one of his slaves to deliver over the money. All at once shouted their approval, and the banquet became a scene of joy, while the king gave himself up to a continuous round of festivity.
- 295 I have written at length and must crave your pardon, Philocrates. I was astonished beyond measure at the men and the way in which on the spur of the moment they gave answers which
- 296 really needed a long time to devise. For though the questioner had given great thought to each particular question, those who replied one after the other had their answers to the questions *ready at once* and so they seemed to me and to all who were present and especially to the philosophers to be worthy of admiration. And I suppose that the thing will seem incredible to those who will
- 297 read my narrative in the future. But it is unseemly to misrepresent facts which are recorded in the public archives. And it would not be right for me to transgress in such a matter as this. I tell the story just as it happened, conscientiously avoiding any error. I was so impressed by the force of their utterances, that I made an effort to consult those whose business it was to make
- 298 a record of all that happened at the royal audiences and banquets. For it is the custom, as you know, from the moment the king begins to transact business until the time when he retires to rest, for a record to be taken of all his sayings and doings—a most excellent and useful arrangement.
- 299 For on the following day *the minutes of the* doings and sayings of the previous day are read over before business commences, and if there has been any irregularity, the matter is at once set right.
- 300 I obtained therefore, as has been said, accurate information from the public records, and I have set forth the facts in proper order since I know how eager you are to obtain useful information.
- 301 Three days later Demetrius took the men and passing along the sea-wall, seven stadia long, to the island, crossed the bridge and made for the northern districts of *Pharos*. There he assembled them in a house, which had been built upon the sea-shore, of great beauty and in a secluded situation, and invited them to carry out the work of translation, since everything that they needed for the purpose
- 302 was placed at their disposal. So they set to work comparing their several results and making them agree, and whatever they agreed upon was suitably copied out under the direction of Demetrius.
- 303 And the session lasted until the ninth hour; after this they were set free to minister to their physical
- 304 needs. Everything they wanted was furnished for them on a lavish scale. In addition to this Dorotheus made the same preparations for them daily as were made for the king himself—for thus he had been commanded by the king. In the early morning they appeared daily at the Court, and
- 305 after saluting the king went back to their own place. And as is the custom of all the Jews, they washed their hands in the sea and prayed to God and then devoted themselves to reading and
- 306 translating the particular passage *upon which they were engaged*, and I put the question to them, Why it was that they washed their hands before they prayed? And they explained that it was a token that they had done no evil (for every form of activity is wrought by means of the hands) since in their noble and holy way they regard everything as a symbol of righteousness and truth.

295. **I have written at length**, *εἴπα πλείονα*. Mendelssohn suggests *εἰ πεπλεόνακα* ('if I have been too prolix') and this emendation is accepted by Wendland and Thackeray.

297. **I was so impressed**, or 'after hearing with approval at their own mouth their powers of speech' (Thackeray). For the allusion to the recorders see Wilcken's article mentioned in § 283.

298. **from the moment**. The MSS. read *ἀφ' ἧς ἀν ἡμέρας* for which Mendelssohn reads *ῥας*. Probably, as Thackeray suggests, the original text ran *ἀφ' ἧς ἀν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀρξῆται* with an ellipse of *ῥας* (cp. Luke vii. 45) and *ἡμέρας* is an interpolation.

300. **from the public records**, or 'from the keepers of the public records' (Thackeray).

301. **the sea-wall**. The Heptastadion or breakwater which connected Alexandria with the island of Pharos and divided the bay into two main harbours. See the description in Strabo, xvii. 6. 792, and Botti's map of Alexandria in Mahaffy's *Ptolemaic Dynasty*.

302. **making them agree**. Contrast the later traditions which represent the agreement as supernatural. See Introduction ix on Pseudo-Justin, *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, Irenaeus, Clement of Alex. and Epiphanius.

304. **Dorotheus** is represented in § 182 as the special officer appointed to look after the needs of Jewish guests.

305. **they washed their hands**. For the Jewish customs of purification see Schürer, *ET*, ii. 2. 109; the *Sibylline Oracles*, iii. 591, and the references in the New Test.: Matt. xv. 2, xxiii. 25, 26; Mark vii. 2-5; Luke xi. 38, 39.

306. **every form of activity**. Thackeray compares the statement of Aristobulus (ap. Eusebius, *PE*, viii. 10. 377 a)

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 307-316

- 307 As I have already said, they met together daily in the place which was delightful for its quiet and its brightness and applied themselves to their task. And it so chanced that the work of translation was completed in seventy-two days, just as if this had been arranged of set purpose.
- 308 When the work was completed, Demetrius collected together the Jewish population in the place where the translation had been made, and read it over to all, in the presence of the translators, who met with a great reception also from the people, because of the great benefits which they had
- 309 conferred upon them. They bestowed warm praise upon Demetrius, too, and urged him to have the whole law transcribed and present a copy to their leaders.
- 310 After the books had been read, the priests and the elders of the translators and the Jewish community and the leaders of the people stood up and said, that since so excellent and sacred and accurate a translation had been made, it was only right that it should remain as it was and no
- 311 alteration should be made in it. And when the whole company expressed their approval, they bade them pronounce a curse in accordance with their custom upon any one who should make any alteration either by adding anything or changing in any way whatever any of the words which had been written or making any omission. This was a very wise precaution to ensure that the book might be preserved for all the future time unchanged.
- 312 When the matter was reported to the king, he rejoiced greatly, for he felt that the design which he had formed had been safely carried out. The whole book was read over to him and he was greatly astonished at the spirit of the lawgiver. And he said to Demetrius, 'How is it that none of the historians or the poets have ever thought it worth their while to allude to such a wonderful
- 313 achievement?' And he replied, 'Because the law is sacred and of divine origin. And some of those who formed the intention of dealing with it have been smitten by God and therefore desisted from
- 314 their purpose.' He said that he had heard from Theopompus that he had been driven out of his mind for more than thirty days because he intended to insert in his history some of the incidents from the earlier and somewhat unreliable translations of the law. When he had recovered
- 315 a little, he besought God to make it clear to him why the misfortune had befallen him. And it was revealed to him in a dream, that from idle curiosity he was wishing to communicate sacred truths to common men, and that if he desisted he would recover his health. I have heard, too, from the lips
- 316 of Theodektes, one of the tragic poets, that when he was about to adapt some of the incidents recorded in the book for one of his plays, he was affected with cataract in both his eyes. And when

ὅστε αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ δυνάμειος νοοῦνται θεοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἔστι νοῆσαι τὴν πᾶσαν ἰσχὺν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἶναι. Cp. also the reference to the *Tephilla*, § 159.

310. **the Jewish community**, τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολιτεύματος. Though the Jews enjoyed the rights of citizenship at Alexandria, they nevertheless formed an independent and separate community within the city. This community, as Strabo (quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 7. 2) tells us, was presided over by an ἐθνάρχης, 'who governs the people and administers justice among them and sees that they fulfil their obligations and obey orders just like the archon of an independent city.' The use of the term *πολίτευμα* for the Jewish community is confirmed by the Berenice inscription quoted by Schürer, *ET*, ii. 2. 246. It is rather striking that there should be no allusion to the ethnarch in the present passage, and that the term *πρεσβύτεροι* should be used in connexion both with the translators and the community. It almost looks as if the word 'ethnarch' had accidentally dropped out.

311. **They bade them**, so Eusebius. The MSS. of Aristeas read 'He (i. e. Demetrius) gave orders'. **in accordance with their custom**, cf. Deut. iv. 2, xii. 32; Rev. xxii. 18f. Possibly this statement may point to the fact that at the time when the Epistle was written, the text of the LXX had begun to be tampered with. We know that corruptions had crept into the text as early as the time of Philo, and Justin Martyr charges the Jewish authorities with the deliberate excision of many passages; see Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 478-9.

314. **Theopompus**, a Greek historian and rhetorician, born c. 380 B.C. at Chios. He became the pupil of Isocrates, who advised him to devote himself to writing history. He lived under the protection of Alexander, and after his death was expelled from Chios: he went to Egypt about 305 B.C., but was coldly received by Ptolemy I. Among the writings ascribed to him are *The Hellenica*, *The Epitome of Herodotus*, *The History of Philip*, and several panegyrics and hortatory addresses, the chief of which is *The Letter to Alexander*. The papyrus fragment of a Greek historian discovered by Grenfell and Hunt is regarded by some authorities as an extract from the *Hellenica* (*Oxyrhynchus Pap.* V, 1908). He is described (*Phot. Cod.* 176) as a busybody (*πολυπράγμων*), which gives point to the *περιεργασάμενος* of § 315. Theopompus' writings seem to have been characterized by a pretentious and turgid rhetoric, and a fondness for sensational stories. The fragments which remain of his works are collected in Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* i, and in *The Fragments of Theopompus and Cratippus* (Oxford, 1909).

earlier and . . . unreliable translations, τινὰ τῶν προηρμηνευμένων ἐπισφαλέστερον ἐκ τοῦ νόμου προσιστορεῖν. I follow Wendland in taking *ἐπισφαλέστερον* with *προηρμηνευμένων*. Thackeray, however, takes it with *προσιστορεῖν* and translates, 'when he was too rashly intending to introduce into his history some of the incidents from the law which had previously been translated.' For the reference to Greek translations earlier than the LXX, see note on § 30.

316. **Theodektes** (c. 380-340 B.C.), Greek rhetorician and tragic poet, pupil of Isocrates and Plato and friend of Aristotle, lived the greater part of his life at Athens. He is said to have been defeated by Theopompus in the contest for the oratorical prize arranged by Artemisia, though he won the prize for tragedy. He is said to have been victorious eight times out of thirteen dramatic contests. The fragments of his works are collected in Nauck (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1887). See monograph by C. F. Märker (Breslau, 1835), and article in Smith, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biog.*

in the book. As Thackeray says, 'This seems to be the earliest use of ἡ βιβλος for a collection of sacred writings.'

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS 316-322

- he perceived the reason why the misfortune had befallen him, he prayed to God for many days and was afterwards restored.
- 317 And after the king, as I have already said, had received the explanation of Demetrius on this point, he did homage and ordered that great care should be taken of the books, and that they should
- 318 be sacredly guarded. And he urged the translators to visit him frequently after their return to Judea, for it was only right, he said, that he should now send them home. But when they came back, he
- 319 would treat them as friends, as was right, and they would receive rich presents from him. He ordered preparations to be made for them to return home, and treated them most munificently. He presented each one of them with three robes of the finest sort, two talents of gold, a sideboard weighing one talent, all the furniture for three couches.
- 320 And with the escort he sent Eleazar ten couches with silver legs and all the necessary equipment, a sideboard worth thirty talents, ten robes, purple, and a magnificent crown, and a hundred pieces of the finest woven linen, also bowls and dishes, and two golden beakers to be dedicated to God.
- 321 He urged him also in a letter that if any of the men preferred to come back to him, not to hinder them. For he counted it a great privilege to enjoy the society of such learned men, and he would rather lavish his wealth upon them than upon vanities.
- 322 And now Philocrates, you have the complete story in accordance with my promise. I think that you find greater pleasure in these matters than in the writings of the mythologists. For you are devoted to the study of those things which can benefit the soul, and spend much time upon it. I shall attempt to narrate whatever other events are worth recording, that by perusing them you may secure the highest reward for your zeal.

We have elsewhere βιβλος or βιβλίον διαθήκης (Ecclus. xxiv. 23; 1 Macc. i. 57), τὰ βιβλία τοῦ νόμου (1 Macc. i. 56) τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια (1 Macc. xii. 9). It is possible, however, that the reference to the τὴν ἱερὰν βιβλίον in 2 Macc. viii. 23 may be earlier. Cp. also the allusion to the line as Scripture, διὰ τῆς γραφῆς in § 168.

318. **they would receive rich presents**, καὶ πολυδωρίας τῆς μεγίστης τεύξεσθαι. For πολυδωρίας (MSS. and Joseph.) Mahaffy (*Class. Rev.* viii. 349) suggests πολυωρίας, which is adopted by Wendland and Thackeray, 'They would meet with the utmost consideration at his hands.'

319, 320. **a sideboard**. The MSS. read κυλίκιον (in both paragraphs), which generally means goblet or beaker. Wendland suggests κυλικεῖον—side-board. 'The form κυλίκιον, however, occurs in 1 Macc. xv. 32, where a piece of furniture for supporting vessels is clearly intended, and that is probably the meaning here' (Thackeray).

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Book, or rather Books, which bear the name of Adam belong to a cycle of legendary matter, of which the Jews were fond, and which the Christians took, and developed, from them. It is hard to tell how much belongs to the original Jewish kernel.

Ginzberg (*Jewish Encyc.* i. 179-81, 'Book of Adam'), in reconstructing this, combines most of the matter to be found in the Greek and Latin versions of the story, even including those parts of the Latin which the editor of the Slavonic saw fit to omit.

The Book opens with the period immediately following the expulsion from paradise, which is treated as a garden of fruit-trees; not in Heaven, but separated only by a low wall from the earth (cf. Apoc. Mos. xvii. 1). If we endeavour to reconstruct the Greek 'Apocalypsis Mosis' by the aid of the Slavonic Life of Adam, we shall be compelled to pass over the opening sections of the Latin 'Vita' and begin with the dream of Eve, which follows immediately on their departure to the west, where they sojourn eighteen years and two months, and where Cain and Abel are born. This dream foreshadows Abel's murder which is then related.¹ The parents are overcome with grief, but comforted by the appearance of Michael, who promises them another son. After this Seth is born.

The story then hastens at once to the death-bed scene where Adam is lying ill, surrounded by his sixty-three children, whom he intends to bless before he dies. Seth is distressed and surprised at his condition, for pain and sickness is to him a thing unknown. Adam tells the story of his fall and God's curse upon him. Adam's cries of woe rouse Seth to action, and at his father's request he undertakes to go with Eve to the gate of paradise, there to pray God to give him oil from the Tree of Life to anoint Adam. On their way they are attacked by a beast (which the Vita wrongly calls a serpent and identifies with the devil); this is merely a sign of the beast's revolt, which followed the Fall (Apoc. Mos. xi). Eve is powerless before it, Seth is bitten, Vit. xxxvii. 1, xxxix. 2 = Apoc. Mos. xii. 1-2 (A) x. 3, but succeeds in escaping by frightening it with God's judgement. Their prayers for mercy are answered by a promise of a pure heart in the future, Apoc. Mos. xiii. 3-5. The Vita turns this into a prophecy of Christ (xlii. 2).

They are told to go back, as Adam will die 'in six days'. On their return Adam abuses Eve, who has brought a curse on all mankind, and asks her to tell their children how she was deceived (the Vita evades this by adding 'after my death'), which she proceeds to do; cf. Apoc. Mos. x, xiv, with Vita xlv. Her fall is told in such a way as to suggest a double element in the source of the narrative. The devil sometimes appears as the inspirer, sometimes rather as the *alias* of the serpent, Apoc. Mos. xvii. The story is brought down to the time of their expulsion from paradise, when they were comforted by a gift of perfumes, seeds for their food, and a promise of future resurrection, Apoc. Mos. xxviii. 4, xxix.

Thereupon Eve witnesses marvellous scenes accompanying Adam's reconciliation, but falls asleep when God comes down to paradise before the burial of Adam.

In answer to the prayer of the angels Adam is pardoned, and his soul given to Michael to be cleansed in the Acherusian stream, Apoc. Mos. xxxvii-xxxix, and kept in paradise till the end of the times, when a resurrection is promised. His body is then buried by the archangels in the neighbourhood of the earthly paradise, Apoc. Mos. xl-xliii = Vita xlviii.

The book ends with a typical Jewish admonition given by Michael, Israel's guardian angel, to Seth not to mourn on the Sabbath day, Vita li, Apoc. Mos. xviii; cf. Jubilees ii. 23, &c.

Chapters xxviii-xl of the Slavonic Vita are in reality a recension of the same subject-matter of the Latin Vita i-x. It deals with the penitence of Adam and Eve and the second temptation of Eve by Satan, and chapters xii-xvii of the Latin Vita explain the envy and fall of Satan.

The Vita also inserts before Eve's death an account of her directions to Seth concerning memorials of her life, which are mentioned by Josephus. Lastly, this version expands in non-

¹ According to the Slavonic, Adam dreams this dream before the birth of his children.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

ascetic Jewish tone the story of Cain's birth. Ginzberg (contrary to Israel Levi) seems to have established the Jewish nature of all these pieces. I have given elsewhere my reasons for believing they never formed one book with the rest of the Apoc. Mos.

Two more pieces remain. These are Vit. xxv-xxx—Adam's vision of the future, seen after he 'had eaten of the tree of knowledge', and ending in a specifically Christian prophecy. The other in the Slav. Vit. xxxiii is strongly dualistic in tone, and is taken by Jagić to be a mediaeval interpolation by a writer of the Bogomilian heresy.

For other versions of the story, see 'Ancient Versions,' § 4.

§ 2. TITLE OF THE BOOKS.

The title 'Apocalypsis Mosis' (Tischendorf, 1866, Ceriani) is an erroneous one; it perhaps arose through a confusion with the book of 'Jubilees', which was a revelation to Moses through the Angel of the Presence (Jub. i. 29, ii. 1). Cf. heading to Apoc. Mos. (A B C D Arm. slight variations only). See Fuchs in Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 507.

Still less can 'Apocalypsis Seth' (Hort) be original. The 'Sethite' character of these books, which is much exaggerated in the case of the Armenian by Preuschen, is reduced to a minimum in the case of the oldest text (cf. Kabisch Liechtenhan in *ZNTW.*, Giessen, 1903, 1906).

It is not the same as the 'Apocalypsis' = 'Testament of Adam' (M. R. James, Renan) in Syriac, Coptic, and Greek Fragment.

Latin and Russian versions simply 'Vita Adae et Evae', to be carefully distinguished from 'Conflict of Adam and Eve' (in Ethiopic), Dillmann and Trumpp's *Adambuch des Morgenlandes*.

According to Ginzberg (*Jew. Encyc.* i. 179), the statement of Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, as to the mention of a Hebrew 'Book of Adam' in the Talmud, from Aboda Zarah 5 a, Gen. R. xxiv. 2, is incorrect, though such a book must have existed whatever its name. Moreover, Zunz mentions also Baba Mezia 86 a—Wajjikra rabb. 181 b, Midrash Koheleth 84 a in support of a book of Adam at the beginning of the third century. Fuchs supposes that the original was the work of a Hellenistic Jew in language influenced by the LXX, Ginzberg would say in Aramaic.

The book in its mediaeval form, and connected with a 'Lignum Crucis' (Holy Rood) legend, had an extensive circulation in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, not only in England, Germany, and Russia, but in Bulgaria, Italy, and Servia, &c., being translated into many languages. The original of these translations is nearly always the Latin, not the Greek form of the story. The exception is the Slavonic version extant in two recensions, which are probably composed out of two or more independent tales. See § 6.

§ 3. THE MSS.

1° *Apoc. Mosis*. Six MSS. are at present known of the Apoc. Mosis.

A Venice.	Thirteenth century.	} Tischendorf.
B Vienna.	Twelfth to fourteenth centuries.	
C Vienna.	Twelfth to fourteenth centuries.	
D Milan.	Eleventh century.	} Ceriani.
E ¹ Paris.	Fifteenth century.	
E ² Montpellier.		

The names are those of Ceriani, Tischendorf, and Fuchs. I owe my knowledge of the different readings of E¹ and E² to the great kindness of Dr. Fuchs, who placed all his notes at my disposal. The knowledge of the other MSS. is derived from Tischendorf, *Apoc. Apocryphae*, 1866, and Ceriani, *Monumenta*, v. 1.

It will be observed that all these MSS. are more or less fragmentary with the exception of C. This, however, is often obscure. A, though nearly complete till xxxvi, is rightly regarded by Fuchs as very untrustworthy, and is much spoilt by glosses, Apoc. Mos. xvi. 2, xiv. 2, xxiv. 3, xxviii. 3, xxxii. 4, even while it preserves some good readings, especially xxii. 2 ('judgement'), and retains Apocalypse in xiii, which I believe to be original, and elsewhere lost through influence of Latin version.

D, where it is to be had (i-xvi, xxxvi-xliv) seems the safest to follow; but it appears, especially at the end, to aim too much at clearness and classical Greek, and I have often found myself suspecting that the less easy and more clumsy sentences of C had a closer affinity with the original text; even though conscious that in so doing I have been compelled to depart from the precedent set by Dr. Fuchs, whose work marks an epoch in the study of this literature, and to whom I owe much.

INTRODUCTION

Besides D, like B, though to a less extent, is not above filling up the gaps from the Scriptures (cf. Apoc. Mos. ix. 2, &c.), and altering phrase or word to correspond with a biblical text (Apoc. Mos. viii. 1-2, &c.).

E, like B, is often redundant and diffuse. Its chief interest lies in its very near relationship to the Armenian Version, with which it often agrees against all the others; if not the source of that translation, it is very closely related to it.

In the following translation, I have taken D and C as the chief guides, but, where they are unsatisfactory, have often thought it wiser to follow one of the others. Cf. xxvi. 4 (AB), xxix. 5 (E). I agree with Fuchs that the construction of the true text is 'schwierig' and largely guesswork, but have adopted no reading without comparing all MSS.

2° *Vita Adae et Evae*. Numerous MSS. and versions exist of the Latin Vita, which Meyer has divided into four classes.

Cod. Arund., 326. 10, which I have seen at the British Museum, seems to belong to Class II and contains the additional paragraph describing Solomon's finding of the tables.

To Class III, which contains 'legend of the holy rood' in an expanded form, belong most of the mediaeval versions, e. g. Deutsches Adam-Buch, 'Herlwin', and others.

Meyer's text from which I have translated is based principally on Class I, and omits all the additions in the other classes. Where I have departed from it, I have noted the fact.

Class IV. The text of the Paris MSS. of the eighth or ninth century, often abbreviated and corrupt, is interesting if it is, as Meyer believes, an autograph of the tutor of Charles Martel and shows the early interest taken in the book. It is occasionally used and forms one of the authorities for the text of the long interpolation in Vit. xxix.

§ 4. THE ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE ADAM BOOKS.

1° *Armenian*. Besides those of the Latin Vita we have two others of the Apoc. Mosis. First, the Armenian (translated by Conybeare in *JQR.*, 1895, vol. vii; Preuschen, *Armen.-Gnostische Adam-Schriften*, 1904) is based on three MSS. in the library of Etschmiadzin. This has been published by Mechitarist Fathers at Venice, and contains an edited and expanded version of the tale. Most of the additions and verbal alterations, especially those not already found in E, are in a Gnostic direction, and their presence as well as that of other similar Gnostic works on Seth, &c., has led Preuschen to suggest a Gnostic origin for the whole Adam literature, which is an untenable hypothesis. The present Arm. text is from a Gk. MS. akin to E.

The names of herbs in xxix. 6 are transliterations of the Greek. Sea 'not made with hands' (ἀχαιοποίητον) is a scribal emendation of (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 3) Ἀχαιοποιῶν; cf. 'Hojil' for 'Jael' in Apoc. Mos. xxix. 7.

2° *Slavonic*. The Slavonic has been edited with Latin and German translations by Jagić from nine MSS. It presents longer and shorter (South Slav.) recensions of the same book. (*Denkschriften d. Wiener Akad. Wissensch.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., xlii, Vienna, 1893). Jagić is convinced that these are from the same original. The present version is closely parallel to the Greek from which, like the Armenian (Kabisch), it is evidently translated; but at xxxvii, Eve goes on to tell a tale of penance in the water on the lines of that described in Vita i-xii, though with many significant variations, e. g. '44' for '37' (Slav. Vit. xxxv. 3). The devil's story of his own Fall, Vit. xii-xviii, is left out, but another incident of the devil claiming rule over man (Slav. Vit. xxxiii-xxxiv), strongly dualistic and perhaps connected with Bogomilian heresy, takes its place. The end of the book is very abbreviated and several passages are rudely Christianized by a phrase, e. g. xlvi. 1 ('Christ'), xlvii. 3 ('Sign of the Cross'), l. 1.

The misunderstanding of the old Hebrew name of Jah-El had led to the creation of a new and imaginary angel named 'Joel' (see notes). While the beast who attacks the penitents is described not as a serpent but a 'cotur', which Vollmer (*Deutsches Adam-Buch*, 1908) would translate as *felis* = 'a cat.'

The old Jewish ending in praise of the Sabbath (Apoc. Mos. xliii = Vita li) is obscured.

3° *Christian and Gnostic*. Besides these Christian editions of the Jewish original, numerous other versions of the Adam tales exist, to which a Christian or Gnostic author can definitely be assigned.

Such are the Gnostic 'Testament' or 'Apocalypse of Adam'—the two names belong to two recensions—in Syriac and Arabic, rightly mentioned by Renan as the piece referred to in Gelasius' decree, 'Liber qui appellatur Penitentia Adae Apocryphus.' Renan thinks its liturgy of 'the hours' became through Coptic and then Apost. Constitutions, viii-xxiv, a chief source for determining the 'Canonical Hours'.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

It is probable that this book (which is mainly concerned with an elaborate breviary and angelology) has borrowed from the Apoc. Mos. xxxvi–xl its account of the gloom of sun and moon after Adam's death and the funeral carried out by the 'virtues' (cf. Vita Ad. xxi). It has been used in turn by the Ethiopic Adam Book, which follows it in bringing the story down to the prophecy of Christ, of whom Seth, not Adam, is regarded as the prototype (cf. Gloss in Slav. Vita, xlv). This latter has taken largely from a Syriac work, *The Cave of Treasure*, translated by Bezold into German, *Die Schatzhöhle*. Hort supposed this might be derived from the Ethiopic, but this is very unlikely. Both these works are strongly Christian and plainly ascetic. In both, 'sons of God' (Gen. vi. 1) = 'sons of Seth'. Holiness consists in celibacy.

All these later works differ from our books in making Adam's life and death but a starting-point for further chronicles, prophecies, and expectations of later ages. In the last two, the point of Adam's death lies in the history of the fortunes of his corpse in its progress to Mount Calvary. This is embalmed and placed in a cave with the treasures the Magi are to bring to the second Adam (this is the new version of the fragrant herbs for which Adam made request in the Apoc. Mosis xxix).

The *Conflict*¹ is the latest and most elaborate, but this work and the *Schatzhöhle* are entirely Christian, and wholly unlike our works, though they employ very little new material.

§ 5. DATE OF ORIGINAL TEXT.

Terminus ad quem. Frequently the principal means of ascertaining the date of ancient books is the nature of the ideas which appear in their pages. In the case of the Books of Adam as in the 'Odes' of Solomon historical allusions are conspicuously absent. The chief, if not the only criterion of date, is the relation of religious notions to those of other works. Still we are in a position at once to place the composition both of the Apoc. Mos. and the Vita Adae before the appearance of the Ethiopic Adambuch (dated to seventh century by Dillmann and Malan; fifth century by Charles, 2 En., Intro. § 5, p. xviii) which borrows largely from both; and also before the Armenian version which dates, perhaps, from a period before 360 (Preuschen). The mention of the Acherusian lake (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 3) is perhaps the original of the Apoc. Pauli xxii which was 'revealed' in A.D. 380 (Tisch.). Charles (*Encycl. Brit.*, ii. 175) dates it A.D. 388 from internal evidence.

Meyer thinks the Vita Adae xlii (= Ev. Nicodemi xix of A. D. 405–50) was a later interpolation into the text of Vita which existed before. Bousset thinks that the interpolation in Vita xxix, 'maior quam prius,' is part of a Jewish Apocalypse to which a Christian has added a long piece (like a gloss). If so, he thinks it refers to Herod's temple, which was built in the author's lifetime. For another view of this, see my note *in loc.*

Only general considerations remain to fix the date more exactly, but they are the most important. We have ample evidence to prove (1) that the contents are Jewish; (2) that the tone and temper is earlier than the Golden Age of the Rabbis, e.g. it has no polemic against the Christians; (3) that the Theology and Eschatology are that of the later Judaism and akin to that of the 2 Enoch.

There is little doubt that the author of the Apoc. Mos. is indebted to the latter book, or the school where it originated, for some of his most characteristic traits, e.g. its conception of the Tree of Life and of the sacred oil (cf. 2 Enoch viii. 3), the sin of Eve, and the lake of purification, the 'seven Heavens', &c. His relation to the older books of Enoch is more remote and his angelology is more developed than even that in the 'Parables' (1 Enoch xxxvii–lxxi). The Demonology outside the Vita xiii–xvii is of a pre-Christian type, and Kabisch may be right in claiming that 2 Cor. xi. 14 is quoted from our text or more likely from the source of our text. Of the angelology and the eschatology, especially the doctrine of the Heavens, the same is true. See §§ 7–9.

It is equally certain that the Book (apart from brief interpolations and possibly Vita xxv–xxix) is of purely Jewish origin. As Ginzberg, Kabisch, and Fuchs unanimously declare, there is absolutely nothing specifically Christian in the contents. Many of the cited Christian phrases, e.g. 'son of wrath' (Apoc. Mos. iii. 2), are Hebraisms and in accordance with Rabbinic usage. (Cf. Hort's list with Ginzberg's article, 'Book of Adam,' in *Jew. Encyc.*) The complete absence of references,

¹ In *Conflict*, Bk. i, the following appear to be derived from the Apoc. Mos. and the Vita:—vi, xvii = Apoc. Mos. xxxvii (Acherusian lake); xxviii = Apoc. Mos. vi. 2, xxix. 3; Vita xxxi. 1; v. xx = Apoc. Mos. xlii. 4; vi = Vita xlii, xviii, xv. 3; cf. Koran Sura ii. 30; xviii = Vita xxxvii–xl; ix, xxi = Vita iii. 1; xvii = Apoc. Mos. xvi; xxxii, xxxiii = Vita vi–x; xxxvii = Vita xxxvi. 2; Apoc. Mos. ix. 3; xxxviii. 2 = Vita xlii = Evangel Nicodemi xix. 1; xlv. 9 = Apoc. Mos. x. 1–2, xi. 2; Vita xxxvii. 2, xxxviii. 2; xxxix = Vita iv. 2, v. 2.

The 'water of life' in *Conflict* is not referred to in Apoc. Mos. or in Vita (save interpolation in Vita xxix). It is Christian substitute for 'oil of life' (Apoc. Mos. ix, xlii, xxviii; Vita xxxvi, xl–xlii).

INTRODUCTION

direct or indirect, to Christian notions of Incarnation, Redemption, even of Christian higher moral teaching, would make it impossible to assign to most of the work a Christian origin. The startling abruptness of Christian interpolations serves, as in the case of Test. Twelve Patriarchs *passim*, to clinch the argument from silence; which is the stronger, since the doctrine of a future judgement and future resurrection is clearly taught (Apoc. Mos. x, xii, xiii, xxviii, xxxvii, xli, xliii, Vita xxxix, xlvii, li); even though the Messiah plays no part and no judge other than God is mentioned. The Resurrection is rather connected in both the Vita and the Apoc. Mos. with the weekly rest of the Sabbath. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xliii, Vita li with Jub. iii. 17. Nor can Preuschen's theory of a Gnostic (Sethite) origin for these pieces be accepted, even in the case of the Armenian version (though we have sought to show in the notes how this version has been subsequently modified in a Sethite direction on the lines of 'the Gospel of Seth' and other Adam legends preserved only in Armenian, which have so largely modified Preuschen's conclusion); see his Adam Books, ii-vii. See § 9.

Terminus a quo. Hort was ready to admit a date anywhere in the first three centuries for the Apoc. Mos. It seems certain that the whole material contained in our Adam Books belongs to a period not earlier than the first century A.D. or later than the fourth century; but the uniform absence of polemic against the Christians, the wide and tolerant view of the future of the Gentiles, the conception of Adam's or rather Eve's sin (so nearly akin to that in Paul and 4 Ezra), the old simple hopes of the future Resurrection, the glaring dissimilarity of the Christian interpolated passages (Vita xlii, xxix; Apoc. Mos. xliii-end, xxxvi-end, A only) render the earlier date far the more probable for the bulk of the work. The absence of any Messiah in the future prospects (see § 9) is yet another link with the 2 Enoch, and points not obscurely to an author of 'the Dispersion', perhaps in Alexandria. Since it is certain that both the Latin, the Slavonic, and the Armenian, are from a Greek original, though ultimately parts of the book may be based on Hebrew documents (see § 5^a), seeing that the text is strongly coloured by Hebrew words and phrases, a further proof is forthcoming that the author or authors were Jewish Hellenists. For the date of the several parts, or books, included in this material, and especially for the relation of the Greek Apoc. Mos. to the Latin Vita, see § 6.

§ 5^a. DATE OF VERSIONS OF THE ADAM BOOKS.

Armenian. The MSS. in the library of Etschmiadzin were written by Mechitarist fathers in 1539. Preuschen ascribes the earliest translation in Armenian to an Archontic heretic Eutaktus in 360, but this is bound up with his view of the Gnostic character of these works. Conybeare would admit a date in fifth century.

Slavonic. Jagić ascribes the earliest of these MSS. to a date not later than the fourteenth century, but the existence of a second Bulgarian recension probably derived from it renders this date none too early. Both are from the Greek, much modified by similar tales in the Russian 'Palaea', the Bohemian 'Life of Adam' (containing also parts of the Vita absent here), and other Polish and Slavonic Adam tales of the sixteenth century.

Syriac. 'The Cave of Treasure.' Bezold assigns the *Schatzhöhle* to sixth century. Undoubtedly written in Syriac, which language it declares to be 'the queen of tongues', the speech of paradise and of Heaven. Written not by S. Ephraem but by a Christian and one of his disciples. Hort thinks this and 'Conflict' are based on fourth century traditions.

Syriac and Arabic. 'The Apocalypse or Testament of Adam.' Probably not later than fourth century. Decret. Gelasii-Lücke, *Offenbarung des Johannes*, i. 232, referred to by Syncell. *Chron.* xviii, Cedren. I. In Syriac, Arabic and Greek fragment. Renan decides it is early Gnostic. Hort says not Gnostic but 'lies outside Greek and Latin Christianity'.

Ethiopic. 'Conflict of Adam and Eve.' From Ethiopic (Kraft's) MSS. Since the author of the 'Conflict of Adam and Eve' criticises Syrians, Greeks and Hebrews, he was none of these (Hort). Dillmann assigns it to the seventh, Charles to the sixth century. The original was Arabic.

Gospel of Eve. A Gnostic work describing Eve's seduction by Satan and the birth of Cain and Abel, sons of Satan (the Serpent). Epiphanius, *adv. Haereses*, xxvi. Date uncertain. Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test.* i. 95. (1712.)

Armenian Adam Books bound up in MSS. with Armen. Version of the Vita Adae, treated as one, by Preuschen, include 'Gospel of Seth', 'Words of Adam to Seth', 'Tale of the Sons of Adam', 'Tale of the penance of Adam and Eve', 'Death of Adam', 'Tale of the Creation of Adam and Eve', 'Tale of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve.' Compare Story of Satan's trick in 'Tale of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve' with Slav. Vita Ad. xxxi, xxxii.

All these are Christian, or Gnostic anti-Jewish pieces (in 'Death of Adam', Jerusalem is called 'place of the fallen angels'), and are far more akin to the 'Conflict', especially in attitude to celibacy, than to the Armenian Version of Apoc. Mos. Probably this latter was modified to agree with them.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

Seth is here always the hero. Satan's fall is narrated, and history brought down to Christ as in other Christian books. The Trinity is definitely and crudely taught. Preuschen's derivation from Archontic heretics through Eutaktus A.D. 360 may be right. (Cf. Epiphanius, *adv. Haer.* xl-xlvi.) They show a complete knowledge of the contents of the Apoc. Mos. and the Vita (except i-xii).

§ 6. COMPOSITE NATURE OF THE TEXT.

The Problems. It is plain at first glance, that the three versions with which we are here concerned, though exhibiting a great deal of unity, are also in some respects strikingly divergent. In § 1 we found that to the main narrative in Apoc. Mos. a number of separate pieces are attached both in the Slav. and Latin versions¹ of the legend. Before discussing the nature and origin of these, we must pause to justify the position. 1°. That the Apoc. Mos. and not the Vita is the main narrative. 2°. That this story possesses a unity of its own which is disturbed by the addition of the separate legends referred to.

Both positions have been and will be challenged; and it must be admitted that neither can be proved to demonstration. The defence of the first is based on Dr. Fuchs' masterly essay in his introduction to these books. He seeks to show that (a) the material of the Apoc. Mos. was certainly before the editor of the Vita. It may further be urged (b) that the Vita was unknown or at least unemployed by the author of the Apoc. Mos.

(a) It is hard to see how any careful reader of the books can deny this first proposition. From xxix-li the Vita is little more than a condensed abstract of the picturesque and extravagant descriptions of the Apoc. Mos. To suppose that these represent a working up of the earlier simple language of the Vita seems to be a direct misunderstanding of the methods and style of Jewish Apocalyptic, as they appear in all the mass of literature which still remains. Moreover, if these phantasies are a later production, despite the countless parallels in Rabbinical and Apocalyptic literature, some few of which are adduced in our notes, how is it that they have received so faint a colouring from their presumably Christian authors? In § 9 it is intended to illustrate the purely Jewish nature of the theology which these sections exhibit even down to the fact that Jehovah still bears his ancient name; that marriage is still regarded as a holy thing, and not denounced as by the monks who wrote romances for Christians. Besides, the Vita, though it omits Eve's tale (Apoc. Mos. xv-xxx) in its proper place, has incorporated practically the whole of the material therein contained; thus the division of paradise into two parts for Adam and Eve (Vita xxxii. 2) is taken from Apoc. Mos. xv. 2; Vita xi-xvii seems almost like an expansion of Apoc. Mos. xvi. 3; Vita xlv contains preface to Eve's tale, only postponed by three additional words, 'after my death'; but the most striking fact of all is that the account of their attempt to get food in Vita v does not prevent Vita xliii from taking Eve's account in Apoc. Mos. xxix; leaving out the 'seeds for his food' and delaying the events till after their quest for the oil of life, making this a sort of substitute for that which they were 'not to receive now'.

Lastly, the interpolation from Ev. Nicodemi replaces an obviously Jewish, if not original, Apocalypse, in this same section of the Apoc. Mos. Since this interpolation is found in Vit. xliii (eighth century) earliest MS. of Vita, it is of some age, though not, perhaps, in the first text.

(b) On the other hand, the present text of the Apoc. Mos. shows no trace of the special matter peculiar to the two other versions, though this matter is of Jewish origin, as Ginzberg has shown that it is *well known in other Jewish works*. The long account of the devil's fall, not in the Slavonic, but closely akin to the legends on which both the Slav. Palaea Historica, the Koran, and the Mandaean Book of Adam are based, presupposes a wholly different demonology to that in the Apoc. Mos. The nearest approach is in Apoc. Mos. xxxix. 3, but 'those who have hearkened to him' is most naturally taken of wicked men. The whole piece seems to be introduced through the second failure of Eve, which is omitted even in the Slavonic, and never hinted at in the Apoc. Mos. The elaborate Midrash on Cain's birth (Vita xvii-xxii) has no parallel in the Apoc. Mos., though it is thoroughly Jewish and quite innocent of any doctrinal application, to which the author might have objected. The explanation of the way Adam and Eve obtained food from God (whose object is obscured by the new ending put on the story to find room for Satan's narrative) is not only different from, but inconsistent with, the story that Adam obtained this help from God by the angel's prayers at the time of his expulsion, Apoc. Mos. xxix, a relic of which has, as we have seen, been retained by the Vita in a wrong connexion. The forty days' fast in Jordan is entirely ignored in Apoc. Mos.,

¹ Both these seem plainly translations from the Greek. For Slav. see §§ 4, 5. In the Latin Vita, apart from transliteration of Greek names of herbs (Vita xliii. 3) 'cinnamomum et calaminthen et nardum', there are many Graecisms, e.g. *plagas* = πλῆγας (Vita xxxiv. 1); *plasma* = πλάσμα (Vita xlv. 3, cf. xxvii. 2); *sindones byssinas* (xlviii. 4), σινδόνας βυσσίνας.

INTRODUCTION

nor is fasting mentioned as a means by which Eve and Seth may induce God to grant them the Tree of Life. The fact that this tale is amplified in the Pirke Eliezer, where forty-nine days are assigned to it, does not even prove an early origin, for Israel Levi in *YQR*, 1895, has shown that this work is subsequent to the Mohammedan movement and mentions the Mosque of Omar. Early or not, the story is ignored by the author of the Apoc. Mos., and its inclusion in the Slav. version tends to show rather the acquaintance of the Slav. editor with several Adam books, *of which the original Greek form of the Vita may be one*, for it comes very awkwardly after God has granted to Adam 'the seeds for his food'; it contrasts alike with the heretical interpolation of xxxii-xxxiii, and the bald statement of the Vita xxii. 1 that God gave them 'seeds for their food' after Cain's birth (a new version of the Apoc. Mos. xxix). Lastly, its triumphant conclusion in the Slav. version compels the alteration of Adam's words to Eve at the close of her tale (Slav. Vita xl; Apoc. Mos. xxxi).

The final directions of Eve concerning the tables (though the story is as old as Josephus) are not represented in the Apoc. Mos., even though she tells her story to warn future generations (Apoc. Mos. xxx. 1).

Vita xxv-xxix, quite apart from the markedly Christian ending, which is probably a later gloss, is somewhat removed in tone, temper, and theology, from the rest of the Vita, and the whole of the Apoc. Mos. Adam and Seth are here glorified, despite a possible reference to Apoc. Mos. xxiv. 1. Paradise is treated not as the garden of Eden, but as a celestial realm, the abode of God (Vita xxv. 3, cf. 2 Enoch viii) into which Adam is translated long before 'the end of the times' (Apoc. Mos. xiii) in contradiction to the whole tenor of both the Vita and the Apoc. Mosis.¹

Still more astonishing is the new attitude towards knowledge and the Tree of Knowledge, the eating of which has brought, not death, but supernatural wisdom (xxix. 2, xxvii. 3).²

Besides these facts, the new names for God, 'Light,' 'Life,' 'Almighty,' 'Power,' &c., the new date for the 'translation'³ immediately after the expulsion, the abrupt entrance of the story into the narrative, no preface or attempt to soften the break, are comparatively insignificant, though sufficiently remarkable features. It seems possible that the author of this piece had both our works before him—e. g. xxv. 3 seems borrowed from the account of God's coming to paradise in Apoc. Mos. xxii. 3, cf. xxxiii. 2—but he used them merely as ornament to his own wholly original vision, of which the ending seems to be lost. I confess it seems strange to me that the separate nature of this piece has not been more remarked.⁴ It appears as if the editor of the Latin Vita put this and other pieces together with little regard to order or probability. His object was, perhaps, merely the collection of all the oldest legends relating to our 'first father'.

The Apoc. Mos. is thus in our view the oldest document. This was then combined with other Jewish legends about Adam and Eve and translated into Latin. Possibly the translator incorporated xxv-xxix of the Vita, perhaps also xiii-xvii, from earlier Jewish sources. The addition of Christian touches, e. g. Jordan for Gihon (Vit. vi), &c., and interpolations, such as xlii, may have been made subsequently. Whether the Apoc. Mos. as it stands is a complete unity is a hard question. The text is at any rate much injured and disarranged, and the original hard to find. I have taken the liberty of altering the order in my translation of xxxix and xxxvii in deference to a suggestion in Dr. Fuchs' edition.

§ 7. AUTHORSHIP.

I have attempted to show, in examining the date of these works, that the author of the original Apocalypsis Mosis, and very probably also the editor, who put together the other legends concerning Adam and Eve contained in the Latin Vita, was a Jew of the Dispersion writing between A. D. 60 and 300, and probably in the earliest years of this period.

The Greek text is full of Hebraic words and phrases, of which Fuchs (in Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 511) gives a fairly full list; most of these will be found mentioned in the notes with a few others, such as the constant use of *καί*, where we should expect *ὅτε* (Deissmann, *Light from Ancient East*, shows this use of 'and' was common in Greek popular dialect of N.T. times), and a very frequent use of cognates, 'die the death', 'weep with tears', &c., or plays on words, which are so frequent in the Old Testament and later Jewish books (see critical notes).

Perhaps the most striking of Dr. Fuchs' examples, besides Jael (xxix-xxxiii), (Jahwe-Elohim)

¹ Since the Adam literature is dependent on 2 Enoch, the reference to the 'Paradise of Righteousness' in this section is quite consistent with its belonging to this literature. As regards Adam's *temporary* translation see note 3.—[Gen. Editor.]

² This idea is Judaistic and pre-Christian: cf. 1 Enoch xxxii. 6.—[Gen. Editor.]

³ Adam is not here finally translated but only temporarily in order to receive the revelation. The same type of translation is found in the Books of Enoch and other Apocalypses.—[Gen. Editor.]

⁴ The Vision in xxv-xxix is already referred to in the Apoc. Mos. iii.—[Gen. Editor.]

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

are Ἀλληλούια (xlili); λόγοι παρανομίας (xxi) = 'words of Belial' דברי בליעל (cf. Ps. Sol. iv. 11) and the strange names for Cain (Diaphotos or Barekhooh, or Adiaphotos I) and Abel (Amilabes see note on i. 1): σκεῦος ἀχάριστον (xxvi. 1), ἔλαιον τοῦ ἐλέου (I confess I do not understand why Fuchs says 'nicht als ein Wortspiel zu beurteilen'); on the contrary, the parallel in Vita seems to prove this. The curious use of the relative and the article with the infinitive in conjunction with the preposition ἐν may stand for Hebrew לְ or even לָ, e. g. xvi. 1 ῥῆμα ἐν ᾧ, cf. τρόπον ἐν ᾧ (xxx. 1), ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ φυλάσσειν ἡμᾶς (xv. 2), ξύλον ἐν ᾧ ῥέει ἐξ αὐτοῦ (xiii. 2). Other Hebraisms may be exclamations such as Ἰδοὺ ἐγώ, ii. 2 cf. 1 Sam. iii. 4-5; ὣς ὁ θεὸς ὅτι (xviii), cf. 2 Kings xi. 1. The obvious error in A. M. xxv. 1 ἐν ματαίοις (see note) is a strong evidence of a Hebrew source, also οὐ εἶπεν μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (xxi. 3).

On the other hand, most of the quotations are from LXX (Fuchs, 511 f.), and for Hebrew conceptions such as 'Gan Eden', Sheól, Gehenna; Greek words παράδεισος, Ἀχερουσία (or Ἀχέρουσα) are employed, or phrases, e. g. τὸν τόπον τοῦτον (Apoc. Mos. xxxix).

Dr. Fuchs seems to rest his faith on an Aramaic original from which his Hellenist has translated; or a supposed 'Book of Adam', containing all existing traditions on the subject. If such existed, it was probably not the work of a single author. For any nearer determination of the author's place and time, our only guide is the author's literary connexion with other works whose date is approximately known. Since a fuller treatment of the theology of this work is given in § 9, while its influence on subsequent writings is discussed in § 8, it must suffice here to point out some of the links connecting it with earlier literature. It is, as we have seen, a commentary on the ancient books of the Law written from a didactic standpoint. As such it belongs to a period when reflection on the Old Testament narratives had passed through a considerable process of development and reached some striking conclusions as to the real events connected with 'the Fall' and its consequences upon the race of men. The blessing of deliverance from this curse (not restricted as in the Palestinian 4 Ezra to the Jews, but extended to all men) is taught as a hope in the future, but it is not connected with a Messiah. (This omission is of course soon supplied by Christian interpolators in Slav. and Latin versions.) There is, therefore, no polemic in the book, though it moves in the circle of ideas familiar to readers of Paul and 4 Ezra (cf. 4 Ezra iii. 21, iv. 30, vii. 118), esp. Apoc. Mos. x. 2, xiv. 2 (cf. Rom. v. 12-14); but a 'Christ' as either the Jews or the Christians expected him is wholly ignored (whereas in 4 Ezra vii he is attacked); as he is in the 2 Enoch. As in Paul, the mercy of God (quite unlike 4 Ezra and Apoc. Bar.) is repeatedly dwelt on, but God pities man 'because he made him' (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 2), not because 'Christ died for him'; cf. Rom. iv. 25, 30.

(Only in Apoc. Mos. xxviii is a condition attached to the promise of Resurrection, 'if thou shouldst keep thyself from all evil,' but this is not to be compared with the doctrine of works of merit as it is taught in Apoc. Baruch; cf. esp. Apoc. Bar. xiv. 12.)

It is perhaps not without significance that sacrifice, though alluded to in Apoc. Mos. xxix. 3, iv. 2, is not treated as a cause of God's pardon to Adam; which is due to God's mercy and the angel's prayers (Apoc. Mos. xxxv-xxxvii; cf. 2 En. lxi. 4).

The resemblance to the Pauline teaching is the more remarkable since Everling (*Paulinische Demonologie*) and Thackeray (*St. Paul and Contemporary Thought*) have shown that the two appear to agree very closely in their estimate of Eve's part in the fall of man. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 10, esp. 1 Tim. ii. 14 and 2 Cor. xi. 3 and 13-15. (See Thackeray's note on pp. 53-4.) Cf. Apoc. Mos. xix. 1, 2, 3 with xvii. 1 = Vita ix and Apoc. Mos. xxv. 3; 2 En. xxxi. 1, Sir. xxv. 23; Apoc. Mos. ix. 2, x. 2 = Vita iii. 2, v. 3. Cf. Philo, Quaestiones, 1-33.

2 Cor. xi. 14 reads almost like a quotation from Apoc. Mos. xvii or its prototype. It is of comparatively minor importance that Everling notices the close resemblance of Paul's early conception of the Parousia in 1 Thess. ii. 14 with that portrayed in Apoc. Mos. xxii; while 'the Paradise in the Third Heaven' of 2 Cor. xii. 2 is identical with that in Apoc. Mos. xl. 1, xxxvii. 5. These are common features in the Rabbinic writings, though Talmud (Ber. Rabb. vi, Chagiga 12 b) changed the order of the Heavens (see Charles, 2 En. xxxviii).

If Kabisch goes too far in identifying our Apoc. Mos. with the source used by St. Paul, it seems at least tenable that S. Paul and the author of the 2 Enoch were near contemporaries of the original author of Apoc. Mos. and moved in the same circle of ideas; profoundly modified in St. Paul's case by his Christian convictions; in the case of 2 Enoch by the author's interest in the Philonic and Platonic speculations, e. g. of Pre-Existence; in the case of the author of Apoc. Mos. by his love of the picturesque and extravagant use of Jewish Haggada. In that case, we may assign the original nucleus of the Apoc. Mos., of which our Greek copy is a slightly revised version, to the middle or end of the first century A. D. and picture the author as a religious Jew of Alexandria.¹

¹ If the author was an Alexandrian Jew, then he must have drawn on Hebrew or Aramaic sources, since the text in certain passages presupposes mistranslations of a Semitic original.—[Gen. Editor.]

INTRODUCTION

§ 8. INFLUENCE ON LATER LITERATURE.

Some traditions included in the Latin version are not without early attestation. In the Vita L., the request of Eve concerning the two 'tables', which are to commemorate her life and Adam's, is probably parallel with, not derived from, the legend in Josephus, *Ant.* i. 2. 3, perhaps from a Babylonian original.¹ See note *in loc.*

The way by which Satan secured his bond over man (Slav. Vita xxxiii-iv) appears in a new form in the Arm. 'Tale of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve', ii, iii, connected with fear of darkness; cf. also Aboda Zara 8 a, Conflict of Adam and Eve, I, xii; both appear to be of later origin. But the devil's claim seems to have appeared in embryo form also in the original 'Assumption of Moses' as reconstructed by Charles from later allusions (Charles, *Ass. Mosis*, p. 106).

The story of the serpent putting the poison of lust on the fruit (connected with Rabbinic teaching of *yesser hara* (יֵסֶר חָרָא) 4 Ezra's 'evil seed' in man) has been frequently dwelt upon in the Rabbis and in the Jewish Apocalypses (now Christianized), Slav. Bar. xcvi, Apoc. Abraham xxiii (cited by Ginzberg).

The glory of Adam and Eve before the Fall, the brightness they lost, the Resurrection that was promised to Adam, the nature of the serpent's temptation, the limbs of the serpent, the kind of the tree of knowledge, the trumpet of Michael the guardian angel of Eve, the judgement of God coming with his angels, the mutilation of the serpent, all are enumerated in Rabbinic literature (see notes on Apoc. Mos. xvii, xviii, xx, xxvi, xxxii-xxxvii, xxix, &c.).

Far from showing no repentance, Adam is regarded already in Jub. xix. 24 as a righteous patriarch, and the nature of his penance is described in Erubin 18 b, Ab. Zara 18 a, Ab. R. Nath. i (cited by Ginzberg). The sacrifice of fragrant herbs offered by Adam (xxix) and the failure of Cain to bury Abel (xl) are both already known to the author of Jubilees. With the seventy-two 'plagues' of God's curse on Adam in Apoc. Mos. viii. 2; cf. Mishna, *Neg.* i. 4 (Ginzberg), as also God's words in Targ. Jer. iii. 9, with Apoc. Mos. viii. 1 (= xxiii. 1). The later scenes in God's care of Adam's soul and body after death are all to be found in the Rabbinic commentaries, very likely derived from this book. The 'Apocalypse' or 'Testament of Abraham', which according to James, *Texts and Studies*, and Kohler (*JQR*, 1895, 581-601), is in the main pre-Christian, Jewish, or Essene, and certainly dates before Origen, i. e. circ. A. D. 200, has taken much from our book for the material on which it is based; concerning the nature of the Fall, the tree of which they ate, even the old Hebrew name of Jael for God, also the seventy-two kinds of death (cf. Apoc. Mos. viii. 2, seventy-two 'plagues' or 'strokes').

With regard to the more general features of belief in angels, seven 'Heavens', two abodes of Paradise, 'chariot of cherubim,' revolt of the beasts, Acherusian lake, &c., see § 9, 'Theology.' These, alike in Christian and Jewish Apocalypse, form a large body of common ground not derived from a single work, but the crystallized conceptions of generations. Cf. art. 'Apocalyptic' in *Jewish Encyc.*

When we come to a consideration of Christian, Gnostic, and Moslem productions, the suspicion of a direct influence becomes more pressing, though it is still hard to decide in individual cases. It has already appeared that both Syriac *Schatzhöhle* and Ethiopic *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, and especially the latter, are full of comments on, and expansions of, the subject-matter of both the Vita and the Apoc. Mos. A reader of these works and of the Gnostic Armenian Tales of Adam and Seth, and the Syriac 'Testament of Adam', will be struck at once by the contrast of the tone and likeness of the events narrated in the two literary cycles. The most marked characteristic of these Christian and Gnostic books is the new part played by the ascetic life as such. Ascetic touches, e. g. division of paradise for males and females (Vita xxxii = Apoc. Mos. xv), Eve's 'sin of the flesh' (Apoc. Mos. xxv), the fasting in Jordan (Vita i-xii), the birth of Cain after the Expulsion from Eden (Apoc. Mos. i, Vita xix-xxi) are not wanting in our Adam books; but they are far removed from the way of thinking presented by those products of the pious imagination of monks, where it is on account of their fasting and celibacy that the children of Seth are styled 'Sons of God', and live apart on a holy mountain; where the temptation of Adam is an incitement to marry Eve, where long years of separation between husband and wife are only brought to an end by the special command of God (even as Noah is only induced to take a wife against his will by the same command), where fasting is a constant practice, and celibacy a necessary mark of saintliness.

In the 'Testament' yet another feature of our books is taken up and enormously expanded. This is the old Hebrew notion of the sympathy of the elements, conceived almost as angels (so in 1 En. lxxvi, 'those stars', also xxi. 3) in the sorrows of men. The prayers of the sun and moon for Adam (Apoc. Mos. xxxvi-xxxvii, condensed in Vita xlvi) and the darkness of the sun in the presence of God (Apoc. Mos. xxxvi = 2 En. xiv. 2 (Charles' note), cf. Vita viii, Slav. Vit. xxxvii), are the basis of the elaborate poetical description of the combined intercessions of all the powers of

¹ This seems to be a late development of the myth found in Jubilees viii. 3. See my edition *in loc.*—[Gen. Editor.]

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

Heaven, of which we are told in this work. The arrangement into hours of day and night is perhaps based on Gnostic imaginations of the 'aeons' of the world, but serves to give a grandeur and completeness to the representation. A more direct reference to the words of Apoc. Mos. xxxv is to be found possibly in the *Dormitio Mariae* xxxviii (Tisch.), a late Christian book, condemned in Decret. Gelasii vi. 28, and perhaps this account is copied from Apoc. Mos. Probably the censuring by angels of Mary's corpse in Dorm. Mar. xxvi repeats idea of Apoc. Mos. xxxiii. 4.

The pleading of Seth and Eve for the oil of mercy is probably taken down by the author of the Ev. Nicodemi xix direct from our text (Apoc. Mos. xiii = Vita xli), though in a later form (but before Ethiopic 'Conflict', sixth century) of the Latin version his own statement of the promise has taken the place of the Jewish 'Apocalypse' in Apoc. Mos. xiii. 3-5; where its presence seems to me (with Fuchs, Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 509) to need no apology.

Similarly the Apoc. Pauli xxii seems to have taken the name 'Acherusian lake', though not the thing, which is very old, from Apoc. Mos. xxxvii. 3; cf. *Orac. Sibyl.* i. 302, ii. 341. Apoc. Pauli xlv claims for Sunday rest and peace even in Hell, which Jews and Essenes ascribed to the Sabbath, as in Apoc. Mos. xliii = Vita li.

§ 9. THEOLOGY OF THE APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

Nothing could more effectually demonstrate that the Apocalypsis Mosis originated in a foreign city than the complete absence, outside the manifest insertion in Vita xxix, of any reference to the Jerusalem temple; unless 'the place where he was accustomed to pray', on which the Moslems learnt to build their reverence for the sacred Caaba, may be taken as a distant allusion (Vit. xxx. 1 = Apoc. Mos. v. 1) to some specially holy place. This distinguishes it from the 'Assumptio Mosis', the work of a Palestinian, a Pharisaic Quietist, without a Messiah. Nor, as we have seen, does the author follow his teacher, the author of 2 Enoch (xlii. 6, lix. 1, 2, lxvi. 2), in giving prominence to sacrifice, which is here treated as entirely subsidiary, and plays no part in attaining the desired pardon. Yet the God he pictures, like the future he prophesies, is a naïve and childlike conception only one step removed from the primitive figure in Genesis. Despite occasional higher flights, e.g. xxxvii, Eve's prayers in xxxii. 2 and xlii. 4-8, the studied anthropomorphism is so marked as almost to suggest an antiquarian design. In this respect, he goes far beyond 2 Enoch. God not only speaks to Adam and Eve (Apoc. Mos. viii. 1, xxviii. 1, xxix. 5), comes to the garden in a chariot of his Cherubim (Apoc. Mos. xxii. 3), or as Slav. has it, 'on their shoulders', sits on a throne placed at the tree of life (Apoc. Mos. xxii. 4), rebukes the angels for being more merciful than Himself (Apoc. Mos. xxvii. 4; cf. Apoc. Abraham xxviii), puts out his hand and lifts up Adam from the Acherusian lake after handing him over to Michael to be dealt with, comes down to supervise the arrangements for Adam and Abel's burial (xxxviii. 3-5), and holds a conversation first with Adam's soul (xxxix), and then with his corpse (xli. 1, 3). Yet despite this curious humbling of the Almighty, the author shows many traces of the new and transcendent view of His attributes, which was causing men to lift Him ever further and further out of reach. Though God often speaks to Adam, his appearance after the Fall is not described as in Gen. iii. 8, but heralded by the 'trump of the archangel' (xxii. 1, cf. 1 Thess. iv. 16 of the 'Parousia'), and neither the expulsion, the funeral, nor the last injunctions are his direct work; they are entrusted to a host of subordinate beings. The two cherubim of Gen. iii. 24 are there (Apoc. Mos. xxviii. 3) but their efforts are now supported by a host of other angelic beings. The archangels (four of whom are mentioned by name, xl. 1, cf. Vita xlviii. 6) and the Seraphim, one of whom (xxxvii. 3) is given the task of casting Adam's soul into the Acherusian lake, are the most important. Thus Michael's special concern is with the care of men's bodies (Apoc. Mos. xxxii. 3). This was a well-known conception of later Judaism (see Notes). The other archangels (Uriel, Raphael, Gabriel) who carry out the funeral, are all names well known to readers of 'Enoch' and parallel works of Jewish Apocalyptic. The 'virtues', who support Eve in her hour of trial, Vita xxii. 1, and watched her once in Paradise, Vita xxxiii. 1 (perhaps the latter passage in the Vita borrows them from here, i.e. Apoc. Mos. vii. 2) are the guardian angels of which Our Lord speaks (Matt. xviii. 10) and which are perhaps first mentioned in Jubilees xxxv. 17. In another respect the author follows the practice of the later Jews in ascribing great efficacy to the prayers not only of the righteous but of angels, for the departed (cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxv, xxxvi; Vita xxi. 2, ix. 3). In this case he opposes the teaching of 2 Enoch (liii. 1) who, unlike Philo, attacked this practice.

The doctrine of a Future Life corresponds very nearly to the notion entertained by the later Judaism. The teaching of a Resurrection and a Judgement is clear and emphatic, as also is the doctrine concerning the intermediate abode of departed souls in Paradise, the third of the seven Heavens (Apoc. Mos. xxxiii. 4, (A) Tisch.), (xxxv. 2), (xxxvii. 3, 5, xl. 2) and thus quite distinct from the original Garden of Eden where Adam and Eve dwelt before the Fall. (Apoc. Mos. i, vi, viii, xiii, xvi, xxii, &c.; Vita xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xl, xlviii, &c.; Slav. Vita xxx, xxxi.)

INTRODUCTION

§ 10. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

CHIEF EDITIONS OF TEXT AND VERSIONS OF THE ADAM LITERATURE.

Greek.

- Tischendorf, *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, 1866 (based on A, B, C, and beginning and end of D).
Ceriani, *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, v. 21 sqq. (text of D).

Latin.

- Meyer, in *Abhandlungen der Münchner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, philos.-philol. Kl., xiv, 1878.

German.

- H. Vollmer, *Deutsches Adambuch*, 1908.

Slavonic.

- Jagić, *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften*, philos.-hist., Kl., xlii, 1893.

Armenian.

- Conybeare, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1895, vii. 216-35.
Preuschen, Festschrift, 1900, 'Armenische Gnostische Adam-Schriften.'

Syriac.

- Bezold, *Schatzhöhle*, 1890.
Renan, *Journal Asiatique*, 1853, pp. 427-53.

Ethiopic Adambuch.

- Dillmann, *Adambuch des Morgenlandes*, 1850.
Trumpp, *Abhandlungen der Münchner Akademie*, philos.-philol. Kl., xv, 1879 (Eth. text).

CRITICAL INQUIRIES.

- J. H. Hort, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Art. 'Books of Adam.'
Kabisch, Entstehungszeit der Apoc. Mosis, *ZNTW*, 1905, pp. 109-35.
M. R. James, 'Greek Apoc. of Adam,' *Text and Studies*, ii, iii, 1891.
Renan, 'Syr. Test. of Adam,' *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. v, 1853.
Malan, *Conflict of Adam and Eve*, London, 1899.
Fuchs, 'Adambuch' in Kautzsch, *Apok. und Pseud.*, ii, 506-28.
Ginzberg, *Die Haggada bei den Kirchenvätern*, 1899, pp. 63 sqq.
Dreyfus, *Adam und Eva nach Auffassung der Midrasch*, 1894.
Ginzberg, *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Art. 'Book of Adam.'
Preuschen, *Die apokryphen Gnostischen Adamschriften*, 1900.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Penance of Adam and Eve, i-xi.

- i. 1 When they were driven out from paradise, they made themselves a booth, and spent seven days mourning and lamenting in great grief.
- ii. 1 But after seven days, they began to be hungry and started to look for victual to eat, and they found it not. Then Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, I am hungry. Go, look for (something) for us to eat. Perchance the Lord God will look back and pity us and recall us to the place in which we were before.'
- iii. 1 And Adam arose and walked seven days over all that land, and found no victual such as they used to have in paradise. And Eve said to Adam: 'Wilt thou slay me? that I may die, and perchance God the Lord will bring thee into paradise, for on my account hast thou been driven thence.'
- 3 Adam answered: 'Forbear, Eve, from such words, that peradventure God bring not some other curse upon us. How is it possible that I should stretch forth my hand against my own flesh? Nay, let us arise and look for something for us to live on, that we fail not.'
- iv. 1 And they walked about and searched for nine days, and they found none such as they were used to have in paradise, but found only animals' food. And Adam said to Eve: 'This hath the Lord provided for animals and brutes to eat; but we used to have angels' food. But it is just and right that we lament before the sight of God who made us. Let us repent with a great penitence: perchance the Lord will be gracious to us and will pity us and give us a share of something for our living.'

i. 1. **paradise.** Cod. Ar. + 'they went to the West'.

ii. 1. **after seven days.** Cod. Ar. has 'after six days'; cf. Mishna Taanit i. 6.

started to look for = *quaerebant*.

iii. 1. **seven days.** Mishna Taanit i. 6 says he fasted seven days, see Introd. §§ 4, 5.
victual . . . in paradise: eating beasts' food was one of Adam's curses in Ber. rabba xx, Pirke Eliezer. Slav. explains it as 'nettles'.

2. **on my account.** MSS. have doublet 'quoniam propter me iratus est tibi dominus deus vis interficere me ut moriar et forte introducet te dominus deus in paradisum, quia propter meam causam expulsus es inde'.

3. **bring . . . some other curse.** Cod. Ar. 'curse us with some other curse', Hebraism.

my own flesh = Gen. ii. 24.

iv. 2. **angels' food:** cf. Ps. lxxviii. 25 (Fuchs).

SLAVONIC VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

And we sat together before the gate of paradise, Adam weeping with his face bent down to the earth, lay on the ground lamenting. And seven days passed by and we had nothing to eat and were consumed with great hunger, and I Eve cried with a loud voice: 'Pity me, O Lord, My Creator; for my sake Adam suffereth thus!'

And I said to Adam: 'Rise up! my lord, that we may seek us food; for now my spirit faileth me and my heart within me is brought low.' Then Adam spake to me: 'I have thoughts of killing thee, but I fear since God created thine image and thou showest penitence and criest to God; hence my heart hath not departed from thee.'

And Adam arose and we roamed through all lands and found nothing to eat save nettles (and) grass of the field. And we returned again to the gates of paradise and cried aloud and entreated: 'Have compassion on thy creature. O Lord Creator, allow us food.'

And for fifteen days continuously we entreated. Then we heard Michael the archangel and Joel praying for us, and Joel the archangel was commanded by the Lord, and he took a seventh part of paradise and gave it to us. Then the Lord said: 'Thorns and thistles shall spring up from under thy hands; and from thy sweat shalt thou eat (bread), and thy wife shall tremble when she looketh upon thee.'

The archangel Joel said to Adam: 'Thus saith the Lord; I did not create thy wife to command thee, but to obey; why art thou obedient to thy wife?' Again Joel the archangel bade Adam separate the cattle and all kinds of flying and creeping things and animals, both wild and tame; and to give names to all things. Then indeed he took the oxen and began to plough.

xxviii. 1. **before the gate of paradise.** Slav. Vita i marks this off from Heavenly 'Paradise'.

xxxi. 2. **Joel.** Confusion with Jah-El. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xliii. 4 (note).

xxxii. 3. **plough.** No extreme asceticism—corn regarded as a blessing—just as there is no disparagement of marriage; contrast Christian version in Introd. § 5 a.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

- v. 1 And Eve said to Adam: 'What is penitence? Tell me, what sort of penitence am I to do? Let us not put too great a labour on ourselves, which we cannot endure, so that the Lord will not hearken to our prayers: and will turn away His countenance from us, because we have not fulfilled what we promised. My lord, how much penitence hast thou thought (to do) for I have brought trouble and anguish upon thee?'
- vi. 1 And Adam said to Eve: 'Thou canst not do so much as I, but do only so much as thou hast strength for. For I will spend forty days fasting, but do thou arise and go to the river Tigris and lift up a stone and stand on it in the water up to thy neck in the deep of the river. And let no speech proceed out of thy mouth, since we are unworthy to address the Lord, for our lips are unclean from the unlawful and forbidden tree. 2 And do thou stand in the water of the river thirty-seven days. But I will spend forty days in the water of Jordan, perchance the Lord God will take pity upon us.'
- vii. 1 And Eve walked to the river Tigris and did 2 as Adam had told her. Likewise, Adam walked to the river Jordan and stood on a stone up to his neck in water.
- viii. 1 And Adam said: 'I tell thee, water of Jordan, grieve with me, and assemble to me all swimming (creatures), which are in thee, and let them surround me and mourn in company with me. Not for themselves let them lament, but for me; for it is not they that have sinned, but I.' 3 Forthwith, all living things came and surrounded him, and, from that hour, the water of Jordan stood (still) and its current was stayed.'

SLAVONIC VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

- Then the devil approached and stood before xxxiii. 1 the oxen, and hindered Adam in tilling the field and said to Adam: 'Mine are the things of 2 earth, the things of Heaven are God's; but if thou wilt be mine, thou shalt labour on the earth; but if thou wilt be God's, (pray) go away to paradise.' Adam said: 'The things 3 of Heaven are the Lord's, and the things of earth and Paradise and the whole Universe.'
- The devil said: 'I do not suffer thee to till xxxiv. 1 the field, except thou write the bond that thou art mine.' Adam replied: 'Whosoever is lord of 2 the earth, to the same do I (belong) and my children.' Then the devil was overcome with joy. (But Adam was not ignorant that the Lord 3 would descend on earth and tread the devil under foot.) The devil said: 'Write me thy 4 bond.' And Adam wrote: 'Who is lord of the earth, to the same do I belong and my children.'
- Eve said to Adam, 'Rise up, my lord, let us xxxv. 1 pray to God in this cause that He set us free from that devil, for thou art in this strait on my account.'
- But Adam said: 'Eve, since thou repentest of 2 thy misdeed, my heart will hearken to thee, for the Lord created thee out of my ribs. Let us fast forty days perchance the Lord will have pity on us and will leave us understanding and life.' I, for my part, said: 'Do thou, (my) lord, 3 fast forty days, but I will fast forty-four.'
- And Adam said to me: 'Haste thee to the xxxvi. 1 river, named Tigris, and take a great stone and place it under thy feet, and enter into the stream and clothe thyself with water, as with a cloak, up to the neck, and pray to God in thy heart and let no word proceed out of thy mouth.' And 2 I said: 'O (my) lord, with my whole heart will I call upon God.' And Adam said to me: 3 'Take great care of thyself. Except thou seest me and all my tokens, depart not out of the water, nor trust in the words, which are said to thee, lest thou fall again into the snare.' And 4 Adam came to Jordan and he entered into the water and he plunged himself altogether into the flood, even (to) the hairs of his head, while he made supplication to God and sent (up) prayers to Him.

vi. 1. as thou hast strength for. I *et salveris*: II *sed salveris*.
 unlawful and forbidden. I *contradicti*: II III *illicito et contradicto*. Cor. Ar. *illicito*.
 2. Jordan. Probably changed by Christian editor from 'Gihon', where Jews, e.g. Pirke Eliezer, placed Adam's penitence, for we expect another river of Paradise.
 viii. 3. stood still. I *steterunt ex aqua non agentes cursum*†. Meyer gives singular as text. Katona's text says this lasted eighteen days.

xxxiii-xxxv. Heretical interpolation by Bogomilian dualist (Jagić). 'Paradise' here is the *Heavenly* one, widely separated from the earth. For this whole section cf. Pauline phrase 'bond servants of sin'. It occurs in all Slav. MSS. of 'Solfernus' and Polish and Bohemian Adam tales.
 xxxiv. 3. But Adam, &c. A gloss within a gloss.
 xxxv. 3. forty-four. Eve stronger here. In Latin Vit. vi, I has 'thirty-seven', III 'thirty' days.
 xxxvi. 3. fall . . . snare = *scandalizeris*.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

- ix. 1 And eighteen days passed by; then Satan was wroth and transformed himself into the brightness of angels, and went away to the river 2 Tigris to Eve, and found her weeping, and the devil himself pretended to grieve with her, and he began to weep and said to her: 'Come out of the river and lament no more. Cease now from sorrow and moans. Why art thou anxious 3 and thy husband Adam? The Lord God hath heard your groaning and hath accepted your penitence, and all we angels have entreated on your behalf, and made supplication to the Lord; 4 and he hath sent me to bring you out of the water and give you the nourishment which you had in paradise, and for which you are crying 5 out. Now come out of the water and I will conduct you to the place where your victual hath been made ready.'
- x. 1 But Eve heard and believed and went out of the water of the river, and her flesh was (trembling) 2 like grass, from the chill of the water. And when she had gone out, she fell on the earth and the devil raised her up and led her to Adam. 3 But when Adam had seen her and the devil with her, he wept and cried aloud and said: 'O Eve, Eve, where is the labour of thy penitence? 4 How hast thou been again ensnared by our adversary, by whose means we have been estranged from our abode in paradise and spiritual joy?'
- xi. 1 And when she heard this, Eve understood that (it was) the devil (who) had persuaded her to go out of the river; and she fell on her face on the earth and her sorrow and groaning and wailing 2 was redoubled. And she cried out and said: 'Woe unto thee, thou devil. Why dost thou attack us for no cause? What hast thou to do with us? What have we done to thee? for thou pursuest us with craft? Or why doth thy malice 3 assail us? Have we taken away thy glory and caused thee to be without honour? Why dost thou harry us, thou enemy (and persecute us) to the death in wickedness and envy?'

ix. 1. was wroth. III >.

4. crying out. II III *plangitis*: I *planxistis*.

xi. 2. with craft = *dolose* Fuchs, Meyer, Katona: others *dolore*.

xxxvii. 1. a wall. Far greater than concise Latin account. Cf. Rom. viii. 22. In Recension ii. Satan appears twice—the first time as Adam. The 'tokens' of xxxvi. 3 are explained there.

xxxix. 1. answered nothing. Here only, Eve is not deceived. Contrast 'Conflict' of Adam and Eve, I. xxxiii-xxxv.

xl. 1. Adam cried out, &c. Only here. Latin Vita xi perhaps inserted to link on story in xvi-xxiii. Eve deliberately compels Satan to come forward with his tale.

SLAVONIC VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

And there, the angels came together and all living creatures, wild and tame, and all birds that fly, (and) they surrounded Adam, like a wall, praying to God for Adam. xxxvii.

The devil came to me, wearing the form and brightness of an angel, and shedding big tears, (and) said to me: 'Come out of the water, Eve, God hath heard thy prayers and (heard) us angels. God hath fulfilled the prayers of those who intercede on thy behalf. God hath sent me to thee, that thou mayst come out of the water.' xxxviii.

But I (Eve) perceived that he was the devil and answered him nothing. But Adam (when) he returned from Jordan, saw the devil's footprints, and feared lest perchance he had deceived me; but when he had remarked me standing in the water he was overcome with joy (and) he took me and led me out of the water. xxxix. 1

Then Adam cried out with a loud voice: 'Be silent, Eve, for already is my spirit straitened in my body; arise, go forth, utter prayers to God, till I deliver up my spirit to God.' xl. 1

(Passage follows exactly parallel to Apocalypse Mosis xxxii. seq., but in abbreviated form.)

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

The Fall of the Devil, xii-xvii.

- xii. 1 And with a heavy sigh, the devil spake: 'O Adam! all my hostility, envy, and sorrow is for thee, since it is for thee that I have been expelled from my glory, which I possessed in the heavens
2 in the midst of the angels and for thee was I cast out in the earth.' Adam answered, 'What dost
3 thou tell me? What have I done to thee or what is my fault against thee? Seeing that thou hast received no harm or injury from us, why dost thou pursue us?'
- xiii. 1 The devil replied, 'Adam, what dost thou tell me? It is for thy sake that I have been hurled
2 from that place. When thou wast formed, I was hurled out of the presence of God and banished from the company of the angels. When God blew into thee the breath of life and thy face and likeness was made in the image of God, Michael also brought thee and made (us) worship thee in the sight of God; and God the Lord spake: Here is Adam. I have made thee in our image and likeness.'
- xiv. 1 And Michael went out and called all the angels saying:
2 'Worship the image of God as the Lord God hath commanded.'
3 And Michael himself worshipped first; then he called me and said: 'Worship the image of God the Lord.' And I answered, 'I have no (need) to worship Adam.' And since Michael kept urging me to worship, I said to him, 'Why dost thou urge me? I will not worship an inferior and younger being (than I). I am his senior in the Creation, before he was made was I already made. It is his duty to worship me.'
- xv. 1, 2 When the angels, who were under me, heard this, they refused to worship him. And Michael saith, 'Worship the image of God, but if thou wilt not worship him, the Lord God will be wrath
3 with thee.' And I said, 'If He be wrath with me, I will set my seat above the stars of heaven and will be like the Highest.'
- xvi. 1 And God the Lord was wrath with me and banished me and my angels from our glory; and on
2 thy account were we expelled from our abodes into this world and hurled on the earth. And
3 straightway we were overcome with grief, since we had been spoiled of so great glory. And we
4 were grieved when we saw thee in such joy and luxury. And with guile I cheated thy wife and caused thee to be expelled through her (doing) from thy joy and luxury, as I have been driven out of my glory.'
- xvii. 1 When Adam heard the devil say this, he cried out and wept and spake: 'O Lord my God, my life is in thy hands. Banish this Adversary far from me, who seeketh to destroy my soul, and give
2, 3 me his glory which he himself hath lost.' And at that moment, the devil vanished before him. But Adam endured in his penance, standing for forty days (on end) in the water of Jordan.

Birth of Cain and Abel; Death of Abel; Book of Seth, xviii-xxiv.

- xviii. 1 And Eve said to Adam: 'Live thou, my Lord, to thee life is granted, since thou hast committed neither the first nor the second error. But I have erred and been led astray for I have not kept the commandment of God; and now banish me from the light of thy life and I will go to the sunsetting,
2 and there will I be, until I die.' And she began to walk towards the western parts and to mourn
3 and to weep bitterly and groan aloud. And she made there a booth, while she had in her womb offspring of three months old.

xii. 1. **expelled** I. III + *et alienatus sum*. Story closely parallel to Al Koran Suras vii-xi, Codex Nazaraeus 67: 'The highest kings of light declared: "Let the kings of fire serve Adam." But one, the author of ill, did not follow the commands of the Lord and was hurled in chains.' Cf. Rabbi Moses-Hadarschan: 'When God made Adam, he said to the higher angels, "Bow yourselves down!"'

3. **no harm**. II III *non nocitus*: III 15 *damnatus*: I *natus*. II 9, 17, III 4 >.

xiii. 1. Cf. 2 En. xxxi. 3.

xiv. 2. **God the Lord** = Jahwe Elohim (יהוה אלהים).

3. **I have no (need) to** = *non habeo* with infinitive.

xv. 1. **the angels** . . . **under me**. Sole reference to devils (in plural) in Vita or Apoc. Mos.

3. **like the Highest**. Midrasch on Isa. xiv (LXX). Cf. Dan. xi. 11. **stars** II III. 'throne' I.

xviii. 1. **error** = *praevaricatio*.

2. **western parts** = Apoc. Mos. i. 1.

3. **offspring**. So Meyer III 1. Jewish anti-ascetic piece. Contrast 'Conflict' and Magyar 'Vita Adae', where they remain apart one hundred years and are only married at God's express command. Cf. Noah in Arm. 'Gospel of Seth' (Preuschen's translation).

three months old. So III 43; II 3. 9. II 17 + 'Cain'.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

- xix. 1 And when the time of her bearing approached, she began to be distressed with pains, and she
2 cried aloud to the Lord and said: 'Pity me, O Lord, assist me.' And she was not heard and the
3 mercy of God did not encircle her. And she said to herself: 'Who shall tell my lord Adam?
I implore you, ye luminaries of heaven, what time ye return to the east, bear a message to my
lord Adam.'
- xx. 1 But in that hour, Adam said: 'The complaint of Eve hath come to me. Perchance, once more
hath the serpent fought with her.'
2 And he went and found her in great distress. And Eve said: 'From the moment I saw thee,
my lord, my grief-laden soul was refreshed. And now entreat the Lord God on my behalf to
3 hearken unto thee and look upon me and free me from my awful pains.' And Adam entreated
the Lord for Eve.
- xxi. 1 And behold, there came twelve angels and two 'virtues', standing on the right and on the left
2 of Eve; and Michael was standing on the right; and he stroked her on the face as far as to
the breast and said to Eve: 'Blessed art thou, Eve, for Adam's sake. Since his prayers and
intercessions are great, I have been sent that thou mayst receive our help. Rise up now, and
3 prepare thee to bear. And she bore a son and he was shining; and at once the babe rose up
and ran and bore a blade of grass in his hands, and gave it to his mother, and his name was
called Cain.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

- xxii. 1 And Adam carried Eve and the boy and led
2 them to the East. And the Lord God sent divers
seeds by Michael the archangel and gave to
Adam and showed him how to work and till
the ground, that they might have fruit by which
they and all their generations might live.
3 For thereafter Eve conceived and bare a son,
whose name was Abel; and Cain and Abel used
to stay together.
4 And Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, while I
slept, I saw a vision, as it were the blood of
our son Abel in the hand of Cain, who was
gulping it down in his mouth. Therefore I have
sorrow.'
5 And Adam said, 'Alas if Cain slew Abel. Yet
let us separate them from each other mutually,

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

This is the story of Adam and Eve after they had i. 1
gone out of Paradise. And Adam knew his wife 2
Eve and went upwards to the sun-rising and abode
there eighteen years and two months. And Eve 3
conceived and bare two sons; Adiaphotos, who
is called Cain and Amilabes who is called Abel.

And after this, Adam and Eve were with one ii. 1
another and while they were sleeping, Eve said
to Adam her lord: 'My lord, Adam, behold, I 2
have seen in a dream this night the blood of my
son Amilabes who is styled Abel being poured
into the mouth of Cain his brother and he went
on drinking it without pity. But he begged him
to leave him a little of it. Yet he hearkened 3
not to him, but gulped down the whole; nor
did it stay in his stomach, but came out of his

- xix. 2. did not encircle her. Not a Christian sentiment, but Jewish.
3. what time . . . to the east. Cf. Test. Adam, describing the fourth hour of the night.
xx. 1. the serpent. Cf. Eve's tale in Apoc. Mos. xv-xxx. Also attack of beast in Vita xxxvii, Apoc. Mos. x-xi.
2. was refreshed. *refrigeravit* Meyer: I *infrigeravit*.
xxi. 1. virtues (or 'powers' Fuchs). Probably 'guardian angels' (Ginzberg). Cf. Apoc. Mos. vii. Like Pauline
'principalities, thrones, powers', &c. Name agrees in Test. Adam.
and Michael . . . right. II only. So Meyer.
2. on the face. *I faciem eius*: II, III *eam a facie*.
3. shining (*lucidus*). Cf. Adiaphotos, Apoc. Mos. i. The 'Incunabulum' (see Meyer 215), the Deutsches Adam
Buch and III say Eve was frightened and wished to kill Cain. Perhaps alludes to myth that he was Satan's child.
blade of grass . . . Cain. Better 'reed.' Play on words—Hebrew קַנְהָ (Kāneh) and קַיִן (Cain). Some Rabbis
say Cain slew Abel with a reed.
xxii. 4. I saw. In Slav. Adam sees it before Cain's birth.
5. separate . . . mutually. Midrasch on Gen. iv. 2, 7-10.

- i. All MSS. (A B C D and Arm.) give preface describing book as taught to Moses by Michael the archangel.
Like the title, this is a later addition. Slav. describes subjection of all animals in first chapter (cf. beasts' words in
Apoc. Mos. xi. 1).
2. knew. *ἐγνώ* (Gen. iv. 1) D E Arm.: A C 'took' (*ἐλαβεν*).
went upwards (*ἀνῆλθεν*) A C: D 'went out' (*ἐξῆλθεν*).
3. Adiaphotos D: other MSS†. Arm. 'Anloys' = 'full of light.' Cf. Vita xxi. 3 *lucidus*. The translator in the
Ante-Nicene Christian Library, xvi, 1870, suggests *διαφύτωρ* or *διαφυτευτής*, 'a planter,' for Adiaphotos and *μηλοβότης*,
'a keeper of sheep' for Amilabes.
Amilabes A D: C B corrupt. Arm. 'Barekhooh' = 'well-minded' (Conybeare).
ii. 2. went on drinking E: A C D has aorist (*ἐπιεν*).

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

and let us make for each of them separate dwellings.
 xxiii. 1 And they made Cain an husbandman, (but) Abel they made a shepherd; in order that in this wise they might be mutually separated.
 2 And thereafter, Cain slew Abel, but Adam was then one hundred and thirty years old, but Abel was slain when he was one hundred and twenty-two years.

3 And thereafter Adam knew his wife and he begat a son and called his name Seth.
 xxiv. 1 And Adam said to Eve, 'Behold, I have begotten a son, in place of Abel, whom Cain slew.'
 2 And after Adam had begotten Seth, he lived eight hundred years and begat thirty sons and thirty daughters; in all sixty-three children. And they were increased over the face of the earth in their nations.

APOCALYPHIS MOSIS.

mouth. And Adam said, 'Let us arise and go 4 and see what has happened to them. (I fear) lest the adversary may be assailing them somewhere.'
 And they both went and found Abel murdered iii. 1 by the hand of Cain his brother. And God 2 saith to Michael the archangel: 'Say to Adam: "Reveal not the secret that thou knowest to Cain thy son, for he is a son of wrath. But grieve not, for I will give thee another son in his stead; he shall show (to thee) all that thou shalt do. Do thou tell him nothing."' Thus spake the arch- 3 angel to Adam. But he kept the word in his heart, and with him also Eve, though they grieved concerning Abel their son.
 And after this, Adam knew Eve his wife, and iv. 1 she conceived and bare Seth.
 And Adam said to Eve: 'See! we have be- 2 gotten a son in place of Abel, whom Cain slew, let us give glory and sacrifice to God.'
 And Adam begat thirty sons and thirty v. 1 daughters and Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years; and he fell sick and cried with a loud 2 voice and said, 'Let all my sons come to me that I may see them before I die.'

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Vision of Adam, xxv-xxix.

xxv. 1 And Adam said to Seth, 'Hear, my son Seth, that I may relate to thee what I heard and 2 saw after your mother and I had been driven out of paradise. When we were at prayer, there 3 came to me Michael the archangel, a messenger of God. And I saw a chariot like the wind and its wheels were fiery and I was caught up into the Paradise of righteousness, and I saw the

xxiii. 2. **one hundred and twenty-two.** Cf. Jub. iv. 3 (Charles's note); Abel there is twenty-two.
 xxiv. 2. **sixty-three.** Cf. Jub. iv. 10 (Charles' note): Jub. says 'nine'; 'Conflict of A. and E.' says 'five'; Arm. omits 'thirty daughters'.
 xxv. 1. **Seth.** Some MSS. have preface explaining choice of Seth. *D. A. B.* says it was told to *all* his sons.
 2. **at prayer.** *D. A. B.* says 'where he was standing in Jordan'.
 3. **fiery.** Cf. 2 Kings ii. 11; Ezek. i; Apoc. Mos. xxxiii.
Paradise of righteousness. Heavenly Paradise, as in 2 En. and 1 En. (xxxii. 3). Elsewhere in Vita either garden of Eden on *earth* or 'third Heaven' (e.g. Apoc. Mos. xxvii, xl.1), not in presence of God, as here.

4. **said** D E: A C + 'to Eve'.
Let us arise and go C E: D is better Greek (*ἀναστάντες*), but less original.
what has happened A D: C 'what is this dream about our sons': Arm. 'to see about our sons'.
assailing. C prefixes *ἐλθών* = 'has come and is assailing'.
 iii. 2. **archangel** B C E Slav.: A D 'angel'.
the secret. Arm. changes to 'the secret of the vision' (i. e. Vita xxv-xxix).
son of wrath. Eph. ii. 3.
his stead (Gen. iv. 25). Here not in Abel's, but in Cain's stead (Kabisch).
all that thou shalt do. Arm. alters to 'all that I shall do' (for same reason cf. Introd. 3, 4). A + 'to him'.
tell him nothing A C Arm. Tisch.
 3. **also Eve.** E Slav. expand.
 iv. 2. **glory and sacrifice:** So A. C D read 'glorify God and give worship': B 'glory': E Slav. 'praise and sacrifice': Arm. 'praise and glory'. Cf. 'Conflict', I. ii-xi.
 v. 1. **And Adam lived . . . years** D B Slav. Arm. A C >.
 2. **sick** Arm.: E 'a little sick': C 'a great disease'.
die C + 'and he sent off his son Seth to all to tell them'.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

Lord sitting and his face was flaming fire that could not be endured. And many thousands of angels were on the right and the left of that chariot.

- xxvi. 1 When I saw this, I was confounded, and terror seized me and I bowed myself down before
2 God with my face to the earth. And God said to me, 'Behold thou diest, since thou hast transgressed the commandment of God, for thou didst hearken rather to the voice of thy wife, whom I gave into thy power, that thou mightst hold her to thy will. Yet thou didst listen to her and didst pass by My words.'
- xxvii. 1 And when I heard these words of God, I fell prone on the earth and worshipped the Lord and said, 'My Lord, All powerful and merciful God, Holy and Righteous One, let not the name that is mindful of Thy majesty be blotted out, but convert my soul, for I die and my
2 breath will go out of my mouth. Cast me not out from Thy presence, (me) whom Thou didst form of the clay of the earth. Do not banish from Thy favour him whom Thou didst nourish.'
- 3 And lo! a word concerning thee came upon me and the Lord said to me, 'Since thy days
†were fashioned†, thou hast been created with a love of knowledge; therefore there shall not be taken from thy seed for ever the (right) to serve Me.'
- xxviii. 1 And when I heard these words, I threw myself on the earth and adored the Lord God and said, 'Thou art the eternal and supreme God; and all creatures give thee honour and praise.
2 'Thou art the true Light gleaming above all light(s), the Living Life, infinite mighty Power. To Thee, the spiritual powers give honour and praise. Thou workest on the race of men the abundance of Thy mercy.'
- 3 After I had worshipped the Lord, straightway Michael, God's archangel, seized my hand and
4 cast me out of the paradise †of 'vision'† and of God's command. And Michael held a rod in his hand, and he touched the waters, which were round about paradise, and they froze hard.
- xxix. 1 And I went across, and Michael the archangel went across with me, and he led me back to
2 the place whence he had caught me up. Hearken, my son Seth, even to the rest of the secrets [and sacraments] that shall be, which were revealed to me, when I had eaten of the tree of the
3 knowledge, and knew and perceived what will come to pass in this age; [what God intends to do
4 to his creation of the race of men. The Lord will appear in a flame of fire (and) from the mouth of His majesty He will give commandments and statutes [from His mouth will proceed a two-edged sword] and they will sanctify Him in the house of the habitation of His majesty.
5 And He will show them the marvellous place of His majesty. And then they will build a house to the Lord their God in the land which He shall prepare for them and there they will transgress His statutes and their sanctuary will be burnt up and their land will be deserted and they
6 themselves will be dispersed; because they have kindled the wrath of God. And once more He will cause them to come back from their dispersion; and again they will build the house of God;
7 and in the last time the house of God will be exalted greater than of old. And once more iniquity will exceed righteousness. And thereafter God will dwell with men on earth [in visible form]; and then, righteousness will begin to shine. And the house of God will be honoured in the age and their enemies will no more be able to hurt the men, who are believing in God; and God will stir up for Himself a faithful people, whom He shall save for eternity, and the impious shall be punished

flaming fire. Cf. 1 En. (xiii-xvii) for description of God's dwelling, &c.
xxvi. 2. rather II *in primis*; I *prius*. III (Meyer) *plus*. to thy wife. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxiv.
xxvii. 1. name. Hebrew expression = personality. Cf. Kautzsch, Hastings' *B. D.*, art. 'Religion of Israel'.
2. didst form. *plasmasti* (Graecism).
favour. II *gratia*; I *gratiae*.
3. concerning thee = *tuum* (*verbum*).
came upon me. *incedit* II 5: *incendit*, 'inflamed' II 17.
were fashioned. †*figurantur* (Meyer). All MSS. corrupt.
love of knowledge. See Introd. § 6.
xxviii. 2. Light . . . Life . . . Power. Gnostic epithets.
mighty. So Fuchs. MSS. corrupt. II 5, III 2 *magnitudinis*: I *matutine*: II 3 *magna*.
3. vision and of God's command. II 3. 17 *visionis*: II 5 and III *visitationis et visionis*: Fuchs with Cod. Wright *visitationis et iussionis*.
4. a rod. *virgam* II (and so Fuchs): I †*virtutes*.
froze hard. Sea of ice round Paradise. Cf. 2 En. iii. 3; Rev. iv. 6, xv. 2; Test. Lev. iii. 2; Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* iv. 132. Perhaps = 'Acherusian Lake' (Apoc. Mos. xxxvii-xxxix).
xxix. 2. [and sacraments] II III. Meyer brackets as a gloss. I (and Fuchs) >.
3-10. In II (3, 5, 9, 17), III (18 only), IV. Interpolation. First part (3-6)—'what God . . . than of old'—may be fragment of *Jewish* Apocalypse; last part certainly Christian.
6. greater than of old (*maior quam prius*). Bousset refers this to Herod's temple; perhaps more likely the Messianic one. Cf. 1 En. xci. 13.
7. in visible form, &c. These phrases are certain marks of Christian origin. [Cf. Ps. lxxxiv. 7, LXX Vulg. T. Zeb. ix. 8 where God is spoken of as being seen by men. There is no good reason for regarding xxix. 3-10 as Christian with the exception of a few words.—Gen. Editor.]

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

8 by God their king, the men who refused to love His law. Heaven and earth, nights and days, and all creatures shall obey Him, and not overstep His commandment. Men shall not change their 9 works, but they shall be changed from forsaking the law of the Lord. Therefore the Lord shall repel from Himself the wicked, and the just shall shine like the sun, in the sight of God. And 10 in that time, shall men be purified by water from their sins. But those who are unwilling to be purified by water shall be condemned. And happy shall the man be, who hath ruled his soul, when the Judgement shall come to pass and the greatness of God be seen among men and their deeds be inquired into by God the just judge.

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

APOCALYPISIS MOSIS.

- xxx. 1 After Adam was nine hundred and thirty years old, since he knew that his days were coming to an end, he said: 'Let all my sons assemble themselves to me, that I may bless them before I die, and speak with them.'
- 2 And they were assembled in three parts, before his sight, in the house of prayer, where they used 3 to worship the Lord God. And they asked him (saying): 'What concerns thee, Father, that thou shouldst assemble us, and why dost thou lie on thy bed?' Then Adam answered and said: 4 'My sons, I am sick and in pain.' And all his sons said to him: 'What does it mean, father, this illness and pain?'
- xxxi. 1 Then said Seth his son: 'O (my) lord, perchance thou hast longed after the fruit of paradise, which thou wast wont to eat, and therefore thou liest in sadness? Tell me and I will go to the nearest gates of paradise and put dust on my head and throw myself down on the earth before the gates of paradise and lament and make entreaty to God with loud lamentation; perchance he will hearken to me and send his angel to bring me the fruit, for which thou hast longed.'
- 2 Adam answered and said: 'No, my son, I do not long (for this), but I feel weakness and great pain in my body.' Seth answered, 'What is pain, my lord father? I am ignorant; but hide it not from us, but tell us (about it).'
- xxxii. 1 And Adam answered and said: 'Hear me, my sons. When God made us, me and your mother, and placed us in paradise and gave us every tree

And all assembled, for the earth was divided v. 3 into three parts. And Seth his son said to him: 4 'Father Adam, what is thy complaint?' And he saith, 'My children, I am crushed by 5 the burden of trouble.' And they say to him, 'What is trouble?'

And Seth answered and said to him: 'Hast vi. 1 thou called to mind, father, the fruit of paradise of which thou usedst to eat, and hast been grieved in yearning for it?' 'If this be so, tell me, (and) I will go and 2 bring thee fruit from paradise. For I will set dung upon my head and will weep and pray that the Lord will hearken to me and send his angel (and bring me a plant from paradise), and I will bring it thee that thy trouble may cease from thee.'

Adam saith to him: 'Nay, my son Seth, but 3 I have (much) sickness and trouble!' Seth saith to him: 'And how hath this come upon thee?'

And Adam said to him: 'When God made us, vii. 1 me and your mother, through whom also I die, He gave us power to eat of every tree which is in

9-10. purified by water, i. e. baptism.

xxx. 1. bless them. Cf. Gen. xxvii. 14, xlviii. 3, 2 En. lxiv. 4.

2. in the house of prayer. So I *coram oratorio*; II III *ante oratorium* Apoc. Mos. v (A C). Meyer and Kabisch find here origin of 'Caaba' legends (cf. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*). See Intro. §§ 1, 8, 9.

3. parts. So D B. A + 'they came to the door of the house where he used to enter to pray to God.' So C except that it reads 'before him, where' instead of 'to the door of the house'.

4. Adam A B D: C >.

5. I am crushed, &c. Lit. 'great disease oppresses me'. A B C D Slav. (πόνος πολλὸς συνέχει με).

What is trouble? B + 'father': A D + 'and sickness'.

vi. 1. in yearning for it (ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῶν). Arm. A Tisch. D B C >. ? a gloss.

2. I will go (πορεύσομαι) C D: A B 'I go': Slav. 'we'.

that. Lit. 'and' = vav conversive.

bring me a plant. Inserted for clearness—perhaps in original. B has ἐνέγκει (sic) μοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἐν ᾧ ῥέει τὸ

ἔλεος.

3. how . . . upon thee (πῶς σοι) A C E Arm. Slav.: D 'how much' (πόσοι).

vii. 1. to him. C only has πρὸς αὐτόν as often.

tree (ξύλου) C: A B D 'plant' (φυτοῦ): Arm. 'fruits'.

I die A C E D: B Arm. 'we die'.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

bearing fruit to eat, he laid a prohibition on us concerning the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which is in the midst of paradise; (saying)
² 'Do not eat of it.' But God gave a part of paradise to me and (a part) to your mother: the trees of the eastern part and the north, which is over against Aquilo he gave to me, and to your mother he gave the part of the south and the western part.

xxxiii. ¹ (Moreover) God the Lord gave us two angels
² to guard us. The hour came when the angels had ascended to worship in the sight of God; forthwith the adversary [the devil] found an opportunity while the angels were absent and the devil led your mother astray to eat of the
³ unlawful and forbidden tree. And she did eat and gave to me.

xxxiv. ¹ And immediately, the Lord God was wrath with us, and the Lord said to me: 'In that thou hast left behind my commandment and hast not kept my word, which I confirmed to thee; behold, I will bring upon thy body, seventy blows; with divers griefs, shalt thou be tormented, beginning at thy head and thine eyes and thine ears down to thy nails on thy toes, and in every
² separate limb. These hath God †appointed for chastisement†. All these things hath the Lord sent to me and to all our race.'

xxxv. ¹ Thus spake Adam to his sons, and he was seized with violent pains, and he cried out with a loud voice, 'What shall I do? I am in distress. So cruel are the pains with which I am
² beset.' And when Eve had seen him weeping, she also began to weep herself, and said: 'O Lord my God, hand over to me his pain, for it is I who sinned.'

³ And Eve said to Adam: 'My lord, give me a part of thy pains, for this hath come to thee from fault of mine.'

xxxvi. ¹ And Adam said to Eve: 'Rise up and go with

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

paradise, but, concerning that one only, He charged us not to eat of it, and through this one we are to die. And the hour drew nigh for the angels
² who were guarding your mother to go up and worship the Lord, and I was far from her, and the enemy knew that she was alone and gave to her, and she ate of the tree of which she had been told not to eat. Then she gave also to me to eat. ³

'And God was wroth with us, and the Lord viii. ¹ came into paradise and called me in a terrible voice and said: "Adam, where art thou? And why hidest thou from my face? Shall the house be able to hide itself from its builder?" And he ² saith to me: "Since thou hast abandoned my covenant, I have brought upon thy body seventy-two strokes; the trouble of the first stroke is a pain of the eyes, the second stroke an affection of the hearing, and likewise in turn all the strokes shall befall thee."'

As he said this to his sons, Adam groaned ix. ¹ sore and said: 'What shall I do? I am in great distress.'

And Eve wept and said: 'My lord ² Adam, rise up and give me half of thy trouble and I will endure it; for it is on my account that this hath happened to thee, on my account thou

xxxii. 2. **your mother.** Incident from Eve's tale in Apoc. Mos. xv.

xxxiv. 1. **was wroth.** Condensed from story in Apoc. Mos. viii, xxi-xxiii.

confirmed. *confortavi* II III. I in margin *mandavi*.

seventy Apoc. Mos. viii. 2 (A B C). The 'Cant' (see Meyer 211) has 'sixty and two'.

2. **†appointed for chastisement†.** MSS. obscure.

all our race. Read *omne genus nostrum* with II III: Meyer 'all our generations' (*omnes nostras generationes*).

that one only D B E C.

2. **guarding** A B C: 'watching' D E: Arm. 'looked to your mother for her to render worship'. Cf. Jub. iv. 22, Chagiga 16a, Ber. 60b. Ginzberg calls these angels 'virtues' (cf. Vita xxi).

Lord. C adds 'as their fashion (*τύπος*) was'; a gloss.

and I was far from her. C only.

of which . . . not to eat. C only.

viii. 1. **paradise.** A B + 'when we had eaten and placed His throne'.

Adam . . . thou. D adds gloss from Gen. iii. 12.

builder. This saying occurs in Targ. Jer. on Gen. iii. 9. > D.

2. **to me.** D B E only.

seventy-two D E, Slav., Mishna *Neg.* i. 4, but 'seventy' A B C, Vita; latter is common symbolic number, probably a correction.

ix. 1. **distress** (*λύπη*) C Arm. Slav.: D 'stress' (*ἀνάγκη*). D has a long gloss from Gen. iii. 19.

2. **thy trouble** D C Arm. A B 'sickness'.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

- my son Seth to the neighbourhood of paradise, and put dust on your heads and throw yourselves on the ground and lament in the sight of
² God. Perchance He will have pity (upon you) and send His angel across to the tree of His mercy, whence floweth the oil of life, and will give you a drop of it, to anoint me with it, that I may have rest from these pains, by which I am being consumed.'
- xxxvii. ¹ Then Seth and his mother went off towards the gates of paradise. And while they were walking, lo! suddenly there came a beast
² [a serpent] and attacked and bit Seth. And as soon as Eve saw it, she wept and said: 'Alas, wretched woman that I am. I am accursed since I have not kept the commandment of God.'
³ And Eve said to the serpent in a loud voice: 'Accursed beast! how (is it that) thou hast not feared to let thyself loose against the image of God, but hast dared to fight with it?'
- xxxviii. ¹ The beast answered in the language of men: 'Is it not against you, Eve, that our malice (is directed)? Are not ye the objects of our rage?'
² Tell me, Eve, how was thy mouth opened to eat of the fruit? But now if I shall begin to reprove thee thou canst not bear it.'
- xxxix. ¹ Then said Seth to the beast: 'God the Lord revile thee. Be silent, be dumb, shut thy mouth, accursed enemy of Truth, confounder and destroyer. Avaunt from the image of God till the day when the Lord God shall order thee to be
² brought to the ordeal.' And the beast said to

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

- art beset with toils and troubles.' But Adam ³ said to Eve, 'Arise and go with my son Seth near to paradise, and put earth upon your heads and weep and pray God to have mercy upon me and send his angel to paradise, and give me of the tree out of which the oil floweth, and bring it me, and I shall anoint myself and shall have rest from my complaint.'
- Then Seth and Eve went towards paradise, x. ¹ and Eve saw her son, and a wild beast assailing him, and Eve wept and said: 'Woe is me; if ² I come to the day of the Resurrection, all those who have sinned will curse me saying: Eve hath not kept the commandment of God.' And she ³ spake to the beast: 'Thou wicked beast, fearest thou not to fight with the image of God? How was thy mouth opened? How were thy teeth made strong? How didst thou not call to mind thy subjection? For long ago wast thou made subject to the image of God.' Then the beast ⁴ cried out and said:
 'It is not our concern, Eve, thy greed and thy xi. ¹ wailing, but thine own; for (it is) from thee that the rule of the beasts hath arisen. How was thy ² mouth opened to eat of the tree concerning which God enjoined thee not to eat of it? On this account, our nature also hath been transformed. Now therefore thou canst not endure it, ³ if I begin to reprove thee.'
- Then Seth speaketh to the beast, 'Close thy xii. ¹ mouth and be silent and stand off from the image of God until the day of Judgment.' Then saith ² the beast to Seth: 'Behold, I stand off from the image of God.' And he went to his lair.

- xxxvi. ² oil of life. Cf. Apoc. Mos. ix. 3 (note).
 xxxvii. ¹. [a serpent]. A gloss to connect with tale of Fall. Originally this passage was midrash to explain beasts' revolt.
 bit Seth proves work is not *Sethite*. Seth here is weak and fallible. Arm. version >.
³. how is it that, &c. II+ (with A D of Apoc. Mos. x) 'how were thy teeth made strong?'
 xxxviii. ². the fruit. II+ 'which the Lord commanded thee not to eat'.
 reprove. *probationem* II III: Meyer *comprobationem* ('ordeal').
 begin . . . bear it. Meyer II 3. 9: I >.
 xxxix. ¹. confounder and destroyer (*confusio perditionis*). A Hebraism.

- and troubles. A omits. D adds gloss from Gen. iii.
³. earth A C: Arm. Slav. D 'dust'.
 the tree, i.e. the Tree of Life described in 1 En. xxiv. 3, 4; 2 En. viii. 3; Apoc. Paul. xlv; Test. Lev. xviii. 11; Rev. xxii. 2. Naturally conceived as an 'olive'—the great wealth of Mediterranean peoples. See Ramsay, *Pauline Studies*, on 'Wild and tame olives'.
 oil of pity: Latin Vita xli. 3. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xiii. 1. A play on words in Greek—*ἐλαος*, *ἐλεος*. Cf. Bousset, *Religion des Judenthums*, 327; 2 En. xxii. 8, 9; Ps. Clem. *Recognitions* I. 45; 4 Ezra ii. 12.
 have rest A D: C 'will be redeemed from (*ἀντρωθῶ ἐκ*) the trouble': A B+ 'I will show you the manner in which we were deceived in the former case'—a gloss.
 x. ¹. a wild beast. This passage is a midrash on Gen. iii. 15. Vita xxxix+ 'a serpent', and implies it was Satan (xxxix. 1). Slav. calls it 'Cotur' or 'Gorgo', and adds it pursued him 'to devour him'.
 Eve saw. C+ 'from afar'.
². Resurrection A C D: B 'Judgement': Slav. 'Second Advent'.
 xi. ². transformed C D: Arm. Slav. expand. Cf. Sanh. 106 b, Pesikt. 44 b (Ginzberg).
 xii. ². lair C (*κοίτην*): A B D E 'tent' (*σκηνήν*).

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Seth: 'See, I leave the presence of the image of God, as thou hast said.' Forthwith he left Seth, wounded by his teeth.

xl. 1 But Seth and his mother walked to the regions of paradise for the oil of mercy to anoint the sick Adam: and they arrived at the gates of paradise, (and) they took dust from the earth and placed it on their heads, and bowed themselves with their faces to the earth and began to lament and

2 make loud moaning, imploring the Lord God to pity Adam in his pains and to send His angel to give them the oil from the 'tree of His mercy'.

xli. 1 But when they had been praying and imploring for many hours, behold, the angel Michael appeared to them and said: 'I have been sent to you from the Lord—I am set by God over the

3 bodies of men—I tell thee, Seth, (thou) man of God, weep not nor pray and entreat on account of the oil of the tree of mercy to anoint thy father Adam for the pains of his body.

xlii. 1 'For I tell thee that in no wise wilt thou be able to receive thereof save in the last days.'

2 [When five thousand five hundred years have been fulfilled, then will come upon earth the most beloved king Christ, the son of God, to revive the body of Adam and with him to revive the bodies of the dead. He Himself, the Son of God, when He comes will be baptized in the river of Jordan, and when He hath come out of the water of Jordan, then He will anoint from the

4 oil of mercy all that believe in Him. And the oil of mercy shall be for generation to generation for those who are ready to be born again of

5 water and the Holy Spirit to life eternal. Then the most beloved Son of God, Christ, descending on earth shall lead thy father Adam to Paradise to the tree of mercy.]

xliii. 1 'But do thou, Seth, go to thy father Adam, since the time of his life is fulfilled. Six days hence, his soul shall go off his body and when

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

And Seth went with Eve near paradise, and xlii. 1 they wept there, and prayed God to send his angel and give them the oil of mercy.

And God 2

sent the archangel Michael and he spake to Seth: 'Seth, man of God, weary not thyself with prayers and entreaties concerning the tree which floweth with oil to anoint thy father Adam. For it shall not be thine now,

but in the end of the times. 3

Then shall all flesh be raised up from Adam till that great day,—all that shall be of the holy people. Then shall the delights of paradise be 4 given to them and God shall be in their midst. And they shall no longer sin before his face, for 5 the evil heart shall be taken from them and there shall be given them a heart understanding the good and to serve God only.

But do thou go back to thy father. For the 6 term of his life hath been fulfilled and he will live three days from to-day and will die. But

2. wounded by his teeth II 17: I III ++.

xli. 1. angel Michael. Originally 'guardian angel of Israel' (Dan. xii). Cf. Midrash Konen. in *Bet ha-Midrash* ii. 27 (Ginzberg), 2 En. xxii. 6, 1 En. xx. 5. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 168.

3. man of God = prophet. Cf. 2 Kings vi. 6, &c. Jewish trait.

xlii. 1. that. The MSS. reading *quia* = Greek *ὅτι* = 'that'.

2. When five thousand five hundred years . . . tree of mercy. Christian interpolation from Gospel of Nicodemus, xix (Greek work).

king I. II III >.

xliii. 1. there A B C: D >.

oil of mercy A C Arm.: Slav. >: E B 'mercy of mercy' (*ἐλεος ἐλέου*): (*ἐλεος ἐλαίου*) D 'mercy of oil'; probably not dittography, as Fuchs supposes, but play on words.

2. floweth with oil C (Kabisch): 'in which flows the oil' D A B Tisch.: E₂ †.

with prayers and entreaties (*εὐχόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ ἰκεσίᾳ*): a Hebraism.

it shall not B C + 'for' (*γάρ*).

3-6. Then shall . . . God only A B, Tisch., Fuchs). This short Apocalypse certainly Jewish, perhaps original. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxviii. 3, 4 and cf. Jubilees xxiii. 26-9; Ezek. xxxvi. 27; 1 En. v. 4; Bamidbar rabba 17; Schem rabba 41; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, 381, 400; Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 359.

5. evil heart (yeşer hara (עֵצֶר הָרָע)). Prominent feature in later Jewish theology, as in St. Paul and 4 Ezra. See Introd. §§ 1, 5, 6, 9.

6. will die C: D †. three days from to-day. C only.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

- it shall have gone out, thou shalt see great marvels in the heaven and in the earth and the
 2 luminaries of heaven. With these words, straightway Michael departed from Seth.
 3 And Eve and Seth returned bearing with them herbs of fragrance, i.e. nard and crocus and calamus and cinnamon.
 xlv. 1 And when Seth and his mother had reached Adam, they told him, how the beast [the serpent] bit Seth. And Adam said to Eve: 'What hast thou done? A great plague hast thou brought upon us, transgression and sin for all our generations: and this which thou hast done, tell thy
 3 children after my death, [for those who arise from us shall toil and fail but they shall be
 4 wanting and curse us (and) say, All evils have our parents brought upon us, who were at the
 5 beginning].' When Eve heard these words, she began to weep and moan.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

- when his soul is departing, thou shalt behold the awful (scene of) his passing.
 Thus spake the angel and departed from them. xiv. 1
 And Seth and Eve came to the hut where Adam was laid. And Adam saith to Eve: 'Eve, what
 2 hast thou wrought in us? Thou hast brought upon us great wrath which is death, [lording it over all our race].' And he saith to her, 'Call all
 3 our children and our children's children and tell them the manner of our transgression.'

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

Eve's Account of her Fall.

- xv. 1 Then saith Eve to them: 'Hear all my children and children's children and I will relate to you
 2 how the enemy deceived us. It befell that we were guarding paradise, each of us the portion allotted to us from God. Now I guarded in my lot, the west and the south. But the devil went to Adam's lot, where the male creatures were. [For God divided the creatures; all the males he gave to your father and all the females he gave to me.]
 xvi. 1 And the devil spake to the serpent saying, "Rise up, come to me and I will tell thee a word
 2 whereby thou mayst have profit." And he arose and came to him. And the devil saith to him: "I hear that thou art wiser than all the beasts, and I have come to counsel thee. Why dost thou eat of Adam's tares and not of paradise? Rise up and we will cause him to be cast out of paradise, even
 4 as we were cast out through him." The serpent saith to him, "I fear lest the Lord be wroth with
 5 me." The devil saith to him: "Fear not, only be my vessel and I will speak through thy mouth words to deceive him."

- xlili. 1. **luminaries of Heaven.** Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxv, xxxvi.
 3. **herbs of fragrance.** From Eve's tale in Apoc. Mos. xxix = Slav. Vit. xxv—inconsistent with Vita x-xii; Slav. Vita xxviii-xxx. III + Christian gloss from *lignum crucis* legend.
 xlv. 2. **tell.** II 9 *refer*: III *referent filiis nostris*: Meyer suggests *refert*.
 after my death. Insertion. Contrast Apoc. Mos. xiv. 3. It shows intention of editor to omit Eve's tale (Fuchs).
 3. **toil and fail.** Play on words in Latin: *sufficient* . . . *deficient*. Perhaps a gloss.
 4. **All.** MS. prefixes *quoniam*; perhaps for *ἔτι* = 'that'. Cf. xlii. 1 (note).

- awful scene of his passing (τὴν ἀνοδὸν αὐτοῦ φοβερὰν) A B D: C >.
 xiv. 2. **what hast thou wrought.** Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxii, Vita xviii. 1. With St. Paul (2 Cor. xi. 3, 1 Tim. ii. 14) and 2 En. xxx. 18, our author makes Eve primary cause of sin; 4 Ezra iii. 21 lays guilt on Adam.
 which is death A B C D E_{1,2}: Arm. >. Cf. Rom. v. 14, 4 Ezra iv. 30.
 [lording it over all our race] C >. Probably an interpolated gloss.
 xv. 1. **Then saith Eve.** In Arm. E, Eve blames herself; in Slav. she is asked to tell her tale by her sons.
 2. **the portion allotted.** Cf. Vita xxxii.
 3. **where the male creatures.** Both Hebrew (שֶׁרֶפ) and Greek (ὄφις) words for 'serpent' are masculine.
 [For God . . . to me.] A D only have this explanation. Cf. B. C is corrupt. Arm. >.
 your father A B E: 'our father' C D.
 xvi. 1. **to the serpent.** Cf. 'Conflict of A. and E.' i. 17; Ber. rabba, xix; Weber, *JT.* 219-20. Slav. + 'thou art beloved before God, Eve will believe thee'.
 mayst have profit A B E (ὀφελὴς).
 2. **I hear** A B D: C 'I learn': Arm. 'I behold'.
 counsel thee C: A D 'I consort with thee' (ὁμιλέω): Arm. 'unite with': A B + 'yet dost thou worship the less!' Cf. Vita xiv. 3. A gloss from Vita.
 3. **out of paradise.** A B + 'through his wife' (a gloss).
 5. **deceive him** C: A 'deceive them'.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

- xvii. 1 And instantly he hung himself from the wall of paradise, and when the angels ascended to
2 worship God, then Satan appeared in the form of an angel and sang hymns like the angels. And
I bent over the wall and saw him, like an angel. But he saith to me: "Art thou Eve?" And I said
3 to him, "I am." "What art thou doing in paradise?" And I said to him, "God set us to guard and
4 to eat of it." The devil answered through the mouth of the serpent: "Ye do well but ye do not eat
5 of every plant." And I said: "Yea, we eat of all, save one only, which is in the midst of paradise,
concerning which, God charged us not to eat of it: for, He said to us, on the day on which ye eat
of it, ye shall die the death."
- xviii. 1 Then the serpent saith to me, "May God live! but I am grieved on your account, for I would not
have you ignorant. But arise, (come) hither, hearken to me and eat and mind the value of that tree."
2, 3 But I said to him, "I fear lest God be wroth with me as he told us." And he saith to me: "Fear
not, for as soon as thou eatest of it, ye too shall be as God, in that ye shall know good and evil.
4 But God perceived this that ye would be like Him, so he envied you and said, Ye shall not eat of
5, 6 it. Nay, do thou give heed to the plant and thou wilt see its great glory." Yet I feared to take
of the fruit. And he saith to me: "Come hither, and I will give it thee. Follow me."
- xix. 1 And I opened to him and he walked a little way, then turned and said to me: "I have changed my
2 mind and I will not give thee to eat until thou swear to me to give also to thy husband." (And) I said,
"What sort of oath shall I swear to thee? Yet what I know, I say to thee: By the throne of the
3 Master, and by the Cherubim and the Tree of Life, I will give also to my husband to eat." And
when he had received the oath from me, he went and **poured upon** the fruit the poison of his wicked-
ness, which is lust, the root and beginning of every sin, and he bent the branch on the earth and I took
of the fruit and I ate.
- xx. 1 And in that very hour my eyes were opened, and forthwith I knew that I was bare of the right-
2 eousness with which I had been clothed (upon), and I wept and said to him: "Why hast thou
3 done this to me in that thou hast deprived me of the glory with which I was clothed?" But
I wept also about the oath, which I had sworn. But he descended from the tree and vanished.
4 And I began to seek, in my nakedness, in my part for leaves to hide my shame, but I found none,
for, as soon as I had eaten, the leaves showered down from all the trees in my part, except the fig-
5 tree only. But I took leaves from it and made for myself a girdle and it was from the very same
plant of which I had eaten.
- xxi. 1 And I cried out in that very hour, "Adam, Adam, where art thou? Rise up, come to me and
2 I will show thee a great secret." But when your father came, I spake to him words of transgression
3 [which have brought us down from our great glory]. For, when he came, I opened my mouth and

- xvii. 1. **he hung.** E reads 'the devil inside the serpent hung', as Moslem fable in Weil, *B. L. der M.*
when. A B prefix 'about the ('ninth' B) hour.'
form of an angel. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 14. Points to old idea of a literal seduction; cf. Gen. vi. 1-6; 1 En. vi-xii,
lxxxviii-xc; Sota ix. 9; Ber. rabba xxiv; Jalk. Schim. Ber. xlii.
2. Slav. reads 'I thought him an angel since he came from Adam's district'—emphasizing this feature throughout;
Arm. weakens it.
4. **every plant** B C D. 'all plants' A.
5. **die the death.** A Hebraism; lit. 'die with death' (*θανάτω ἀποθανείσθε*).
xviii. D breaks off here till xxxvi.
1. **I would not have you ignorant.** Arm. 'I desire not your ignorance': A B + 'for ye are as beasts'; a gloss:
A B C E Slav. 'since ye understand nothing'.
3. **ye . . . as God** C.
4. **God perceived . . . envied you.** With Tisch. A B: C >.
5. **glory.** Arm. alters this Midrash on Gen. iii. 6 to 'the glory of the Highest' (Gnostic?): A B + long gloss
(Gen. iii. 6).
xix. 1. **I opened.** C Arm.: E >: B 'he opened': Arm. + Gnostic gloss to the effect that Eve is without paradise
—first brought in by the serpent.
2. **What sort of oath** (*ποῖον ὄρκον*) C: A B E Arm. + 'I know not'.
3. **poured upon.** So Tisch. emends MSS.
the root and beginning of every sin C: A B 'head'. Fuchs thinks this is play on words in Hebrew (*יָדָן* = *יָדָן*
and *κεφαλή* = *יָדָן* = 'head'). Idea is common among Rabbis, e.g. Aboda Zara 22 b; 1 En. lxix. 6; Slav. Bar.
xc. 7; Apoc. Abraham xxiii; Gen. Rabb. xix. 6; Ab. R. Nathan v. 6. Cf. James i. 15.
he bent E Arm.: A B C 'I bent'.
I ate (Gen. iii. 6) C E Arm. Slav.
xx. 1. **clothed (upon)** (*ἐνδεδυμένη*) A B Tisch. Cf. 2 Cor. v. 2; Isa. lxi. 10.
3. **which I had sworn** C E.
4. **my part** A B: C †.
5. **very same plant** A B C Slav. Ber. rabba xv; Schatzhöhle; Test. Adam. agree with our author that this was
a fig-tree. Apoc. Abraham xxiii calls it 'a grape'; Beresch. xl. 8 'barley'; Samuel Ben Isaac 'a date'.
xxi. 1. **secret** (*μυστήριον*) C: Arm. Slav. *mirabilia*.
2. [which have . . . glory]. Only A B Arm. A gloss.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

- the devil was speaking, and I began to exhort him and said, "Come hither, my lord Adam, hearken to me and eat of the fruit of the tree of which God told us not to eat of it, and thou shalt be as a God." And your father answered and said, "I fear lest God be wroth with me." And I said to him, "Fear not, for as soon as thou hast eaten thou shalt know good and evil." And speedily I persuaded him, and he ate and straightway his eyes were opened and he too knew his nakedness. And to me he saith, "O wicked woman! what have I done to thee that thou hast deprived me of the glory of God?"
- xxii. 1 And in that same hour, we heard the archangel Michael blowing with his trumpet and calling to the angels and saying: "Thus saith the Lord, Come with me to paradise and hear the judgement with which I shall judge Adam."
- 3 And when God appeared in paradise, mounted on the chariot of his cherubim with the angels proceeding before him and singing hymns of praises, all the plants of paradise, both of your father's lot and mine, broke out into flowers. And the throne of God was fixed where the Tree of Life was.
- xxiii. 1 And God called Adam saying, "Adam, where art thou? Can the house be hidden from the presence of its builder?" Then your father answered; "It is not because we think not to be found by thee, Lord, that we hide, but I was afraid, because I am naked, and I was ashamed before thy might, (my) Master." God saith to him, "Who showed thee that thou art naked, unless thou hast forsaken my commandment, which I delivered thee to keep (it)." Then Adam called to mind the word which I spake to him, (saying) "I will make thee secure before God"; and he turned and said to me: "Why hast thou done this?" And I said, "The serpent deceived me."
- xxiv. 1 God saith to Adam: "Since thou hast disregarded my commandment and hast hearkened to thy wife, cursed is the earth in thy labours."
- 2 Thou shalt work it and it shall not give its strength: thorns and thistles shall spring up for thee, and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy bread. [Thou shalt be in manifold toils; thou shalt be crushed by bitterness, but of sweetness shalt thou not taste.]
- 3 Weary shalt thou be and shalt not rest; by heat shalt thou be tired, by cold shalt thou be straitened: abundantly shalt thou busy thyself, but thou shalt not be rich; and thou shalt grow fat, but come to no end.
- 4 The beasts, over whom thou didst rule, shall rise up in rebellion against thee, for thou hast not kept my commandment."
- xxv. 1 And the Lord turned to me and said: "Since thou hast hearkened to the serpent, and turned a deaf ear to my commandment, thou shalt be in throes of travail and intolerable agonies; thou shalt bear children in much trembling and in one hour thou shalt come to the birth, and lose thy life, from thy sore trouble and anguish. But thou shalt confess and say: 'Lord, Lord, save me, and I will turn no more to the sin of the flesh.' And on this account, from thine own words I will judge thee, by reason of the enmity which the enemy has planted in thee."
- xxvi. 1 But he turned to the serpent [in great wrath] and said: "Since thou hast done this, and become a thankless vessel until thou hast deceived the innocent hearts, accursed art thou among all beasts."
3. my lord Adam. Aboth. R. Nathan i. 6 (Ginzberg) says Eve always addressed Adam as 'lord'.
6. what have I done C: Arm. A 'what hast thou done?'.
- that = καί, ? for vav conversive: Slav. reads 'why'. See Intro. § 7.
- xxii. 1. [with his trumpet] interpolation: in A Arm. only. To soften anthropomorphisms in Genesis. Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 16; 1 Cor. xv. 52; cf. *Bet ha-Midrash* ii. 61 (Jellinek).
2. judgement . . . judge (κρίματος κρίνω) A Arm. (? Hebraism): for κρίματος C has 'word' (ρόγματος): Slav. *sententiam et quale iudicium*.
3. and mine. Slav. contradicts—plants in Eve's part were *withered*.
4. was fixed (ἐστηρίχθη) C. Cf. Targ. Jer. on Gen. vi. 9. This statement modifies 2 En. viii. 3 'that place on which God rests'. A Arm. E slight variants (e.g. ἐν τρηπίδι).
- xxiii. 1. 'where art thou' C. 'where art thou hidden' A.
3. forsaken E A Tisch. (ἐγκατέλειπες): Arm. 'transgressed.'
4. secure A C E Arm. (ἀκίνδυνον).
5. I said A + 'remembered the word of the serpent and'.
- xxiv. 1. in thy works E Arm. A: C 'for thy sake'.
2. Thou shalt be . . . taste A C; from Gen. iii. 18.
3. Only in A (gloss).
- xxv. 1. throes of travail. So Fuchs emends from A C 'empty pains' (ἐν ματαίοις): E 'empty toils'. In Hebrew חבל was misread for חבל.
2. trembling (τρόμος). Tisch. emends from τρόποις ('ways') C A: Arm. E 'with great sorrow'.
3. no more E (οὐκέτι) C 'not'.
- sin of the flesh A: B C E 'thy flesh': Arm. 'against my body'!
4. in thee. A B + 'And thou shalt turn to thy husband and he shall rule over thee.'
- xxvi. 1. turned . . . and C. A B >.
- a thankless vessel (σκευος ἀχάριστου) A B E: Arm. 'offspring of wickedness', perhaps = Hebrew כלי בליעל = 'instrument of Belial' (Fuchs). Cf. xvi. 8.
- innocent hearts (παρειμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ) A C: B παρισταμένους: Arm. 'the upright in heart.' E >.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

- 2 Thou shalt be deprived of the victual of which thou didst eat and shalt feed on dust all the days of
3 thy life ; on thy breast and thy belly shalt thou walk and be robbed of hands and feet. There
shall not be left thee ear nor wing, nor one limb of all that with which thou didst ensnare them in
4 thy malice and causedst them to be cast out of paradise ; and I will put enmity between thee and
his seed ; he shall bruise thy head and thou shalt bruise his heel until the day of Judgement.”
- xxvii. 1, 2 Thus he spake and bade the angels have us cast out of paradise : and as we were being driven out
amid our loud lamentations, your father Adam besought the angels and said : “Leave me a little
(space) that I may entreat the Lord that he have compassion on me and pity me, for I only
3 have sinned.” And they left off driving him and Adam cried aloud and wept saying : “Pardon me,
4 O Lord, my deed.” Then the Lord saith to the angels, “Why have ye ceased from driving Adam
from paradise ? Why do ye not cast him out ? Is it I who have done wrong ? Or is my judgement
5 badly judged ?” Then the angels fell down on the ground and worshipped the Lord saying, “Thou
art just, O Lord, and thou judgest righteous judgement.”
- xxviii. 1 But the Lord turned to Adam and said : “I will not suffer thee henceforward to be in paradise.”
2 And Adam answered and said, “Grant me, O Lord, of the Tree of Life that I may eat of it, before
3 I be cast out.” Then the Lord spake to Adam, “Thou shalt not take of it now, for I have com-
manded the cherubim with the flaming sword that turneth (every way) to guard it from thee that
4 thou taste not of it ; but thou hast the war which the adversary hath put into thee ; yet when
thou art gone out of paradise, if thou shouldst keep thyself from all evil, as one about to die, when
again the Resurrection hath come to pass, I will raise thee up and then there shall be given to thee
the Tree of Life.”
- xxix. 1, 2 Thus spake the Lord and ordered us to be cast out of paradise. But your father Adam wept
before the angels opposite paradise and the angels say to him : “What wouldst thou have us to do,
3 Adam ?” And your father saith to them, “Behold, ye cast me out. I pray you, allow me to
take away fragrant herbs from paradise, so that I may offer an offering to God after I have gone out
4 of paradise that he hear me.” And the angels approached God and said : “JAEL, Eternal King,
command, my Lord, that there be given to Adam incense of sweet odour from paradise and seeds
5 for his food.” And God bade Adam go in and take sweet spices and fragrant herbs from paradise
6 and seeds for his food. And the angels let him go and he took four kinds : crocus and nard and
calamus and cinnamon and the other seeds for his food : and, after taking these, he went out of
7 paradise. And we were on the earth.
- xxx. 1 Now then, my children, I have shown you the way in which we were deceived ; and do ye guard
yourselves from transgressing against the good.’
- xxxi. 1 And when Eve had said this in the midst of her sons, while Adam was lying ill and bound to die
2 after a single day from the sickness which had fastened upon him, she saith to him : ‘How is it that
3 thou diest and I live or how long have I to live after thou art dead ? Tell me.’ And Adam saith
to her : ‘Reck not of this, for thou tarriest not after me, but even both of us are to die together.

2. **hands and feet** A + ‘thy’ : B + long gloss explaining sin as sensual.
The serpent = (Satan) has limbs in Apoc. Abrah. xxiii ; Targ. Jon. on Gen. iii ; Ber. Rabb. xix, xx ; Jalk. Schim.
ix. 11. Cf. Wisd. ii. 26 ; 2 En. xxxi. 3 ; and cf. Jubilees iii. 23 (Charles’ note).
4. **day of Judgement** A B Arm. : C ‘day of thy life’ (Gen. iii. 14).
xxvii. 3. **Pardon me** Slav. + ‘Allow me food that I may live’. Text of Slav. in disorder ; read xxvi after xxvii.
4. **driving Adam** A B : Arm. E + ‘why have ye hearkened to him ?’
xxviii. 2. **before** = *πρό* with genitive and infinitive.
3. **take of** B Tisch. Arm. : C ‘taste of’.
of it A B Arm. + ‘and be immortal for ever’ (Gen. iii. 22).
4. **about to** (*μέλλων*) C : A B ‘willing to’ (*βουλόμενος*) : Arm. ‘thinkest on death’. Ginzberg, with Gen. rabba xx ;
Apost. Const. vii, xxiv, emends to ‘thou wilt die.’ Cf. Apoc. Mos. xiv ; Haggada on Gen. iii. 17–22. Contrast
Vita xxix, xli. (Christian.)
xxix. 3. **Behold** A B : C ‘since’.
so that = *ὅπως* with future indicative (C).
Cf. ‘Conflict’ I. xxiv. Slight variations in A B C Arm. Slav.
4. **Jael** (A B) = ‘Jah-El’ (*יְהוֹאֵל*), Hebrew for ‘Lord God’ : C >. Arm. has ‘Hojil’ : E Slav. ‘Joel’, confused with
angel in xxxii and xlv, Apoc. Abraham x. 20, xvii. 22.
5. **and seeds for his food** E ; cf. Slav. Vita xxv. 4, xxviii. Arm. omits the request, but says they were given :
A C says God let him take ‘fragrant herbs for his food’ (cf. Mishna Taanit i. 6) : B says ‘for sacrifice’ only ; cf. Jub.
iii. 27 : E seems to preserve original.
6. **four** Arm. E : Slav. ‘three’ : A B ‘both’. Jubilees mentions ‘frankincense, galbanum and stacte’. The same
four as in our text are mentioned in Arm. A B C.
7. **were** (*ἐγενόμεθα*). C ‘were present’ (*παραγεγόναμεν*) : Arm. ‘saw ourselves placed on the earth’ : Slav. ‘sat before
gate of paradise’. Passage parallel to Vita i–x follows in Slav.
- xxx. 1. **children** C : A Tisch. *τεκνία* ; diminutive.
transgressing (*παραβαίνειν*) C. A B ‘forsaking’.
- xxxi. 2. **have I to live** B : C ‘do I desire to live’ (*θέλω*) : A >.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

- And †she shall lie† in my place. But when I die, anoint me and let no man touch me till the
 4 angel of the Lord shall speak somewhat concerning me. For God will not forget me, but will seek
 His own creature ; and now arise rather and pray to God till I give up my spirit into His hands
 who gave it me. For we know not how we are to meet our Maker, whether He be wroth with us, or
 be merciful and intend to pity and receive us.'
- xxxii. 1, 2 And Eve rose up and went outside and fell on the ground and began to say : ' I have sinned,
 O God, I have sinned, O God of All, I have sinned against Thee. I have sinned against the elect
 angels. I have sinned against the Cherubim. I have sinned against Thy fearful and unshakable
 Throne. I have sinned before Thee and all sin hath begun through my doing in the creation.'
- 3 Even thus prayed Eve on her knees ; (and) behold, the angel of humanity came to her, and raised
 4 her up and said : ' Rise up, Eve, (from thy penitence), for behold, Adam thy husband hath gone out
 of his body. Rise up and behold his spirit borne aloft to his Maker.'
- xxxiii. 1 And Eve rose up and wiped off her tears with her hand, and the angel saith to her, ' Lift up thy-
 2 self from the earth.' And she gazed steadfastly into heaven, and beheld a chariot of light, borne by
 four bright eagles, (and) it were impossible for any man born of woman to tell the glory of them or
 3 behold their face—and angels going before the chariot—and when they came to the place where
 4 your father Adam was, the chariot halted and the Seraphim. And I beheld golden censers, between
 your father and the chariot, and all the angels with censers and frankincense came in haste to the
 5 incense-offering and blew upon it and the smoke of the incense veiled the firmaments. And the
 angels fell down and worshipped God, crying aloud and saying, ' JAEL, Holy One, have pardon, for
 he is Thy image, and the work of Thy holy hands.'
- xxxiv. 1 And I Eve beheld two great and fearful wonders standing in the presence of God and I wept for
 2 fear, and I cried aloud to my son Seth and said, ' Rise up, Seth, from the body of thy father Adam,
 and come to me, and thou shalt see a spectacle which no man's eye hath yet beheld.'

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

- xlv. 1 And just as Michael the archangel had fore-
 2 told, after six days came Adam's death. When
 Adam perceived that the hour of his death was
 at hand, he said to all his sons : ' Behold, I am
 nine hundred and thirty years old, and if I die,
 3 bury me towards the sunrising †in the field of
 yonder dwelling†.' And it came to pass that
 when he had finished all his discourse, he gave
 up the ghost.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

- Then Seth arose and came to his mother and xxxv. 1
 to her he saith : ' What is thy trouble? Why
 weepest thou? ' (And) she saith to him : ' Look 2
 up and see with thine eyes the seven heavens
 opened, and see how the soul of thy father lies
 on its face and all the holy angels are praying
 on his behalf and saying : " Pardon him, Father
 of All, for he is Thine image." ' Pray, my child 3
 Seth, what shall this mean? And will he one
 day be delivered into the hands of the Invisible
 Father, even our God? But who are the two 4

3. **she shall lie** A B C : Arm. E ' you shall be laid '—change of person marks confused text. So again in xxxiv. 1.
touch A C : ' see ' Arm.
 4. **His own creature** C : A B Arm. ' the vessel He hath fashioned ' : B + gloss from John vi. 37.
our Maker A B Arm. : C ' him ' (*αὐτόν*).
pity us C : A > : B Arm. ' turn to pity us ' (*ἐπιστρέψῃ τοῦ ἐλεῆσαι ἡμᾶς*).
 xxxii. 2. **I have sinned.** Eve's prayer-text. So C. E A B Slav. expand. Cf. Luke xv. 21.
 3. **the angel of humanity.** Michael (cf. Vita xli) : Arm. B ' angel of the lover of mankind '.
 4. **thy penitence.** B + ' and thy prayer '.
his Maker C : A B + ' to meet Him ' : Arm. + ' to be before Him '.
 xxxiii. 1. **with her hand** Arm. E : A B C ' set her hand on her face '. Slav. >.
 2. **gazed steadfastly** (*ἀτενίσασα*) C : A *ἤρένυσεν*. Cf. Acts vii. 55.
 (and) it. Lit. ' which ' (*ὅ* A : *ἃ* C).
tell (*εἰπεῖν*) A C : Arm. ' write '.
 3. Only in A Tisch.
 B ends here.
 4. **the firmaments.** A only. See Introd. § 9. Cf. xxxv. 2 (seven heavens). Cf. Charles, Introd. to 2 En. and
 notes on Test. Levi ii, iii.
 5. **holy** (*ἁγίων*) **hands** C Tisch. : Arm. ' blameless hands ' : A ' hands ' simply.
 xxxiv. 1. **wonders** (*μυστήρια*). Lit. ' secrets ' C : Arm. Slav. ' wonders ' : A + ' standing in the presence of God '.
 xlv. 2. **†in the field of yonder dwelling.**† II III *in agro habitationis illius*. I *magnum*†.

- xxxv. 1. **what is thy trouble?** A : C >.
 2. **soul.** Arm. only. Others read ' body ' wrongly (so Charles). **holy angels** A : C > ' holy '.
 3. **what shall this mean?** C : A E Slav. > : Arm. ' what shall I be? ' **even our God** A >.
 4. Text as C. A shorter.
who are Arm.
 D begins again.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

(Then) was the sun darkened and the moon
xlvi. 1 and the stars for seven days, and Seth in his
mourning embraced from above the body of his
father, and Eve was looking on the ground with
hands folded over her head, and all her children
wept most bitterly. And behold, there appeared
2 Michael the angel and stood at the head of Adam
and said to Seth: 'Rise up from the body of thy
3 father and come to me and see what is the doom
of the Lord God concerning him. His creature
is he, and God hath pitied him.'

And all angels blew their trumpets, and cried:
xlvi. 1 'Blessed art thou, O Lord, for thou hast had pity
on Thy creature.'

Then Seth saw the hand of God stretched out
xlvi. 1 holding Adam and he handed him over to
2 Michael, saying: 'Let him be in thy charge till
the day of Judgement in punishment, till the last
years when I will convert his sorrow into joy.
3 Then shall he sit on the throne of him who hath
been his supplanter.'

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

negroes who stand by at the prayers for thy
father Adam?

And Seth telleth his mother, that they are xxxvi. 1
the sun and moon and themselves fall down and
pray on behalf of my father Adam. Eve saith 2
to him: 'And where is their light and why have
they taken on such a black appearance?' And 3
Seth answereth her, 'The light hath not left
them, but they cannot shine before the Light of
the Universe, the Father of Light; and on this
account their light hath been hidden from
them.'

Now while Seth was saying this to his mother, xxxvii. 1
lo, an angel blew the trumpet, and there stood
up all the angels (and they were) lying on their
faces, and they cried aloud in an awful voice and
said: 'Blessed (be) the glory of the Lord from 2
the works of His making, for He hath pitied
Adam the creature of His hands.' But when the 3
angels had said these words, lo, there came one
of the seraphim with six wings and snatched up
Adam and carried him off to the Acherusian lake,
and washed him thrice, in the presence of God.

And God saith to him: 'Adam, what hast xxxix. 1
thou done? If thou hadst kept my command-
ment, there would now be no rejoicing among
those who are bringing thee down to this place.
Yet, I tell thee that I will turn their joy to grief 2
and thy grief will I turn to joy, and I will trans-
form thee to thy former glory, and set thee on
the throne of thy deceiver. But he shall be cast 3
into this place to see thee sitting above him,
then he shall be condemned and they that heard
him, and he shall be grieved sore when he seeth
thee sitting on his honourable throne.'

xlvi. 1. sun darkened, &c. Abbreviated from Apoc. Mos. xxxvi—ordinary setting to Jewish 'Apocalypse'. Cf. Matt.
xxiv. 29; 2 En. xiv. 2-4; Test. Adam, &c.

hands folded over her head. Fuchs compares 2 Sam. xiii. 19 for this attitude in mourning.
her head. II 9 Meyer + 'and leaning her head on her knees.'

most bitterly. Lit. 'wept with most bitter weeping', a Hebraism.

3. what is the doom: *quid disponat de eo*, Meyer I II.

xlvi. 1. blew their trumpets. Lit. 'sang and spake with the trumpets'.

xlvi. 2. Judgement = *dispensationis* Meyer II III. I *defensionist*.

3. his supplanter. II *qui supplantavit*, III *seduxit*, I *plantavi cum* †; Vita xlvii = Apoc. Mos. xxxix.

xxxvi. 1. that *οἱ* D. So I read for *οὗτοι*. 'these' (A C Tisch.): Slav. >: Arm. 'those men.'

3. Light of the Universe A C D; cf. 2 En. xiv. 2-4.

Father of Light D Arm. only; cf. James i. 17.

A ends here.

xxxvii. 2. Adam C Arm. Slav.: D >.

3. carried him off D: C >.

Acherusian. So Tisch. E C: D 'Agerusian': Slav. *locum gerusi*: Arm. *ἀχειροποίητον* = (sea) 'not made with
hands'. Cf. Apoc. Pauli xxxi; 2 En. x. 2; 'Conflict' I. vi. 17; Plato, *Phaedo*, 173 a. Cf. Greek Acheron, and 'fiery
stream' of 1 En. xiv. 19 seq., xxiii. 2.

xxxix. This chapter displaced; see Intro. § 1.

1. this place = 'Acherusian lake'. E Arm. add gloss 'I send him into the Gehenna of fire.'

2. transform thee† . . . glory. So I read with Arm.: D 'to thy beginning': C †.

3. grieved sore C: D > 'sore' (πολλά).

honourable throne. D > 'honourable' (τιμίον).

sitting . . . throne. Cf. Isa. xiv. 12-18; Matt. xi. 23, xxiii. 12; Vita Adae xv, xvi.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

APOCALYPISIS MOSIS.

xlviii. 4 And the Lord said again to the angels Michael and Uriel: 'Bring me three linen clothes of byssus and spread them out over Adam and other linen clothes over Abel his son and bury Adam and Abel his son.'

5 And all the 'powers' of angels marched before Adam, and the sleep of the dead was 6 consecrated. And the angels Michael and Uriel buried Adam and Abel in the parts of Paradise, before the eyes of Seth and his mother 7 [and no one else], and Michael and Uriel said:

And he stayed there three hours, lying down, xxxvii. 4 and thereafter the Father of all, sitting on his holy throne stretched out his hand, and took Adam and handed him over to the archangel Michael saying: 'Lift him up into Paradise unto 5 the third Heaven, and leave him there until that fearful day of my reckoning, which I will make in the world.' Then Michael took Adam and left 6 him where God told him.

But after all this, the archangel asked concern- xxxviii. ing the laying out of the remains. And God 2 commanded that all the angels should assemble in His presence, each in his order, and all the angels assembled, some having censers in their hands, and others trumpets. And lo! the 'Lord 3 of Hosts' came on and four winds drew Him and cherubim mounted on the winds and the angels from heaven escorting Him and they came on the earth, where was the body of Adam. And 4 they came to paradise and all the leaves of paradise were stirred so that all men begotten of Adam slept from the fragrance save Seth alone, because he was born 'according to the appointment of God'. Then Adam's body lay there in 5 paradise on the earth and Seth grieved exceedingly over him.

Then God spake to the archangel(s) Michael, xl. 1 (Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael): 'Go away 2 to Paradise in the third heaven, and strew linen clothes and cover the body of Adam and bring oil of the 'oil of fragrance' and pour it over him. And they acted thus did the three great angels and they prepared him for burial. And God said: 'Let the body of Abel also be 3 brought.' And they brought other linen clothes and prepared his (body) also. For he was unburied 4 since the day when Cain his brother slew him;

xlvi. 4. and bury . . . his son. II III only.
5. the sleep. So II III. I has *dormitatio* = 'resting-place'. According to Schatzhöhle (Christian), Ibn Ater, Abdul Serag, Adam was buried at Jerusalem; according to Jews, e.g. Ber. Rabba 58, Erubin 53 a, Pirke R. Eliezer, and Vit. Adae (III and Slav.), at Hebron. Cf. Fabric. i. 10. (MSS. III + 'in a place called Calvary'; Christian.)
powers = *virtutes*. See xxi. 1.
6. [and no one else] I >. A gloss.

xxxvii. 5. third Heaven C D: Arm. E 'second Heaven': Slav. is confused and corrupt, and separates paradise from 'third Heaven'.

my reckoning C D: Arm. 'day of renewal': Slav. 'my resurrection'. Cf. 2 En. viii. 1; 2 Cor. xii. 2; Apoc. Paul xviii. 2; Test. Levi iii; Chagiga 12 b.

6. left him (*ἀφῆκεν* D) D E Slav.; C † *κατήλειψεν* (*κατήλιψεν*).

told him. D + 'and all the angels sang an angels' hymn marvelling at the pardon of Adam.'

xxxviii. 1. laying out of the remains C: D corrupt and obscure.

3. Lord of Hosts (*κύριος στρατιῶν*) C: D 'mighty lord,' *κραταιὸς κύριος*.

4. born according to the appointment of God C (*διὰ τὸ γεννηθῆναι καθ' ὅρον τοῦ θεοῦ*): D 'he was there' (*ἐγένετο ἐκεῖσε*): Charles emends to *καθορᾶν* ('to behold' God). Arm. characteristically reads 'for the Lord wished to show him a marvel.'

5. Then Adam's body . . . over him C only. May be right, as it leads on to xl (to glorify Seth).

xl. 1. C has a fuller text and in v. 2 gives the names of four archangels.

2. third heaven C: Arm. 'second heaven': D >.

oil of fragrance. Cf. 2 En. viii.

three great angels. C >.

3. Let the body. C imperative: D infinitive mood.

Abel. Arm. + 'righteous'.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

‘Just as ye have seen, in like manner, bury your dead.’

APOCALYPISIS MOSIS.

for wicked Cain took great pains to conceal (him) but could not, for the earth would not receive him for the body sprang up from the earth and a voice went out of the earth saying : ‘I will not 5 receive a companion body, till the earth which was taken and fashioned in me cometh to me.’ At that time, the angels took it and placed it on a rock, till Adam his father was buried. And 6 both were buried, according to the commandment of God, in the spot where God found the dust, and He caused the place to be dug for two. And God sent seven angels to paradise and they 7 brought many fragrant spices and placed them in the earth, and they took the two bodies and placed them in the spot which they had digged and builded.

And God called and said, ‘Adam, Adam.’ And xli. 1 the body answered from the earth and said : ‘Here am I, Lord.’ And God saith to him : ‘I told 2 thee (that) earth thou art and to earth shalt thou return. Again I promise to thee the Resurrec- 3 tion ; I will raise thee up in the Resurrection with every man, who is of thy seed.’

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

Eve's directions as to the Memorials of her life.

- xlix. 1 Six days after, Adam died ; and Eve perceived that she would die, (so) she assembled all her sons
2 and daughters, Seth with thirty brothers and thirty sisters, and Eve said to all : ‘Hear me, my children, and I will tell you what the archangel Michael said to us when I and your father transgressed the command of God.
3 On account of your transgression, Our Lord will bring upon your race the anger of his judgement, first by water, the second time by fire ; by these two, will the Lord judge the whole human race.
l. 1 But hearken unto me, my children. Make ye then tables of stone and others of clay, and write
2 on them, all my life and your father's (all) that ye have heard and seen from us. If by water the Lord judge our race, the tables of clay will be dissolved and the tables of stone will remain ; but if by fire, the tables of stone will be broken up and the tables of clay will be baked (hard).’

7. **bury your dead.** A feature of Adam legends ; cf. Fabric. i. 1–100.
xlix. 3. **by fire** (Stoic). Greek idea adopted by Hellenist Jews, e.g. *Sibyl. Orac.* iii. 760.
l. 2. **baked hard.** Well-known Jewish fable. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* i. xi ; Bousset in *ZNTW*, 1902 ; Manetho, Syncell. *Chron.* xl ; Jubilees, viii. 3 (Charles' note). Egyptian derivation has been suggested ΣΗΘ for ΘΩΘ (Thoth.) ; doubtful (?). Probably all accounts are *parallel*, not dependent.
In III (3, 5, 14, 17) and Jean is added the story of Solomon finding ‘the tables’, with a conclusion announcing the coming of Christ to judge the world. Of Greek origin (e.g. *tabulas achiliacas* = ἀχειρονήτρους). All MSS. explain this differently. Monkish scribes here knew but little Greek.

4. **the body sprang up . . . saying.** So I read with D.
5. **a companion** (ἐταῖρον) C : D (and so Fuchs) reads ἑτερον, ‘another’.
on a rock. 1 En. xxii. 7 and Jub. iv. 29 prove early date of this legend.
was buried D. C ‘died.’
6. **and He caused . . . two** D.
7. **placed them** C : D >.
digged and builded CD.
xli. 1. **saith** (λέγει) C : D aorist.
2. **return.** Cf. Gen. iii. 19. Arm. and Slav. have crude Christian glosses.
3. **every man** C : D Arm. ‘every race of man’. (? Christian.)

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

3 When Eve had said all this to her children, she spread out her hands to heaven in prayer, and bent her knees to the earth, and while she worshipped the Lord and gave him thanks, she gave up the ghost. Thereafter, all her children buried her with loud lamentation.

- li. 1 When they had been mourning four days, (then) Michael the archangel appeared and said
2 to Seth: 'Man of God, mourn not for thy dead more than six days, for on the seventh day is the sign of the resurrection and the rest of the age to come; on the seventh day the Lord rested from all His works.'
3 Thereupon Seth made the tables.

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

After these words, God made a seal and sealed xlii. 1 the tomb, that no one might do anything to him for six days till his rib should return to him. Then the Lord and his angels went to their place. 2 And Eve also, when the six days were fulfilled, 3 fell asleep. But while she was living, she wept bitterly about Adam's falling on sleep, for she knew not where he was laid. For when the Lord came to paradise to bury Adam she was asleep, and her sons too, except Seth, till He bade Adam be prepared for burial; and no man knew on earth, except her son Seth. And Eve prayed (in 4 the hour of her death) that she might be buried in the place where her husband Adam was. And after she had finished her prayer, she saith: 'Lord, 5 Master, God of all rule, estrange not me thy handmaid from the body of Adam, for from his members didst thou make me. But deem me 6 worthy, even me unworthy that I am and a sinner, to enter into his tabernacle, even as I was with him in paradise, both without separation from each other; just as in our transgression, we were 7 (both) led astray and transgressed thy command, but were not separated. Even so, Lord, do not 8 separate us now.'

But after she had prayed, she gazed heavenwards and groaned aloud and smote her breast and said: 'God of All, receive my spirit,' and straightway she delivered up her spirit to God.

And Michael came and taught Seth how to xliii. 1 prepare Eve for burial. And there came three angels and they buried her (body) where Adam's body was and Abel's. And thereafter Michael 2 spake to Seth and saith: 'Lay out in this wise every man that dieth till the day of the Resurrection.' And after giving him this rule; he 3 saith to him: 'Mourn not beyond six days, but on the seventh day, rest and rejoice on it, because

li. 2. **Man of God.** Cf. xli.

the Lord rested. Motive here is, if possible, even more Jewish than the injunction. A symbol of Resurrection in Sanh. 97 a (Ginzberg); contrast motive in Hebrews iv. 9. This motive impossible to a Christian; cf. Jubilees ii. 17-21.

xlii. 1. **sealed the tomb.** Slav. + 'and made the sign of the Cross'.

2. **their place** C: 'the heaven' D Arm. (an explanation).

3. **for she knew not.** Motive for Eve's grief same in all versions.

except Seth C: D says 'all slept'. Cf. Apoc. Mos. xxxviii, which contradicts Vit. xlviii.

4. **prayed** C + 'in the hour of her death'.

5. **rule** (*ἀρχὴς*) D: C *ἀρετὴς* ('virtue').

thy handmaid. C only.

didst thou make me. Cf. Gen. ii. 23; 1 Cor. xi. 12.

6. **enter into his tabernacle** D. C 'be buried with his body.'

8. C adds 'and straightway she delivered up her spirit to God': D >.

xliii. 1. **Michael came.** C expands—makes Michael present at her death.

2. **the Resurrection.** Arm. + 'and Advent' (Christian gloss).

3. **rest and rejoice on it** D Arm. Slav.: after these words, however, Arm. reads 'for on this day we rejoice, God and all his angels, besides all the spirits of his creatures, which may be upon the earth'. Cf. 2 En. xlii. 4, xxxii. 2; Test. Abraham ii, iii, vii; 1 En. lxvii. 2; Exod. xxxi. 13; Apoc. Zeph. xx; Sanh. 69b; Test. Sim. viii. 11; Jub. ii. 19-21; 4 Ezra ii. 23. Both the practice, the injunction, and the symbol are typical and commonplace in later Judaism. Even the fires of Gehenna were cooled on the Sabbath (Test. Abrah.). Apoc. Pauli xlv transfers this notion to the 'Lord's Day' (Sunday). Aboda Zara says approach of Sabbath saved Adam from much worse punishment.

THE BOOKS OF ADAM AND EVE

VITA ADAE ET EVAE.

There follows in the following MSS.: II 3, 5, 19, 17, Jean; and Ar. 210, a long story of Solomon finding 'tabulas achiliacas.'

APOCALYPSIS MOSIS.

on that very day, God rejoiceth (yea) and we angels (too) with the righteous soul, who hath passed away from the earth.' Even thus spake 4 the angel, and ascended into heaven, glorifying (God) and saying: 'Allelujah.'

[Holy, holy, holy is the Lord, in the glory of 5 God the Father, for to Him it is meet to give glory, honour and worship, with the eternal life-giving spirit now and always and for ever. Amen.]

[Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Hosts. To whom be glory and power for ever and for ever. Amen.]

[Then the archangel Joel glorified God; saying, 'Holy, Holy, Holy Lord, heaven and earth are full of thy glory.']

4. the angel D C E: Slav. 'archangel Joel'; see note on 'Jael', xxix. 4.

5. Doxologies are later Christian additions. The first paragraph occurs in C, the second in Arm., the third in Slav.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Martyrdom of Isaiah has not survived independently, but as one of the three constituents of the Ascension of Isaiah. In its present form we cannot be sure that the Ascension of Isaiah existed earlier than the latter half of the second century of our era. The three constituents of which it consists are the Martyrdom of Isaiah, the Vision of Isaiah, and the Testament of Hezekiah. The first of these with which we are here mainly concerned was of Jewish origin, and is of less interest than the other two, which were the work of Christian writers.

The Vision of Isaiah—vi—xi. 40 of the Ascension of Isaiah—is important for the knowledge it affords us of first-century beliefs in certain circles as to the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Seven Heavens, &c.

The long-lost Testament of Hezekiah—ii. 13 *b*—iv. 18 of the same work—is of very great value for the insight it gives us into the history of the Christian Church at the close of the first century. Its descriptions of the worldliness and lawlessness which prevailed among clergy, of the covetousness and vainglory and growing heresies among Christians generally, agree with similar accounts in 2 Timothy, 2 Peter, and Clement of Rome (*ad Cor.* iii, xxiii).

The Martyrdom of Isaiah—i. 1–2 *a*, 6 *b*–13 *a*, ii. 1–8, 10—iii. 12, v. 1 *c*–14—is fragmentary. It opens with Hezekiah's summons of Manasseh his son and of Isaiah into his presence in order that the former should receive his dying commands relative to his duty in the coming days (i. 1–2 *a*). But Isaiah assures Hezekiah that all his words will be of none effect inasmuch as Manasseh would become the servant of Beliar and he Isaiah would be sawn asunder by Manasseh, and that no action of Hezekiah's could prevent his martyrdom (i. 6 *b*–13 *a*). On the death of Hezekiah Manasseh turned to evil ways and became the servant of Beliar and caused Israel to sin in every form of witchcraft, and fornication and lawlessness (ii. 1–7). And Isaiah withdrew first to Bethlehem and then to the mountains beyond it, where he and the prophets with him spent two years mourning and fasting because of the apostasy of Israel (ii. 10–16). The false prophet Belchira discovers his retreat and accuses him before Manasseh on three grounds: that he had prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem, that he had claimed to see God, though Moses had said that no man could see God and live, and that he had called Jerusalem Sodom, and its princes and people Gomorrah (iii. 1–12). On account of these things Manasseh caused Isaiah to be sawn asunder with a wood saw, Belchira and the false prophets standing by and deriding him (v. 1 *c*–14).

§ 2 TITLE.

The Martyrdom of Isaiah has, as we have seen, been preserved to us only in a fragmentary form as part of the Ascension of Isaiah. The whole book was known under several names. (*a*) Ἀποκρυφον Ἰσαίου is the designation given to it early in the third century by Origen in his commentary on Matthew xiii. 57 (Lommatzsch, iii. 49) καὶ Ἰσαίας δὲ πεπρίσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ ἱστορήται. εἰ δέ τις οὐ προσίεται τὴν ἱστορίαν διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀποκρύφῳ Ἰσαίᾳ αὐτὴν φέρεσθαι πιστευσάτω τοῖς ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους οὕτω γεγραμμένοις (Heb. xi. 37). See also *Ep. ad Afric.* 9, and the *Constitutiones Apostolicae* vi. 26. (*b*) It was known in the fourth century as τὸ Ἀναβατικὸν Ἰσαίου according to Epiphanius, *Haer.* xl. 2, who says that it was used by his Archontici and his Hieracites. Cf. also lxvii. 3. In like manner Jerome (*Comm. in Isaiam* lxiv. 4) calls it his *Ascensio Isaiae*. (*c*) Again it went by the name Ὁρασις Ἰσαίου as may be inferred from the texts of E S and L² of vi. 1. This designation appears in Montfaucon's and Pitra's list of Canonical and Apocryphal books, and was used by Euthymius Zigabenus in the eleventh century when anathematizing his Massaliani (*Victoria de Massal.* Anath. iv). This title belongs specifically and probably originally only to vi.—xi. 40. (*d*) Finally, it is named the Διαθήκη Ἐζεκίου by Cedrenus I. 120–1. That such a work was incorporated in the *Ascension* might also be inferred from i. 2 *b*–5 *a*, which describe the contents of Hezekiah's vision. This description is applicable to the Christian Apocalypse iii. 13 *b*—iv. 18 and to it alone. The fact, too, that Cedrenus quotes partially iv. 12, 14 and refers to iv. 15–18 of this very section points to the conclusion that such a book existed independently.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

§ 3. THE VERSIONS.

Since the Martyrdom of Isaiah was originally an independent work, we shall deal here only with the Versions of this work and not with those that reproduce the rest of the Ascension of Isaiah.

(a) *The Greek Version.* This version existed in two forms, G¹ and G², as early as the third century. The former is lost, but its characteristics are reproduced by the Ethiopic (= E) and the first Latin Version (= L¹). Phrases and sentences of G¹ from every chapter of the Ascension of Isaiah, except iv, have been preserved by the 'Greek Legend'. This work was found by von Gebhardt in a Greek MS. of the twelfth century, no. 1534 in the National Library at Paris, and published by him in the *ZfWT* 330-53. In my edition of the *Ascension of Isaiah* it is reprinted from Gebhardt's text with one or two necessary emendations, and all the phrases taken directly from G¹ are printed in thick type, and the chapter and verse placed in the margin. Of G² an actual fragment was discovered by Grenfell and Hunt in a papyrus of the fifth or sixth century. On this fragment see my edition, pp. xxviii-xxx, and for the fragment itself, pp. 84-95. G¹ and G² are in turn derived from a lost archetype G, which was known in its original form to the writer of the *Opus Imperfectum*: see pp. xl-xlii of my edition.

(b) *The Ethiopic Version.* This is the only version that preserves in its entirety the Ascension of Isaiah. It is, as I have shown in my edition, derived from G¹. It is a very faithful reproduction of the Greek. So closely does it follow the latter that it can almost always be retranslated without difficulty. Like every version, however, with a long history behind it, it has its defects. As yet only three MSS., *abc*, have been brought to Europe from Abyssinia. The first of these was edited by Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, Oxoniae, 1819, and the whole three by Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae Aethiopice et Latine*, Lipsiae, 1877, and by the present writer, *The Ascension of Isaiah translated from the Ethiopic Version, which, together with the new Greek Fragment, the Latin Versions, and the Latin Translation of the Slavonic, is here published in full*, London, 1900. The last work is based on a fresh and more accurate collation of the MSS.

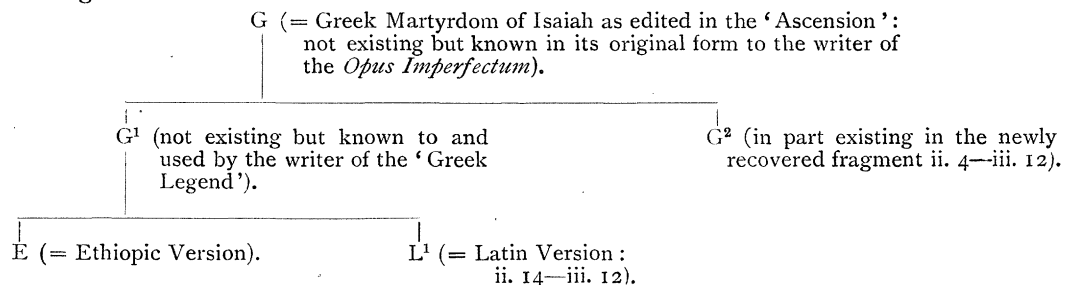
(c) *The Latin Versions.* There were two Latin versions, one of which, L², embraces vi-xi. 1-19, 23-40, the other, L¹, only ii. 14-iii. 13, vii. 1-19. The former was printed by Antonius de Fantis at Venice in 1522 from a MS. now unknown, and reprinted by Gieseler in 1832 and by Dillmann as an appendix to his edition in 1877, and by the present writer with critical notes and corrections in his edition of 1900.

The two smaller fragments, i.e. L¹, which were first edited by Mai in 1828 from a sixth-century Vatican MS., were re-edited by the present writer from a fresh collation of the MS.

A study of E, L¹, L², the 'Greek Legend', and of the Slavonic Version (= S) which exists only for vi-xi proves that E L¹ and the 'Greek Legend' go back to a definite Greek text, which we might name G¹, and that S L² go back similarly to G².

§ 4. RELATIONS OF THE VARIOUS VERSIONS.

Some of these relations have already been briefly indicated in the preceding section. The student will find them dealt with at length in my edition, pp. xviii-xxxiii, xl-xlii. As regards the Martyrdom of Isaiah the textual affinities of all the textual authorities can be shortly summarized in the following table:—



§ 5. THE EXTENT OF THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH.

All writers save Laurence recognize a plurality of authorship in the Ascension of Isaiah, and the independent origin of the Martyrdom of Isaiah. Ewald was the first to distinguish the works of three different authors. Ewald's analysis was remodelled and issued in the following form by Dillmann:—

- i. The Martyrdom of Isaiah, of Jewish origin: ii. 1-iii. 12, v. 2-14.
- ii. The Vision of Isaiah, of Christian origin: vi. 1-xi. 1, 23-40.

INTRODUCTION

iii. The above two constituents were put together by a Christian writer, who prefixed i. 1, 2, 4 *b*—13 and appended xi. 42, 43.

iv. Finally a Christian editor incorporated the two sections iii. 13—v. 1 and xi. 2—22, and added also i. 3, 4 *a*, v. 15, 16, xi. 41.

Dillmann's analysis has on the whole been accepted by Harnack, Schürer, Deane, and Beer. All these scholars have been influenced by Gebhardt's statement that in his 'Greek Legend' there is not a trace of iii. 13—v. 1, xi. 2—22, and that, accordingly, these sections were absent from the text when the 'Greek Legend' was composed. Thus according to Gebhardt, Dillmann's analysis is confirmed by external evidence.

But Gebhardt's statement is wrong; for as I have shown in my edition the writer of the 'Greek Legend' was acquainted with both these sections, inasmuch as he incorporates phrases from iv. 2, 6, 8, 14, 19, xi. 19, 20. Hence Dillmann's analysis can no longer be maintained. With the full discussion of the questions at issue we are not here concerned. It will be sufficient to state the conclusions at which the present writer has arrived in his edition, and these are: 'The conditions of the problem are sufficiently satisfied by supposing a single editor, who had three works at his disposal, the Martyrdom of Isaiah of Jewish origin, and the two independent works, the Testament of Hezekiah (= iii. 13 *b*—iv. 18), and the Vision of Isaiah (= vi—xi. 40), of Christian origin. These he reduced or enlarged as it suited his purpose, and put them together as they stand in our text. Amongst the obvious editorial additions are i. 2 *b*—6 *a*, 13 *a*, ii. 9, iii. 13 *a*, iv. 1 *a*, 19—v. 1 *a*, 15, 16, xi. 41—3.'

We have herein given the extent of the Testament of Hezekiah, and the Vision of Isaiah, but that of the Martyrdom requires investigation. According to Dillmann the latter consists of ii. 1—iii. 12, v. 1 *b*—14. But with this view the present writer cannot agree. Other fragments survive in Chapter i. Thus in ii. 1 the words 'he did not remember the commands of Hezekiah' suggest the questions: What commands are these? and when were they given? Now we find the probable answer to the latter question in i. 1, 2 *a*, in which Hezekiah summons Manasseh before him in the presence of Isaiah and Josab. The answer to the former question is still preserved in our text, though obscurely, owing to editorial additions. Thus in i. 6 *b* we learn that Isaiah gave certain commands to Manasseh. These are referred to in i. 7, ii. 1. What these commands were is not recorded in our book, but they are found in the Latin fragments preserved in the *Opus Imperfectum*, which go back *not to our text but to the original Martyrdom*. There we find the explanation of many difficulties in our text. Thus in the first place we discover the reason for Isaiah summoning Manasseh in the twenty-sixth year; for the Latin supplies it: 'cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam.' In the next place the object with which Hezekiah summoned Manasseh is not, as in our text, to become the depository of certain visions i. 2 *b*—6 *a*, but to receive directions as to his religious duties and the government of the kingdom: 'Vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare, quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa.' But the final editor of the Ascension of Isaiah, whose interests were centred in the visions, omitted these words, and attributed quite a different object to Hezekiah's summons of Manasseh. Hezekiah, he tells us, in i. 2, 6, summoned Manasseh 'in order to deliver unto him the words of righteousness which the king himself had seen' (i. e. iii. 13 *b*—iv. 18), and also those which Isaiah the son of Amoz had given to him (vi—xi. 40). Thus i. 2 *b*—6 *a* was added by the final editor to introduce the Testament of Hezekiah and the Vision of Isaiah.

We have now seen that i. 1, 2 *a*, 6 *b* are derived from the original Martyrdom, but still more of this chapter comes from this source—indeed from 6 *b* to the close. This follows from the Latin passage in the *Opus Imperfectum* which either quotes or implies a knowledge of i. 7, 10, 12, 13. This passage, wherein I have italicized the words that are drawn from our book, runs as follows: 'Providentia autem Dei sic eum dispensavit vocari, quia (ii. 1) *obliturus fuerat omnem conversationem patris sui* sanctam et omnia beneficia Dei pro merito eius collata in ipsum, et (i. 8, ii. 4) *stimulatus ab insurgente diabolo*. . . . Denique cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam, et venisset ad eum Esaias propheta visitandum, (i. 1, 6 *b*) *vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare*, quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa. (i. 7) *Et dixit ad eum Esaias*: vere quia *non descendunt verba tua in cor eius, sed et me ipsum oportet per manum eius interfici*: (i. 10, 12) *Quod audiens Ezechias volebat filium suum interficere*, dicens: Quia melius est me sine filio mori quam talem filium relinquere, qui et Deum exasperet et sanctos eius persequatur. Tenuit autem eum vix *Esaias propheta, dicens*, (i. 13) *irritum faciat Deus consilium tuum hoc*.' (Printed with Chrysostom's works, vi, pp. xx—xxi.—Ed. Montfaucon.)

§ 6. THE DATE.

The Martyrdom is quoted by the *Opus Imperfectum*, Ambrose, Jerome, Origen, Tertullian, and in all probability by Justin Martyr (*Dial. c. Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15 *περὶ τὸν θάνατον Ἡσαίου ὃν πρότερον ἐξέλιψεν ἐπίστατε*). It was not improbably known to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 37). This

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

brings us, if the last reference is trustworthy, to the first century A.D. And this appears to be the right date; for it is unlikely that works written by Jews in the second century should attain to circulation in the Christian Church.

§ 7. AUTHORSHIP AND ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.

The author was a Jew. The details as to the death of Isaiah at the hands of Manasseh are found in the Talmud (*Febamoth* 49 *b*) in a form closely related to that in our text. Thus it is told that Rabbi Simeon ben 'Azzai found in Jerusalem an account of the death of Isaiah at the hands of Manasseh. Manasseh condemned Isaiah to death because he had claimed to see God (Isa. vi. 1 sqq.), whereas according to the Law it was declared that no man could see God and live (Exod. xxxiii. 20). The same passage tells also of Isaiah taking refuge in a cedar tree, and of the cedar being sawn in sunder and Isaiah within it. Another version of the same legend is given in the Jerusalem Talmud (Sanh. x), and still another in Targum on Isaiah quoted by Jolowicz (*Die Himmelfahrt und Vision des Prophets Jesajas*, p. 9). See *Jewish Encyc.*, viii. 636.

It is very probable that the original was written in Hebrew. The Jewish origin of the legend points in this direction, and particularly its recurrence in the Talmud. The following facts also lend confirmation to this hypothesis. In ii. 1 there is a paronomasia of the words 'Manasseh . . . did not remember' = when retranslated into Hebrew: מנשה נשח. Again in i. 8 Malchira is probably a transliteration of מלכירע or מכירע as S. A. Cook has pointed out. In iii. 2 we have the familiar Hebraism καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν . . . καὶ. Finally, 'wooden saw', i. e. πρίων ξύλινος in v. 11, 14, appears to be a mistranslation of עץ משרי, which means a saw for sawing wood. In the Greek Legend iii. 14 it is described as πρίων σίδηρος.

§ 8. THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH IN JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE AND THE ORIENTAL INFLUENCES APPARENT IN IT.

The legend of the Martyrdom of Isaiah took its origin most probably in 2 Kings xxi. 16. Although Josephus does not mention it, it was certainly a Jewish tradition. In Sanh. 103 *b* it is said that Manasseh put Isaiah to death; and in *Jebamoth* 49 *b* that Isaiah was put to death by Manasseh because he declared that he had seen God. There, as in our text, Isaiah is charged with contradicting the words of Moses in Exod. xxxiii. 20. His death also by being sawn in sunder is also recounted. This account is probably drawn ultimately from the Semitic original of our text. Another form of the Legend appears in Jerusalem Talmud (Sanh. x).

The legend was known in the Apostolic age, if, as is generally assumed, we have in Heb. xi. 37 (ἐπίσθησαν) a reference to the specific mode of Isaiah's martyrdom. But, even if this is doubtful, there is the evidence of the *Ascension* (i. 1, 2 *a*, 6—iii. 12, v. 1 *b*—14) which cannot be much later than the middle of the first century A. D. In the next century Justin Martyr most probably quotes from our text (see note on v. 11), while somewhat later frequent references and quotations are found in Origen.

But though the legend is undoubtedly Jewish, it appears to have been derived from Eastern sources. According to the Zamyâd Yast 46 (*S.B.E.* xxiii. 297), Bundahis xxxi. 5, xxxiv. 4 (*op. cit.* v. 131, 150) Yima reigned 616½ years and was then dethroned for his blind pride in accepting divine worship and sawn in two by the serpent of three heads, Azhi Dahâka. In the Persian work 'The History of King Djemchid and the Devas' which Larionoff translated into French from the Persian (*Journal Asiat.* pp. 59–83, 1889) we find a nearly related legend. When Djemchid's throne was seized by Zohak, the man of serpents, he fled into the wilderness. One hundred years later Ahriman and Biver (i. e. Zohak) having come upon him there, God caused a tree to open itself, in order that Djemchid might conceal himself therein. Notwithstanding, through the help of Iblis they discovered his hiding-place and had the tree sawn in twain, and so Djemchid was killed. This legend appears to have directly influenced the Talmudic accounts of the martyrdom of Isaiah exactly in the points wherein they differ from that in our text.

§ 9. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

For complete bibliography see the present writer's edition of the *Ascension of Isaiah* and Schürer³ iii. 283–5.

(a) The chief editions of the texts of the Ancient Versions will be found under § 3.

(b) *Critical Inquiries* (dealing with the Ascension of Isaiah as a whole and with its parts). Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, 1819, pp. 141–80; Nitzsch, *Stud. und Krit.*, 1830, pp. 209–46; Lücke, *Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1852, pp. 274–302; Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae*, 1877, pp. v–xviii; Stokes, art. 'Ascension of Isaiah' in *Dict. of Christian Biography*, 1882, iii. 298–301; Deane, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1891, pp. 236–75; Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristl. Litteratur*, i. 854–6; ii. 573–9, 714; Clemen, 'Die Himmelfahrt des Jesaja,' *ZfWT*, 1896, pp. 388–415; 1897, pp. 455–65; Robinson, 'Ascension of Isaiah' in *Hastings' Bible Dictionary*, ii. 499–501; Beer, *Apok. und Pseudep.*, 1900, ii. 119–23; Littmann, *Jewish Encyc.*, 1904, vi. 642–3.

(c) *Editions*. Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiae Vatis*, 1819; Dillmann, *Ascensio Isaiae*, 1877; Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah translated from the Ethiopic Version, which, together with the New Greek Fragment, the Latin Versions, and the Latin Translation of the Slavonic Version, is here published in full*, 1900.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH

1¹ And it came to pass in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Hezekiah king of Judah that he
2 called Manasseh his son. Now he was his only one. And he called him into the presence of
Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet; and into the presence of Jôsâb the son of Isaiah.
6 b, 7 And whilst he (*Hezekiah*) gave commands, Jôsâb the son of Isaiah standing by, Isaiah said to
the king, but not in the presence of Manasseh only did he say unto him: ‘As the Lord
liveth, whose name has not been sent into this world, [and as the Beloved of my Lord liveth], and as
the Spirit which speaketh in me liveth, all these commands and these words shall be made of none
effect by Manasseh thy son, and through the agency of his hands I shall depart mid the torture of
8 my body. And Sammael Malchîrâ shall serve Manasseh, and execute all his desire, and he shall
9 become a follower of Beliar rather than of me. And many in Jerusalem and in Judaea he shall
cause to abandon the true faith, and Beliar shall dwell in Manasseh, and by his hands I shall be
10 sawn asunder.’ And when Hezekiah heard these words he wept very bitterly, and rent his garments,
11 and placed earth upon his head, and fell on his face. And Isaiah said unto him: ‘The counsel of
12 Sammael against Manasseh is consummated: nought shall avail thee.’ And on that day Hezekiah

1. 1. ‘in the twenty-fifth year’, according to the *Greek Legend*.

2. **Isaiah the son of Amoz the prophet.** Amoz אִמּוֹץ the father of Isaiah seems here to be confused with Amos the prophet עֲמוֹס. The LXX uses Ἀμώς for both, and the Asc. Isa. iv. 22 and Megilla 10^b both regard Isaiah as a prophet’s son. According to the latter the father of Isaiah and King Amaziah were brothers.

Jôsâb, i. e. Shear-jashub, Isa. vii. 3.

the son of Isaiah. The editorial addition 2^b–6^a that here follows is omitted as being of Christian origin. See my edition, p. 2.

6. **commands.** Cf. ii. 1.

7. **and as the Beloved . . . liveth.** This is an addition by the Christian editor who thus converts a reference to the transcendence of God into a doctrinal statement about the Trinity.

depart. + ‘from life’, *Greek Legend*, i. 8.

8. **Sammael סַמְאֵל.** Originally an archangel, he enticed the serpent to tempt Eve in order to make the earth his kingdom, Jalkut Shim Beresh. 25. He became a chief Satan, Debarim rabba, 11; and the angel of death, Targ. Jer. on Gen. iii. 6. See Weber’s *Jüd. Theologie*, 169, 218, 219, 253.

Malchîrâ. This appears to be a surname of Sammael, cf. Asc. Isa. xi. 41 ‘Sammael Satan.’ But it also appears as a variant of the name Balchîrâ in v. 8 below. S. A. Cook in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Jan. 1901, p. 168, suggests מַלְכִּירָע or מַלְכִּירָע, ‘evil king’ or ‘evil angel’. Beer in Kautzsch’s *Pseudepigr. des A. T.* suggests that that Bechira (see ii. 12) = Bevir, the other name of Zohak, the man of serpents, the associate of Ahriman in the persecution of Djemchid.

serve Manasseh. The idea of demons being at the behest of men seems out of place here. On the other hand Belchîrâ’s service of Manasseh is equally unsuitable.

Beliar. Cf. i. 9; ii. 4; iii. 11; v. 4 (*ac*). E corruptly reads ‘Berial’. He is the chief of the evil spirits, and the opponent of Christ, 2 Cor. vi. 15; cf. Jub. i. 20, xv. 33; Sib. Or. ii. 167 (to come as Antichrist), iii. 63–73, (to proceed from the emperors of Rome, working signs and deceiving the elect, and finally to be burnt up); Test. xii Patr. *passim*. For the etymology see *Encycl. Bibl.* 525–7.

Note Sammael’s relation to Beliar. They are alike in taking possession of Manasseh, ii. 1 and i. 9, iii. 11. But Sammael is inferior, as he exerts himself to make Manasseh subject to Beliar i. 8 (ii. 1, 4).

9. **Beliar.** ‘Satan,’ *Greek Legend* i. 9.

10. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* i. 10.

11. **Sammael.** ‘Satan,’ *Gk. Leg.* i. 11.

12. **And on that day.** ‘on this day and’ *b c*, ‘on those words’ *a*; ‘and in that hour’ *Gk. Leg.*

I–II. 1. We may compare for the diction as well as the sense of many clauses in I–II. 1 the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthaum Homil. I* (printed with Chrysostom’s works, vol. VI, pp. xx–xxi, Montfaucon). ‘Providentia autem Dei sic eum dispensavit vocari, quia obliturus fuerat omnem conversationem patris sui (ii. 1) sanctam et . . . stimulatus ab insurgente diabolo (i. 8, ii. 4) . . . : Denique cum aegrotasset Ezechias in tempore quodam, et venisset ad eum Esaias propheta visitandum, vocavit Ezechias filium suum Manassen et coepit ei mandare (i. 1, 6^b), quod debeat Deum timere, quomodo regere regnum et alia multa. Et dixit ad eum Esaias: vere quia non descendunt verba tua in cor eius; sed et me ipsum oportet per manum eius interfici (i. 7). Quod audiens Ezechias volebat filium suum interficere (i. 12) dicens: quia melius est me sine filio mori quam talem filium relinquere, qui et Deum exasperet et sanctos eius persequatur. Tenuit autem eum vix Esaias propheta, dicens: irritum faciat Deus consilium tuum (i. 13) hoc, videns Ezechiae religionem, quia plus amabat Deum quam filium suum.’

8–12. For a different account of this interview of Isaiah and Hezekiah see Berachoth, 10 a. ‘What is the meaning of the words “Thou shalt die and not live?” “Thou shalt die in this world and not live in the next world.” He said: “Wherefore is all this?” He answered him: “Because thou hast not preached fruitfulness and increase.” He rejoined: “Because it was revealed to me by the Holy Spirit that unprofitable children would spring from me.” He replied: “What concern hast thou in the secrets of the All Merciful? Thou shouldst have done what was commanded thee, and the Holy One, blessed be He, may do what pleases Him.” He replied thereto: “Give me thy daughter: perhaps my merits and thine together will bring it about that profitable children may spring from me.” Then replied he: “The judgment is already determined regarding thee.”’

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH 1. 13—2. 12

- 13 resolved in his heart to slay Manasseh his son. And Isaiah said to Hezekiah: ['The Beloved hath made of none effect thy design, and] the purpose of thy heart shall not be accomplished, for with this calling have I been called [and I shall inherit the heritage of the Beloved].'
- 2 1 And it came to pass after that Hezekiah died and Manasseh became king, that he did not remember the commands of Hezekiah his father but forgot them, and Sammael abode in Manasseh and clung fast to him. And Manasseh forsook the service of the God of his father, and he served Satan and his angels and his powers. And he turned aside the house of his father which had been before the face of Hezekiah <from> the words of wisdom and **from** the service of God. And Manasseh turned aside his heart to serve Beliar; for the angel of lawlessness, who is the ruler of this world, is Beliar, whose name is Matanbûchûs. And he delighted in Jerusalem because of Manasseh, and he made him strong in apostatizing (Israel) and in the lawlessness which was spread abroad in Jerusalem. And witchcraft and magic increased and divination and auguration, and fornication, [and adultery], and the persecution of the righteous by Manasseh and [Belachîrâ, and] Tobia the Canaanite, and John of Anathoth, and by <Zadok> the chief of the works. And the rest of the acts, behold they are written in the book of the Kings of Judah and Israel. And when Isaiah the son of Amoz saw the lawlessness which was being perpetrated in Jerusalem and the worship of Satan and his wantonness, he withdrew from Jerusalem and settled in Bethlehem of Judah. And there also there was much lawlessness, and withdrawing from Bethlehem he settled on a mountain in a desert place. [And Micaiah the prophet, and the aged Ananias, and Joel and Habakkuk, and his son Jôsâb, and many of the faithful who believed in the ascension into heaven, withdrew and settled on the mountain.] They were all clothed with garments of hair, and they were all prophets. And they had nothing with them but were naked, and they all lamented with a great lamentation because of the going astray of Israel. And these eat nothing save wild herbs which they gathered on the mountains, and having cooked them, they lived thereon together with Isaiah the prophet. And they spent two years of 12 days on the mountains and hills. [And after this, whilst they were in the desert, there was a certain man in Samaria named Belchîrâ, of the family of Zedekiah, the son of Chenaan, a false prophet whose dwelling was in Bethlehem. Now †Hezekiah† the son of Chanânî, who was the brother of his father, and in the days of Ahab king of Israel had been the teacher of the 400 prophets of Baal,

13. ['The Beloved hath . . . Beloved']. Editorial additions like 2^b-6^a.
- II. 1. **Manasseh . . . forgot.** Cf. for the play on the words Gen. xli. 51; also the *Opus Imperf.*, and *Gk. Leg.* iii. 2. **commands of Hezekiah.** See i. 6.
- Sammael.** See i. 8 (note).
2. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 2. A Jewish legend makes Manasseh remove the sacred name from the scriptures.
3. So the Ethiopic text. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3 ἐξέκλινε πάντα τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λατρείας καὶ προσκυνήσεως. Beer not so well renders 'changed in the house . . . all that had been', &c.
- from,** supplied as in *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3.
4. **Beliar the angel of lawlessness.** Cf. Asc. Isa. iv. 2 'lawless king'; 2 Thess. ii. 3 'the man of lawlessness' (= the Antichrist).
- Beliar the ruler of this world.** Cf. John xii. 31, xvi. 11; 2 Cor. iv. 4; also Eph. vi. 12 κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, also ii. 2.
- Matanbûchûs.** ac. 'Metanbakas' b. In v. 3 it occurs as Mechêmbêchûs.
- in apostatizing.** But ἐν ἀποστάσει Ɔ². Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 9.
5. See 2 Chron. xxxiii. 6 (LXX) ἐκκληρονομήσατο καὶ ἐφάρμακεύετο καὶ οἰωνίζετο, also 2 Kings xxi. 6. Cf. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3.
- and adultery.** > Ɔ and *Gk. Leg.* iii. 3.
- persecution.** Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 16.
- Belachîrâ and.** > Ɔ. A premature mention, see ii. 12.
- Anathoth.** See *Encycl. Bibl.* in loc.
- Zadok.** Ɔ only.
6. 2 Kings xxi. 17; &c.
7. **wantonness** E; πομπήν Ɔ; ἀσωτίαν *Gk. Leg.* iii. 8.
9. An editorial addition from Asc. Isa. vi. 7; 'withdrew . . . mountain' is from ver. 8 here; 'his son' and 'many of the faithful . . . heaven' are the editor's own.
11. **herbs.** Cf. 2 Kings iv. 38 ff. This asceticism was a preparation for visions and revelations. Cf. Dan. x. 2, 3; 4 Ezra ix. 26, xii. 51.
- 12-16. Belchîrâ and his history. 12-16 is an insertion and interrupts the narrative of ii. 11-iii. 1.
12. **Belchîrâ,** ii. 5, 12, 16; iii. 1, 6, 12; v. 2, 3, 4, 5, 12. The Greek Papyrus gives four different forms Βελιχειάρ, Βελχειρά, Βεχειρά, and Μελχειρά. The *Gk. Leg.* gives Βελχειράς (iii. 10), the Latin *Bechira*. The Ethiopic varies even more. The most probable original is Melchîrâ or Melchiah. See i. 8 (note). Beer prefers Bechira. But the *Gk. Leg.* often mentions a false prophet Μελχίας. Perhaps there was a confusion between the demon's and the false prophet's names. Or more probably the tempter and tormentor of the prophet is regarded as an impersonation of the devil. See v. 9, 10. Isaiah calls him Διάβολος in *Gk. Leg.* iii. 18. Ambrose on Ps. cxviii. uses diabolus. See v. 4 (note).
- Zedekiah, the son of Chenaan.** See 1 Kings xxii. 11.
- Bethlehem.** 'Bethany' Ɔ.
- †**Hezekiah† the son of Chanânî** E. Read 'Zedekiah,' as in Gk. Frag. For the variation cf. *Chron. Pasch.* 98 B ἦσαν ψευδοπροφήται Ἐζεκίας . . . καὶ ἄλλα and 96 C ψευδοπροφήται Σεδεκίας . . . καὶ ἄλλοι τετρακόσιοι.
- the 400 prophets of Baal.** Cf. Chron. Pasch. l. c. Really the fellow-prophets of Zedekiah in 1 Kings xxii. 6 are nominally prophets of the Lord, and he is not connected with the 400 of Baal in 1 Kings xviii. 22.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH 2. 13—3. 10

- 13 had himself smitten and reproved Micaiah the son of Amâdâ the prophet. And he, Micaiah, had been reproved by Ahab and cast into prison. <And he was> with Zedekiah the prophet : they were
 14 with Ahaziah the son of **Ahab, king in Samaria**. And Elijah the prophet of Têbôn of Gilead was reproving Ahaziah and Samaria, and prophesied regarding Ahaziah that he should die on his bed of sickness, and that Samaria should be delivered into the hand of Leba Nâsr because he had slain
 15 the prophets of God. And when the false prophets, who were with Ahaziah the son of Ahab and
 16 their teacher Gemarias of Mount †Joel† had heard—now he was brother of Zedekiah—when they had heard, they persuaded Ahaziah the king of †Aguaron† and *slew* Micaiah.
- 3** 1 And Belchîrâ recognized and saw the place of Isaiah and the prophets who were with him ; for he dwelt in the region of Bethlehem, and was an adherent of Manasseh. And he prophesied falsely in Jerusalem, and many belonging to Jerusalem were confederate with him, and he was a Samaritan.
 2 And it came to pass when Alagar Zagâr, king of Assyria, had come and captured Samaria and taken the nine <and a half> tribes captive, and led them away to the mountains of the Medes and the
 3 rivers of Tâzôn ; this (*Belchîrâ*) while still a youth, had escaped and come to Jerusalem in the days of Hezekiah king of Judah, but he walked not in the ways of his father of Samaria ; for he feared
 4 Hezekiah. And he was found in the days of Hezekiah speaking words of lawlessness in Jerusalem.
 5 And the servants of Hezekiah accused him, and he made his escape to the region of Bethlehem.
 6 And they persuaded . . . And Belchîrâ accused Isaiah and the prophets who were with him, saying : ‘ Isaiah and those who are with him prophesy against Jerusalem and against the cities of Judah that they shall be laid waste and <against the children of Judah and> Benjamin also that they shall go into captivity, and also against thee, O lord the king, that thou shalt go (*bound*) with hooks
 7, 8 and iron chains’ : But they prophesy falsely against Israel and Judah. And Isaiah himself hath
 9 said : ‘ I see more than Moses the prophet.’ But Moses said : ‘ No man can see God and live’ :
 10 and Isaiah hath said : ‘ I have seen God and behold I live.’ Know, therefore, O king, that he is lying. And Jerusalem also he hath called Sodom, and the princes of Judah and Jerusalem he hath

smitten, &c. 1 Kings xxii. 24.

Amâdâ = Imlah.

13. And he was. \mathfrak{C}^2 supplies.

Ahab, king in Samaria. Alamerem balalâ’aw E ; ’Αλά(μ) ἐν Σεμωμα \mathfrak{C}^2 . For ‘Alam’ = ‘Ahab’ see \mathfrak{C}^2
 ii. 15. balalâ’aw = probably basala’aw, i.e. βασιλέως. The ‘-erem’ is explicable from ἐν Σεμωμα \mathfrak{C}^2 as ‘in Samaria’.

14. Elijah is introduced here unexpectedly.

of Têbôn of Gilead. Cf. 1 Kings xvii. 1 (LXX) ὁ Θεσβεῖτης ἐκ Θεσβῶν τῆς Γαλαάδ, and Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 13. 2 ἐκ πόλεως Θεσβώνης τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος χώρας. This Thisbe is mentioned in Tobit i. 2. For the omission of ὁ Θεσβεῖτης cf. MS. A of the LXX. The Massoretic punctuation in 1 Kings xvii. 1 of כְּתוּבֵי = ‘of the sojourners of’.

prophesied regarding Ahaziah. 2 Kings i. 1–6.

Leba Nâsr. Corrupt for Salmanassar. Cf. 2 Bar. lxii. 6 and 4 Ezra xiii. 40.

15. Gemarias \mathfrak{L}^1 ; Jâlerjâs E ; ’Ιαλλαρίας \mathfrak{C}^2 ; corruptly Joel E ; Ισααλ \mathfrak{C}^2 ; Efrem \mathfrak{L}^1 . Here again the Latin version gives the easier reading. S. A. Cook, *Journ. R. Asiatic Soc.*, Jan. 1901, p. 168, suggests that Joel is a corruption of Ebal and Efrem of Gerizim, or that Rephaim (Joshua xv. 8) and Jeruel (2 Chron. xx. 16) are referred to. Probably, however, Joel is corrupt for Israel, for which \mathfrak{L}^1 boldly substitutes the familiar phrase ‘Efrem’ after ‘mount’.

16. now he \mathfrak{L}^1 ; now Ībchîrâ E (*a*) ; now Βεχχειρά \mathfrak{C}^2 . \mathfrak{L}^1 makes Gemarias the brother of Zedekiah, E and \mathfrak{C}^2 make Belchîrâ, though in ver. 12 he is said to be his nephew.

†Aguaron† E ; Gomorrha \mathfrak{C}^2 \mathfrak{L}^1 . Probably עֲמֹרָה was misread עֲמֹרָה (Cooke). If so, restore ‘Samaria’.

III. 1. And Belchîrâ recognized. \mathfrak{C}^2 \mathfrak{L}^1 .

2. Alagar Zagâr. i.e. Salmanassar. Cf. ii. 14.

and a half. \mathfrak{C}^2 \mathfrak{L}^1 . Cf. 2 Bar. lxii. 5 ; lxxvii. 19 ; lxxviii. 1 ; 4 Ezra xiii. 40 (Syr. and Arab.). > and a half E.

mountains \mathfrak{C}^2 \mathfrak{L}^1 ; ‘boundaries (?)’ E. Cf. LXX and Mass. in 2 Kings xvii. 6.

Tâzôn = Gozan. 2 Kings xvii. 6.

5. they persuaded \mathfrak{C}^2 ; ‘he persuaded’ E. Who the ‘they’ are is uncertain. Perhaps the false prophets persuaded Belchîrâ.

6. those E ; ‘the prophets’ \mathfrak{C}^2 \mathfrak{L}^1 .

against the children of Judah and. Restored from \mathfrak{L}^1 .

with hooks and iron chains. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 (LXX ‘bonds’ not ‘hooks’).

7. Judah + ‘and Jerusalem’ \mathfrak{L}^1 ; ‘and Benjamin they hate, and their word is evil against Judah and Israel’ \mathfrak{C}^2 .

8–9. Cf. Origen, *In Isaiam Homil.* i. 5 ‘Aiunt ideo Isaiam esse sectum a populo quasi legem praevaricantem et extra scripturas annuntiantem. Scriptura enim dicit : “Nemo videbit faciem meum et vivet.” Iste vero ait : “Vidi Dominum Sabaoth.” Moses, aiunt, non vidit et tu vidisti? Et propter hoc eum secuerunt et condemnauerunt ut impium.’

9. No man, &c. Exod. xxxiii. 20.

I have seen God. Isa. vi. 1.

10. he is lying. \mathfrak{C}^2 \mathfrak{L}^1 . ‘they are lying prophets’ E.

Jerusalem . . . Sodom, &c. Cf. Isa. i. 10. Cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Ies.* i. 10 ‘aiunt Hebraei ob duas causas interfectum Isaiam : quod principes Sodomorum et populum Gomorrhæ eos appellaverit, et quod, Domino dicente ad Mosen Non poteris videre faciem meam, iste ausus sit dicere Vidi dominum sedentem super thronum excelsum et elevatum.’ Cf. Jebam. 49 b.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ISAIAH 3. 10—5. 14

declared to be the people of Gomorrah. And he brought many accusations against Isaiah and the
11 prophets before Manasseh. But Beliar dwelt in the heart of Manasseh and in the heart of the
12 princes of Judah and Benjamin and of the eunuchs and of the councillors of the king. And the
words of Belchîrâ pleased him [exceedingly], and he sent and seized Isaiah.
5 1 b, 2 And he sawed him asunder with a wood-saw. And when Isaiah was being sawn in sunder
Balchîrâ stood up, accusing him, and all the false prophets stood up, laughing and rejoicing because
3 of Isaiah. And Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs, stood up before Isaiah, [laughing]
4 deriding; And Belchîrâ said to Isaiah: 'Say: "I have lied in all that I have spoken, and likewise
5 the ways of Manasseh are good and right. And the ways also of Balchîrâ and of his associates are
6, 7 good."' And this he said to him when he began to be sawn in sunder. But Isaiah was (absorbed)
8 in a vision of the Lord, and though his eyes were open, he saw them <not>. And Balchîrâ spake
thus to Isaiah: 'Say what I say unto thee and I will turn their heart, and I will compel Manasseh
9 and the princes of Judah and the people and all Jerusalem to reverence thee.' And Isaiah answered
and said: 'So far as I have utterance (I say): Damned and accursed be thou and all thy powers and
10, 11 all thy house. For thou canst not take (from me) aught save the skin of my body.' And they
12 seized and sawed in sunder Isaiah, the son of Amoz, with a wood-saw. And Manasseh and
13 Balchîrâ and the false prophets and the princes and the people [and] all stood looking on. And to
the prophets who were with him he said before he had been sawn in sunder: 'Go ye to the region
14 of Tyre and Sidon; for for me only hath God mingled the cup.' And when Isaiah was being
sawn in sunder, he neither cried aloud nor wept, but his lips spake with the Holy Spirit until he
was sawn in twain.

11. Beliar. See i. 9 (note).

12. exceedingly. E only.

V. 2. wood-saw. See note on ver. 11.

3. Balchîrâ, with the aid of Mechêmbêchûs. So all MSS. But the verbs following are in the plural. For Mechêmbêchûs see ii. 4.

laughing, a doublet.

4-8. Balchîrâ *b* (or 'Beliar' *ac*) tempts Isaiah.

4. Cf. Ambrose, *Comm.* on Ps. cxviii (ed. Bened. vol. i. 1124): 'ferunt quod Esaiae, in carcere posito cum mole imminentis urgeretur exitii, dixisse diabolum: Dic quia non a Domino locutus es, quae dixisti, et omnium in te mentes affectusque mutabo, ut qui indignantur iniuriam absolutionem in te conferant.'

7. saw . . . not. Negative supplied as in Asc. Isa. vi. 10.

8. Balchîrâ *b c*. Milchîras' *a*. See ii. 12 (note).

9. So far . . . accursed *b*. 'So far as I am concerned, accursed—that is to say—' *a*. The curse is against the false prophet as man ('house') and as an emissary of Satan ('powers'). Cf. κατὰ θεμά σοι, Μελέχια ψευδοπροφήτα, διάβολε, *Gk. Leg.* iii. 18. Cf. also Matt. xvi. 23.

11. a wood-saw. For the sawing asunder of Isaiah cf. Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15; Tert. *De Patientia*, 14 'His patientiae viribus secatur Esaias et de Domino non secatur'; *Scorpiae* 8. A 'wooden saw' E, *Gk. Leg.* iii. 19, Justin, *Dial. c. Tryph.* cxx. 14, 15 περί τὸν θάνατον Ἠσαίου, ὃν πρίον ξυλίνῳ ἐπίσκατε, &c., is a misunderstanding of מִשּׁוֹר עֵץ, which is a saw for sawing wood, whether of iron or any other metal. *Gk. Leg.* iii. 14 has πρίονι σιδηρῷ.

12. and—an intrusion.

13. the cup. Cf. Matt. xx. 22.

14. neither cried aloud nor wept. Cf. 'patientiae viribus,' Tert. *I. c.*

BOOK OF ENOCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

It is seldom that authors attain to the immortality which they hope for, and it is still more seldom that anonymous authors achieve this distinction. And yet it is just such a distinction that the authors of the Book of Enoch have achieved. That such should be ultimately his lot was the deep-rooted conviction of one of this literary circle. He looked forward (civ. 11-12) to the time when his writings would be translated into various languages, and become to the righteous 'a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom'. This hope was to a large degree realized in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, when the currency of these apocalyptic writings was very widespread, because they almost alone represented the advance of the higher theology in Judaism, which culminated in Christianity.¹ But our book contained much of a questionable character, and from the fourth century of our era onward it fell into discredit; and under the ban of such authorities as Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine, it gradually passed out of circulation, and became lost to the knowledge of Western Christendom till over a century ago, when an Ethiopic version of the work was found in Abyssinia by Bruce, who brought home three MSS. of it, from one of which Laurence made the first modern translation of Enoch. It was not, however, till recent years that the Book of Enoch and similar works have begun to come into their own owing to their immeasurable value as being practically the only historical memorials of the religious development of Judaism from 200 B. C. to 100 A. D., and particularly of the development of that side of Judaism, to which historically Christendom in large measure owes its existence.

The Book of Enoch is for the history of theological development the most important pseudepigraph of the first two centuries B. C. Some of its authors—and there were many—belonged to the true succession of the prophets, and it was simply owing to the evil character of the period, in which their lot was cast, that these enthusiasts and mystics, exhibiting on occasions the inspiration of the O.T. prophets, were obliged to issue their works under the aegis of some ancient name. The Law which claimed to be the highest and final word from God could tolerate no fresh message from God, and so, when men were moved by the Spirit of God to make known their visions relating to the past, the present, and the future, and to proclaim the higher ethical truths they had won, they could not do so openly, but were forced to resort to pseudonymous publication.

To describe in short compass the Book of Enoch is impossible. It comes from many writers and almost as many periods. It touches upon every subject that could have arisen in the ancient schools of the prophets, but naturally it deals with these subjects in an advanced stage of development. Nearly every religious idea appears in a variety of forms, and, if these are studied in relation to their contexts and dates, we cannot fail to observe that in the age to which the Enoch literature belongs there is movement everywhere, and nowhere dogmatic fixity and finality. And though at times the movement may be reactionary, yet the general trend is onward and upward. In fact the history of the development of the higher theology during the two centuries before the Christian era could not be written without the Book of Enoch.

From what has been already said it is clear that no unity of time, authorship, or teaching is to be looked for. Indeed, certain considerable portions of the book belonged originally not to the Enoch literature at all, but to an earlier work, i. e. the Book of Noah, which probably exhibited in some degree the syncretism of the work into which it was subsequently incorporated. This Book of Noah clearly embraced chapters vi-xi, liv. 7-lv. 2, lx, lxv-lxix. 25, cvi-cvii.²

¹ Nearly all the writers of the New Testament were familiar with it, and were more or less influenced by it in thought and diction. It is quoted as a genuine production of Enoch by St. Jude, and as Scripture by St. Barnabas. The authors of the Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Baruch, and 4 Ezra, laid it under contribution. With the earlier Fathers and Apologists it had all the weight of a canonical book.

² Portions have been preserved in Jubilees vii. 20-39, x. 1-15, but the date of this Noachic literature is at latest pre-Maccabean.

BOOK OF ENOCH

As regards the Enoch elements, the oldest portions of it are likewise pre-Maccabean, i. e. xii-xxxvi, and probably xc. 1-10, xci. 12-17, i. e. the Apocalypse of Weeks. The Dream Visions, i. e. lxxxiii-xc, were in all probability written when Judas the Maccabee was still warring, 165-161 B. C., lxxii-lxxxii before 110 B. C., the Parables, xxxvii-lxxi and xci-civ, 105-64 B. C.

The authors of all the sections belong to the Chasids or their successors the Pharisees.

Conflicting views are advanced on the Messiah, the Messianic kingdom, the origin of sin, Sheol, the final judgement, the resurrection, and the nature of the future life. There is an elaborate angelology and demonology, and much space is devoted to the calendar, and the heavenly bodies and their movements. Babylonian influences are here manifest and in a slight degree Greek.

The Book of Enoch, like the Book of Daniel, was written originally partly in Aramaic and partly in Hebrew. From an Aramaic original is derived vi-xxxvi, and possibly lxxxiii-xc, while the rest of the book comes from a Hebrew original. To determine these questions categorically is a task of no little difficulty, seeing that for four-fifths of the text we have only a translation of a translation, and that such close affinities exist between Hebrew and Aramaic. For the resemblances between the two languages are so great that frequently retranslation from the Ethiopic into either is sufficient to explain corruptions in the former. There has accordingly been great divergence of opinion on this question, but in the opinion of the present writer, who has spent considerable time on the problem, the balance of evidence is decidedly in favour of the view above stated.

In the course of his studies it suddenly dawned upon the writer that much of the text was originally written in verse. This discovery has frequently proved helpful in the criticism of difficult passages, and the recovery of the original in a multitude of cases.

§ 2. THE TITLE.

Our book appears under various titles, which may be briefly enumerated as follows:

1°. *Enoch*. Jude 14 ἐπροφήτευσεν . . . ἔβδωμος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ Ἐνὼχ λέγων.

Ep. Barn. ix. 3 ὡς Ἐνὼχ λέγει.

Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dindorf iii. 456) ὁ Δανιὴλ λέγει ὁμοδόξων τῷ Ἐνὼχ: also in iii. 474.

Origen, *In Ioannem* vi. 25 ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ γέγραπται: *Contra Celsum* v. 54 τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ γεγραμμένων.

Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* ii. 20 'ut Enoch refert'; *De Idol.* iv 'Enoch praedicens' xv; 'Spiritus . . . praececinuit per . . . Enoch.'

Anatolius of Laodicaea (cited by Eus. *H. E.* vii. 32. 19 τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἐνὼχ μαθήματα).

2°. *The Books of Enoch*. This is probably the oldest title. The fifth section of the book itself opens with the words: xcii. 1 'The book written by Enoch'. cviii. 1 begins: 'Another book which Enoch wrote.' In lxxxii. 1 Enoch says to Methuselah: 'All these things I am recounting to thee . . . and given thee books concerning all these: so preserve . . . the books from thy father's hands.' xiv. 1 'The book of the words of righteousness'. The third section, i. e. lxxii. 1, begins 'The book of the courses of the luminaries'. These passages imply a plurality of books.

But though apparently the oldest title, it has not the oldest independent attestation. It is found in the following works:

T. Jud. xviii. 1 (β A S¹) ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου.

T. Lev. x. 5 (A) = καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνὼχ.

Origen, *Contra Celsum* v. 54 τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα τοῦ Ἐνὼχ βιβλία: *In Num. Homil.* xxviii. 2 'In libellis qui appellantur Enoch'.

Pistis Sophia 'ea in secundo libro teu, quae scripsit Enoch'.

Syncellus (*Chronographia*, ed. Dind.), i. 19 ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου βιβλίου τοῦ Ἐνὼχ. The same phrase recurs in i. 20, 48. Cf. i. 42 ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου λόγου Ἐνὼχ. Here and in the preceding work the division of Enoch into books is clearly recognized. There were five such divisions or books; see § 6.

3°. *Book of Enoch*. This title is found in:

T. Levi x. 5 (a, d e g) καθὼς περιέχει ἡ (> a b f) βίβλος Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου.

Origen, *De Princ.* i. 3. 3 'In Enoch libro': iv. 35 'in libro suo Enoch ita ait'.

Hilary, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3 'Fertur id de quo etiam nescio cuius liber exstat'.

Jerome, *De Viris illustr.* iv 'De libro Enoch qui apocryphus est'.

Syncellus, *op. cit.* i. 60 ὡς ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἐνὼχ φέρεται. But this title may refer merely to one of the books of Enoch, and so come under 2°.

3°. *Words of Enoch*. This title has the oldest external attestation. Jub. xxi. 10, 'For thus I have found it written in the books of my forefathers and in the words of Enoch, and in the words of Noah.'

INTRODUCTION

T. Benj. ix. 1 ἀπὸ λογίων (= λόγων β-*d*) Ἐνὸχ τοῦ δικαίου. This title finds some justification in 1 Enoch i. 1 'words of the blessing of Enoch'; xiv. 1 'book of the words of righteousness.'

4°. *Writing of Enoch*:

T. Lev. xiv. 1 (β A), ἔγνων ἀπὸ γραφῆς Ἐνὸχ. See also in T. Sim. v. 4, T. Naph. iv. 1.

Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* i. 3 'scio scripturam Enoch . . . cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de domino praedicarit.'

§ 3. ITS CANONICITY.

The citations of Enoch by the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and by the Book of Jubilees shows that at the close of the second century B.C., and during the first century B.C., this book was regarded in certain circles as inspired. When we come down to the first century A.D., we find that it is recognized as Scripture by Jude. See under § 2, 1°. In the next century this recognition is given amply in the Ep. Barnabas xvi. 5 λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή; by Athenagoras, *Legatio pro Christianis* 24 ὁ τοῖς προφήταις ἐκπεφώνηται (referring to Enoch); in the third century by Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Prophet.* ii, see § 2, 1°; by Irenaeus iv. 16. 2 'Enoch . . . placens Deo . . . legatione ad angelos fungebatur'; by Tertullian, *De Cultu Fem.* i. 3, *De Idol.* xv, see § 2, 1°; by Zosimus of Panopolis, quoted in Syncellus (Dind. i. 24) τοῦτο οὖν ἔφασαν αἱ ἀρχαῖαι καὶ αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί, ὅτι ἄγγελοί τινες ἐπεθύμησαν τῶν γυναικῶν. After the third century the Book of Enoch fell into discredit and gradually passed out of circulation.

§ 4. THE MSS.

- a. Bodley, No. 4. Large quarto. 40 foll. 3 cols. 105 chapters. Latter half of eighteenth century. Enoch only.
- b. Bodley, No. 5. Large quarto. 141 foll. 3 cols. Eighteenth century (?). Enoch (98 chapters), Job, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets, Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Daniel.
- c. Frankfort MS. Rüpp. II. 1. 34 × 30 cm. 181 foll. 3 cols. Eighteenth century. In several hands. Enoch (98 chapters), Job, Octateuch.
- d. Curzon MS. Quarto. 91 foll. 2 cols. Enoch (102 chapters), Job, Daniel, 4 Ezra, Sirach.
- e. Curzon MS. Small quarto. 101 foll. 2 cols. Marginal notes from another hand. Enoch (98 chapters?); Samuel, Kings, and Apocryphal book.
- f. British Museum. Add. 24185 (Wright's Catalogue, 1877, No. 5). 2 cols. of 23 lines. Nineteenth century. Enoch only. 106 chapters.
- g. Brit. Mus. Orient. 485 (Wright, No. 6). 190 foll. 23 × 19 cm. 2 cols. of 23 or 24 lines. First half of sixteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters), Book of Jubilees. On foll. 168^a–177^a a duplicate of chapters xcvi. 6^b–cviii. 10 is inserted from another MS. akin to g. See next MS.
- h. This MS. consists only of xcvi. 6^b–cviii. 10, and is found in foll. 168^a–177^a of g. It is inserted between the last word and the last but one of xci. 6. It is written by the same scribe, but the text though belonging to the best type differs from g.
- i. Brit. Mus. Orient. 484 (Wright, No. 7). 3 cols. of 50 or 51 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (108 chapters), Octateuch, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, 1–4 Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Sirach.
- j. Brit. Mus. Orient. 486 (Wright, No. 8). 3 cols. of 29 lines. Eighteenth century. Chapters i–lx. 13^a missing. Nos. of remaining chapters erased. Enoch, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Sirach.
- k. Brit. Mus. Orient. 490 (Wright, No. 12). 3 cols. of 30 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (107 chapters), Job, Daniel, 1 Ezra, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets.
- l. Brit. Mus. 24990 (Wright, No. 13). 3 cols. of 31 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (divided into chapters, but no numbers supplied), Job, Books ascribed to Solomon, Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets, Daniel.
- m. Brit. Mus. Orient. 491 (Wright, No. 15). 219 foll. 40 × 32 cm. 3 cols. of 27 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters), Job, Twelve Minor Prophets, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Maccabees.
- n. Brit. Mus. Orient. 492 (Wright, No. 16). 3 cols. of 30 lines. Eighteenth century. Enoch (87 chapters), Books ascribed to Solomon, Jeremiah, 1 Ezra, Canticles, Sirach, Judith, Esther, Tobit.
- o. Brit. Mus. Orient. 499 (Wright, No. 23). 3 cols. of 31 lines. Eighteenth century. Sirach, Daniel, Enoch (106 chapters), Isaiah, Twelve Minor Prophets.
- p. Formerly in the possession of Lord Crawford—now in the Rylands Collection. 67 foll. 39 × 33 cm. 3 cols. Seventeenth century. Enoch and other books.
- q. Berlin MS. Peterm. II. Nachtr. No. 29 (Dillmann's Cat. 1). 167 foll. 17 × 14 cm. 2 cols. of 13 to 14 lines. Sixteenth century. Without division into chapters. Enoch only.
- r. Abbadianus 16 (vid. *Cat. raison. de mss. éthiop. appartenant à A. d'Abbadie*, Paris, 1859). Nineteenth century. Enoch (77 chapters) and other works. This is a poor MS., but it exhibits a few good readings.
- s. Abbadianus 30. Eighteenth century. Enoch and other works. This is a poor MS., but has some notably good readings.

BOOK OF ENOCH

- l. Abbadianus 35. 40 × 35 cm. 3 cols. of 38 to 39 lines. Seventeenth century. There are many erasures and corrections and marginal notes. The latter belong to the later type of text, and are designated as t². The division into chapters is marked in the margin on the first few folios. Enoch, Job, Samuel 1 and 2, Kings, Chronicles, Books ascribed to Solomon, Prophets, Sirach, 1-4 Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther.
- u. Abbadianus 55. 191 foll. 51 × 39 cm. 3 cols. of 48 to 50 lines. Possibly as early as the fifteenth century. Enoch (without division into chapters) and other works. Text of Enoch much abbreviated after chapter lxxxiii.
- v. Abbadianus 99. 70 foll. 23 × 17 cm. 2 cols. Nineteenth century. Copy made for M. d'Abbadie from a MS. in high estimation among the native scholars. This MS. has all the bad characteristics of the later type of text, but has some excellent readings. Enoch only.
- w. Abbadianus 197. 157 foll. 26 × 23 cm. 3 cols. of 29 lines. Seventeenth or eighteenth century. Enoch (98 chapters) and other works.
- x. Vatican MS. 71 (cf. Mai, *Script. veterum nova collectio*, Romae, 1831, tom. v. 2, p. 100). 27 foll. 3 cols. of 32 lines. Seventeenth century. Enoch only. 98 chapters.
- y. Munich MS. 30. 61 foll. 25 × 15 cm. 2 cols. of 20 to 28 lines. Seventeenth century. Division into chapters only at the beginning. Enoch only.
- z. Paris MS. 50 (see Zotenberg's Cat.). Seventeenth century. Enoch (division into chapters only at the beginning) and other works.
- z^b. Paris MS. 49. Eighteenth century. Copy of b.
- 1^a. Garrett MS. 17 × 12 cm. 2 cols. of 22 lines. Nineteenth or end of eighteenth century. Enoch only.
- 1^b. Westenholz MS. 71 foll., of which first and last two are empty. 2 cols. of 24 lines. Eighteenth century. 106 chapters. Enoch only.

Relations of the Ethiopic MSS.

(a) There are two forms of text, α , β , of which β is late and secondary. α is represented by *g₁gmgtu* (and in some degree by *u*), while β , which owes its origin to native scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is represented by all the remaining MSS. The result of their labours has been on the whole disastrous, as these revisers had neither the knowledge of the subject-matter nor yet critical materials to guide them as to the true form of the text. The attestation, however, of neither group is uniform; especially is this so with α , which only once perhaps in twenty cases is undivided in its testimony. Thus it appears that the recension was not the work of a few years, but was rather a process which culminated in such a text as we find in β , and particularly in the MS. v.

(b) β or groups in β at times preserve the original text, where α is secondary.

(c) *The character and affinities of the chief MSS.*

g. Of the MSS. of α , g is decidedly the best all-round MS. It has been made the basis, so far as any single MS. can, of my text. It, however, exhibits much strange orthography and bad grammar.

1^g. This MS. (already described under *Ethiopic MSS.*) shows certain idiosyncrasies in ciii. 9-15, where it uses the first person over against the third in the other MSS. On the whole it is most nearly related to g.

m. This MS. is in some respects the weakest of the older group. It attaches itself so closely to g, that we must assume its having come under its influence. In the majority of its unique readings 1^g is unaccompanied by m, which, however, has many affinities with it.

q. Though teeming with errors in the way of additions, corruptions, and omissions, this MS. contains a larger number of unique original readings than any other used in our text. It approximates more closely to *g₁gm* than to *tu*.

t. This is a most interesting MS. as it gives the older type of reading in the text, and the later either over erasures or in the margin with the rejected words in the text bracketed. The corrector has not, however, done his work thoroughly. Moreover, in some cases the correction represents a return to the older text. t is closely connected with u.

u. This is a good MS. but very imperfect after lxxxiii. The omissions are capriciously made; sometimes words, sometimes phrases, sometimes whole sentences and paragraphs are excised to the entire destruction of the sense. Still, as u is a valuable MS. I faithfully record its omissions and changes.

n. Of the β class of MSS. n is by far the best. Indeed, though embodying in the main the second type of text, it attests more unique and original readings in i-xxxii than m or t or u. Also, at times, it alone of the β class supports various MSS. of the first class in the true reading.

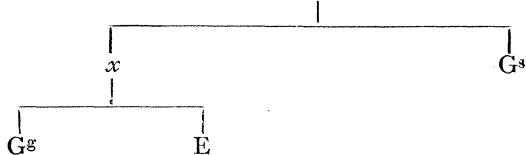
§ 5. THE ANCIENT VERSIONS.

The Greek Versions have only in part been preserved. Chapters i-xxxii. 6 and xix. 3-xxi. 9 in a duplicate form were discovered in 1886-7 at Akhmîm by the Mission Archéologique Française at Cairo, and published by M. Bouriant in 1892. They are designated G^s, and as G^{s1} and G^{s2} in the case of the duplicate passage. Large fragments have been preserved in Syncellus-vi-x. 14, xv. 8-xvi. 1; and viii. 4-ix. 4 in a duplicate form. These are designated G^a, and as G^{s1}, G^{s2} in the case of the duplicate passage. Another fragment is found in a Vatican Greek MS., No. 1809, written in tachygraphic characters. For Greek quotations from 1 *Enoch*, see § 10 (*b, c*).

(a) G^s is more original than G^g. Though closely related these two fragments exhibit marks of independence. G^s has in several passages a different and undoubtedly better order of text. Thus it rightly places vii. 3-5 of G^g (or rather its equivalent of vii. 3-5) after viii. 3 of G^g. Again in viii. 3 G^s is very defective compared with G^g. The additional matter in G^s could not have been written by a Greek, as in every instance the office constitutes when translated into Aramaic a play on the name of the angel who discharges the office. Similarly in vi. 7 the order of the angels' names is different, and G^s is here again preferable to G^g E. Moreover, in viii. 4; ix. 9; x. 2, 4, G^s has a fuller and more original reading than G^g E. Finally G^s preserves several right readings over against G^g E. See x. II, I4.

On the other hand, E preserves certain original readings lost by G^s and vice versa.

Original Greek Translation from the Semitic



The Latin Fragment, which constitutes a very imperfect reproduction of cvi. 1-18, was discovered in 1893 in the British Museum by Dr. James. In the same year he issued it in the *Cambridge Texts and Studies*, II, No. 3, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, pp. 146-50. This MS. seems to point to a Latin translation of Enoch, and shows no signs of being an excerpt from a collection of excerpts.

THE ETHIOPIC VERSION.

The division of Enoch into chapters was made apparently in the sixteenth century. The division into 108 chapters was made by Dillmann without MS. authority, and has been followed by all subsequent scholars. This division is indeed found in one MS., i.e. *h*, but it was unknown to Dillmann when he made his text. Moreover, the chapters in *h* vary frequently in length from those in Dillmann's text.

BOOK OF ENOCH

§ 6. THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS IN THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

The Book of Enoch was intended by its final editor to consist of five Sections, like the Pentateuch, the Psalms, Proverbs, Sirach, and many other Jewish works. These consist of i-xxxvi, xxxvii-lxxi, lxxii-lxxxii, lxxxiii-xc, xci-cviii. Behind this apparently artificial division lies a real difference as to authorship, system of thought, and date. When I edited my first edition of Enoch in 1893 it was necessary for me to go at great length into the differentiae marking these divisions, since the accepted criticism of the day regarded i-xxxvi, lxxii-civ as forming the groundwork, and proceeding from one and the same author. Since that date this impossible hypothesis has vanished from the field of criticism. My task here is, therefore, no longer of a polemical nature, but simply to determine so far as possible the extent, character, and date of the various independent writings embodied in this work. The various sections will now be dealt with in the order of their occurrence.

Fragments of the Book of Noah. But before we enter on the criticism of the various elements in the book, we should observe first of all that it contains fragments of an earlier work—entitled the Book of Noah. Of the existence of this book we know independently from the Book of Jubilees x. 13, xxi. 10, and later sources. But even if we had possessed no independent reference to such a book, we could have had no doubt as to its existence; for the contents of chapters lx, lxv-lxix. 25 prove conclusively that they are from this source; also cvi-cvii. Furthermore, vi-xi¹ are derived from the same work. These latter chapters never refer to Enoch, but to Noah. Moreover, where the author of Jubilees in vii. 20-25 describes the laws laid down by Noah for his children, and Noah's accounts of the evils that had brought the Flood upon the earth, he borrows not only the ideas, but at times the very phraseology of these chapters. Finally, we may observe that chapters lxxxviii-lxxxix. 1 presuppose a minute acquaintance with chapter x. liv. 7-lv. 2 probably belong to the same source. *The Noachic fragments preserved in this book are thus:* vi-xi, liv-lv. 2, lx, lxv-lxix. 25, cvi-cvii.

These facts throw some light on the strange vicissitudes to which even the traditional legends were subject. Thus it would appear that the Noah saga is older than the Enoch, and that the latter was built up on the débris of the former.

Having now disposed of the earlier materials utilized by the writers of the different Sections of Enoch, we shall now proceed to deal with the five Sections or Books in the order of their occurrence.

SECTION I. i-xxxvi. We have already seen that vi-xi belonged originally to the Book of Noah; xii-xvi, on the other hand, are a vision or visions of Enoch in which he intercedes on behalf of Azazel and the Watchers. These visions are preserved in a fragmentary form, and not in their original order—a fact which is most probably due to the editor of the whole work, since the same dislocation of the text recurs in lxxviii-lxxx and xci-xciii. The original order of xii-xvi was, so far as the present fragmentary text goes: xiv. 1 . . . xiii. 1-2, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4-10, xiv. 2-xvi. 2, xii. 4-6 || xvi. 3-4. xii. 1-2 is an editorial introduction.

This portion of our text began obviously with the words: xiv. 1 'The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers'. Then came a request on the part of Azazel that Enoch should intercede for him. This request was acceded to on the part of Enoch, who in a vision received God's judgement on Azazel. But both the request and the vision are lost. In xiii. 1-2, however, the answer to Azazel's request is given in the divine doom announced by Enoch. Next Enoch is besought by the Watchers to intercede for them, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4-7. Thereupon Enoch has a vision regarding them, xiii. 8, which he recounts to them, xiii. 9-10, xiv. 2-xvi. 2. Finally the section closes with the message of doom, which Enoch is bidden to take to the Watchers, xvi. 3-4. Of xvi. 3-4 there is a doublet, xii. 4-6, which is more original than xvi. 3-4.

xvii-xix stand by themselves, exhibiting, as they do, strong traces of Greek influences in their description of the underworld, and yet showing a close affinity to xx-xxxvi, since xviii. 6-9 is a doublet of xxiv. 1-3, xviii. 11 of xxi. 7-10, xviii. 12-16 of xxi. 1-6; xix. 2, moreover, reflects the same view as x. 14.

xx-xxxvi come apparently from one and the same author: the functions ascribed to the archangels in xx are tolerably borne out in xxi-xxxvi. But since only four of the seven archangels mentioned in xx are dealt with in xxi-xxxvi, it is possible that a considerable passage was early lost.

¹ Even these chapters are composite; for they are a conflation of two distinct cycles of myths relating respectively to Semjaza and Azazel (see my second edition, pp. 13-14 notes), and this conflation was anterior to the date of the Dream Visions, which presuppose the existence of these chapters in their present form, or at all events of chapter x.

INTRODUCTION

i-v now call for treatment. These chapters are connected in phraseology with every section of the book save lxxii-lxxxii. (See my edition, p. 2 sq.) Thus the phrase 'he took up his parable', i. 2, suggests a connexion with xxxvii-lxxi, but this may be a mere coincidence, since the writer is here consciously influenced by Num. xxiii-xxiv, where the phrase recurs several times. These chapters, moreover, appear to be of composite origin. ii-v seem to be a unity. But I see no satisfactory solution of the problem.

To sum up. i-xxxvi may be analysed into the following independent elements, i-v, v-xi, xii-xvi, xvii-xix, xx-xxxvi. When the Book of Jubilees was written we shall see that vi-xxxvi had already been put together.

SECTION II. xxxvii-lxxi. As all critics are now agreed that the Parables are distinct in origin from the rest of the book, I will simply refer the reader here to my edition, pp. 65 sq., for some of the grounds for this conclusion.

xxxvii-lxxi have been handed down in a fragmentary condition, and many of the problems they suggest can only be tentatively solved or merely stated.

xxxvii-lxxi consist in the main of three Parables, xxxviii-xliv, xlv-lvii, lviii-lxix. These are introduced by xxxvii and concluded by lxx, which describes Enoch's final translation in terms of that of Elijah. lxxi, which contains two visions received in his lifetime, belongs to one of the three Parables. We have already seen that liv. 7-lv. 2, lx, lxv-lxix. 25, are interpolated from the ancient Book of Noah.

Behind the Parables there appear to lie two sources, as Beer suggested though he did not work out his suggestion. The one was the 'Son of Man' source, in which the angelic interpreter was 'the angel who went with me': i.e. xl. 3-7, xlv-xlviii. 7, lii. 3-4, lxi. 3-4, lxii. 2-lxiii, lxix. 26-9, lxx-lxxi, and the other 'the Elect One' source, in which the angelic interpreter was 'the angel of peace': i.e. xxxviii-xxxix, xl. 1-2, 8-10, xli. 1-2, 9, xlv, xlviii. 8-10, l-lii. 1-2, 5-9, liii-liv. 6, lv. 3-lvii, lxi. 1-2, 5-13, lxii. 1. See my edition, pp. 64-5.

SECTION III. lxxii-lxxxii. Chapter lxxii introduces a scientific treatise. In this treatise the writer attempts to bring the many utterances in the O.T. regarding physical phenomena into one system. The sole aim of his book is to give the laws of the heavenly bodies, and this object he pursues undeviatingly to lxxix. 1, where it is said that his treatise is finished. Through all these chapters there is not a single ethical reference. The author's interest is scientific, and, like the author of Jubilees in vi. 32-6, he upholds the accuracy of the sun and stars as dividers of time, lxxiv. 12. And this order is inflexible and will not change till the new creation, lxxii. 1. But in lxxx. 2-8 the interest is ethical and nothing else, and though it recognizes an order of nature, this order is more conspicuous in its breach than in its observance. lxxx. 2-8 appears then to be an addition. Nor, again, can lxxxii belong to lxxii-lxxxii. Whereas the blessing of lxxii-lxxxix, lxxxii is for the man who knows the right reckoning of the years, the blessing of lxxxii. 4 is for the man 'who dies in righteousness'. lxxxii is of the nature of a mosaic and may come from the hand of the editor of the complete Enoch. Finally lxxxii stood originally before lxxix. 6 'Such is the . . . sketch of every luminary which Uriel . . . showed unto me'. After the long disquisition on the stars in lxxxii, the first words in lxxix. 1 come in most appropriately: 'I have shown thee everything, and the law of all the stars of the heaven is completed.' If lxxxii did not precede, these words could not be justified. For like dislocations cf. xii-xvi, xci-xciii.

Thus the original order of this Section was: lxxii-lxxviii, lxxxii, lxxix. For a full discussion of this Section and its independence of i-xxxvi and the knowledge it implies of the Calendar, see my edition, pp. 147-50.

SECTION IV. lxxxiii-xc. This is the most complete and self-consistent of all the Sections, and has suffered least from the hand of the interpolator. For passages that have suffered in the course of transmission see xc. 19, which I have restored before xc. 14: also lxxxix. 48. In xc, vv. 13-15 are a doublet of vv. 16-18.

lxxxiii-xc is of different authorship to vi-xxxvi. (1) The descent of the Watchers in lxxxvi. 1-3 differs from that in vi. (2) The throne of judgement is in Palestine in xc. 20-6, but in the N.W. in the midst of the Seven Mountains in xviii. 8, xxv. 3. (3) The scene of the kingdom in lxxxiii-xc is the New Jerusalem set up by God Himself: in i-xxxvi it is Jerusalem and the earth *unchanged* though purified, x. 18, 20. (4) lxxxiii-xc are only visions assigned to Enoch's earlier and unwedded life: vi-xxxvi are accounts of actual bodily translations and are assigned to his later life. If these two Sections were from one and the same author, and that an ascetic, exactly the converse would have been the case. For other grounds see my edition, pp. 179 sq.

BOOK OF ENOCH

Identity of authorship appears, therefore, to be impossible ; but the similarities in phraseology and idea (see *op. cit.*) prove that one of the authors had the work of the other before him. Of the two Sections there is no room for doubt that lxxxiii-xc is the later.

SECTION V. xci-civ. *Critical Structure.* This Section is in the main complete and self-consistent. It has, however, suffered at the hands of the editor of the entire work in the way of direct interpolation and of severe dislocations of the text. We have already seen his handiwork in the case of xii-xvi and lxxviii-lxxxii. The dislocations of the text are a remarkable feature in this Section, and I cannot see any adequate explanation. The editor incorporated an earlier work—the Apocalypse of Weeks—into his text, xciii. 1-10, xci. 13-17, the former part dealing with the first seven weeks of the world's history and the latter with the last three. Taken together these form an independent whole. But this is not all. Since this Section is of different authorship to the other Sections of the book it is obvious that it began originally with xcii. 1, 'Written by Enoch the scribe,' &c. On xcii follows xci. 1-10, 18-19 as a natural sequel, where Enoch summons his children to receive his parting words. Then comes the Apocalypse of Weeks: xciii. 1-10, xci. 12-17. Thus the original order of the book is xcii, xci. 1-10, 18-19, xciii. 1-10, xci. 12-17, xciv.

Relation to vi-xxxvi. At first sight the evidence for the unity of authorship of these two Sections is very great. They have many phrases in common. In each there are references to the law, the eating of blood, and to the regularity of nature. There is no hint of a Messiah in either. There are other resemblances but they are seeming and not real. On the other hand, in vi-xxxvi the Messianic kingdom is eternal, in xci-civ it is temporary, if the Apocalypse of Weeks is taken to be a constituent part of xci-civ. In the former the final judgement is held before the establishment of the kingdom, x. 12, xvi. 1, in the latter at the close of the temporary kingdom (xciii. 1-10, xci. 1-10). Whereas the resurrection in vi-xxxvi is a resuscitation to a temporary blessedness, x. 17, xxv. 5, in the latter it is not to the temporary kingdom spoken of in xci. 13, 14, xcvi. 8, but to one of eternal blessedness subsequent to the final judgement, c. 4, 5. Whereas the resurrection in vi-xxxvi is a resuscitation in a physical body, in xci-civ it is a resurrection in a spiritual body, xcii. 3, 4, civ. 2, 6. In the latter there is a resurrection of the righteous only: not so in the former. For other grounds see my edition, 219 sq.

Relation to lxxxiii-xc. In xci-civ the Messianic kingdom is temporary in duration but not so in lxxxiii-xc: in the former the final judgement is consummated at the close of the kingdom, in the latter at its beginning. In xci-civ there is a resurrection of the righteous only; in lxxxiii-xc of the righteous and the apostate Jews. The kingdom to which the righteous rise in xci-civ is not the temporary kingdom on the earth but the new heaven, but in lxxxiii-xc it is the Messianic kingdom on the earth.

cv. This chapter appears to be an independent fragment.

cvi-cvii. These chapters have already been dealt with as part of the Book of Noah.

cviii. This chapter forms an appendix to the entire work added not by the editor but by a subsequent writer to confirm the righteous in the face of repeated disappointment in their expectations.

§ 7. DATES OF THE DIFFERENT ELEMENTS.

I will here deal with these elements in the order of their age.

Book of Noah. This book was, as we have seen already, laid under contribution by the author of the Book of Jubilees and by the general editor of Enoch. Part of it is embodied in vi-xxxvi, and this part is presupposed as already existing by lxxxiii-xc. Now, since lxxxiii-xc cannot be later than 161 B.C., it follows that we have here the *terminus ad quem* of this work.

vi-xxxvi. Since vi-xvi, xxiii-xxxvi were known to the author of the Book of Jubilees (see my edition, p. lxix) this Section must have been written before the latter half of the second century B.C. Since, further, lxxxiii-xc, written before 161 B.C., show a minute acquaintance with x, the date of vi-xi must be put back to the first third of that century. Many other points in lxxxiii-xc (see my edition, p. 179) point to the acquaintance of the author of lxxxiii-xc with vi-xxxvi. Again, since vi-xxxvi makes no reference to the persecution of Antiochus, the *terminus ad quem* is thus fixed at 170 B.C. The fact that vi-xxxvi were written in Aramaic is in favour of pre-Maccabean date; for when once a nation recovers, or is trying to recover, its independence, we know from history that it seeks to revive its national language.

lxxxiii-xc. The fourth and last of the four periods into which lxxxiii-xc divide history between the destruction of Jerusalem and the establishment of the Messianic kingdom began about 200 B.C. (see my edition, pp. 180 sq., 206 sqq.), and marks the transition of supremacy over Israel from the Graeco-Egyptians to the Graeco-Syrians, as well as the rise of the Chasids. The

INTRODUCTION

Chasids, symbolized by the lambs that are born to the white sheep, xc. 6, are already an organized party in the Maccabean revolt. But certain of these lambs became horned, i.e. the Maccabean family, and the great horn is Judas Maccabaeus, xc. 9. As this great horn is still warring at the close of the rule of the shepherds, xc. 16, this section must have been written before the death of Judas, 161 B. C.

xciii. 1-10, xci. 12-17. This—the Apocalypse of Weeks—may have been written before the Maccabean revolt. There is no reference in it to the persecution of Antiochus. But the date is wholly doubtful.

lxxii-lxxxii. This section is referred to in Jubilees iv. 17, 21, where the author tells how Enoch wrote a book of the order of the months, the seasons of the years, and the rule of the sun. Hence the *terminus ad quem* is 110 B. C. or thereabouts.

xc-civ. In lxxxiii-xc the Maccabees were the religious champions of the nation and the friends of the Chasidim. Here they are leagued with the Sadducees and are the foes of the Pharisaic party. This section was written, therefore, after 109 B. C., when (?) the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees took place. But a later date must be assumed according to the literal interpretation of ciii. 14, 15, where the rulers are said to uphold the Sadducean oppressors and to share in the murder of the righteous. This charge is not justified before 95 B. C. As for the later limit, the Herodian princes cannot be the rulers here mentioned; for the Sadducees were irrevocably opposed to these as aliens and usurpers. The date, therefore, may be either 95-79 B. C. or 70-64 B. C., during which periods the Pharisees were oppressed by both rulers and Sadducees. In my edition of Jubilees, pp. lxix-lxxi, I have given various grounds for regarding xci-civ as dependent on Jubilees.

xxxvii-lxxi. From a full review of the evidence, which is given and discussed in the notes of my edition on xxxviii. 5, it appears that the kings and the mighty so often denounced in the Parables are the later Maccabean princes and their Sadducean supporters—the later Maccabean princes, on the one hand, and not the earlier; for the blood of the righteous was not shed as the writer complains (xlvii. 1, 2, 4) before 95 B. C.: the later Maccabean princes, on the other hand, and not the Herodians; for (1) the Sadducees were not supporters of the latter, and (2) Rome was not as yet known to the writer as one of the great world-powers—a fact which necessitates an earlier date than 64 B. C., when Rome interposed authoritatively in the affairs of Judaea. Thus the date of the Similitudes could not have been earlier than 94 B. C. or later than 64 B. C. But it is possible to define the date more precisely. As the Pharisees enjoyed unbroken power and prosperity under Alexandra 79-70 B. C., the Parables must be assigned either to the years 94-79 or 70-64.

§ 8. THE POETICAL ELEMENT IN 1 ENOCH.

In the course of editing the Ethiopic text of 1 Enoch I was fortunate enough to discover that no small proportion of it was written originally in verse. But the full extent of the poetical element was not recognized till the completion of the present edition. This discovery not only adds to the interest of the book, but also illuminates many a dark passage, suggests the right connexions of wrongly disjoined clauses, and forms an admirable instrument of criticism generally. Our recognition of this fact enables us to recognize the genuineness of verses which had hitherto been regarded as interpolations, and to excise others which were often in themselves unmeaning or at variance with their contexts. The very first chapter is the best witness in these respects. There we find that i. 6-9 consists of nine stanzas of three lines each. E had lost two of the lines of stanza seven, but happily these had been preserved by G^s. Again, in vi. 4-9 we have eight stanzas of four lines each. The order of the lines has been disarranged as will be seen in vi. 6-7, but here the parallelism enables us to effect their restoration. Ch. 51 would without a recognition of the poetical character be in many respects inexplicable. In other passages it enables us to recognize certain lines as ditto-graphs: cf. lix. 6^d, lxxi. 3^e, lxxx. 7^e, lxxxii. 2^b, xciv. 7^d.

§ 9. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF CHAPTERS VI-XXXVI—ARAMAIC; OF I-V, XXXVII-CIV—HEBREW.

That 1 Enoch was originally written in a Semitic language is now universally admitted. But what that language is is still, as regards portions of the book, a question of dispute. In the past, Murray, Jellinek, Hilgenfeld, Halévy, Goldschmidt, Charles (formerly), Littmann, and Martin have advocated a Hebrew original, while at various times an Aramaic original has been maintained by De Sacy, Lévi, Eerdmans, Schmidt, Lietzmann, Wellhausen, and Praetorius. Ewald, Dillmann

BOOK OF ENOCH

Lods, Flemming could not come to a decision between Hebrew and Aramaic. But of the above scholars only three have really grappled with the subject, i. e. Halévy, Charles, and Schmidt, and three different theses are advanced by them. While Halévy maintains a Hebrew original, and Schmidt an Aramaic, the present writer, as a result of his studies in editing the Ethiopic text and the translation and commentary based upon it, is convinced that neither view can be established, but that each appears to be true in part.¹ In other words, like the Book of Daniel, part of 1 Enoch was written originally in Aramaic and part in Hebrew. The proofs of this thesis amount in certain sections almost to demonstration: in the case of others only to a high probability. The results of the present study of this problem tend to show that chapters vi–xxxvi were originally written in Aramaic, and xxxvii–civ, and probably i–v in Hebrew.

Chapters i–v. Probably from a Hebrew original. These chapters, as we have shown elsewhere, do not come from the same author or period as vi–xxxvi.

i. 1. In E the text = ἐξῆραι πάντας τοὺς πονηροὺς whereas G^s has ἐξῆραι πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς. The former, as the context shows, as well as Pss. Sol. iv. 9 (see note on p. 4 of the Commentary), is original, the latter not. Now the former = כל-הרעים, the latter = כל-הצרים, a corruption of the former. The same corruption is found in the LXX of Prov. xx. 22. Since E and G^s are in the main derived from the same Greek translation, this fact, unless due to a sheer blunder of a copyist, points to the presence of alternative readings in the margin of the Hebrew archetype, which were reproduced by the Greek translator. Other facts point in the same direction: see note on v. 9^b below.

i. 9. In 'He cometh with ten thousands of His holy ones' the text reproduces the Massoretic of Deut. xxxiii. 2 in reading אֲתָהּ = ἔρχεται, whereas the three Targums, the Syriac and Vulgate read אֲתָהּ = μετ' αὐτοῦ. Here the LXX diverges wholly. The reading אֲתָהּ is recognized as original. The writer of i–v therefore used the Hebrew text and presumably wrote in Hebrew.

v. 6^b. ἐν ὑμῖν καταράσονται πάντες οἱ καταρώμενοι = יקללו כל-המקללים is, so far as I am aware, a Hebrew idiom, and not an Aramaic. See note on p. 12 of my Commentary.

v. 9^b. Here G^s reads ἡμάρτωσιν, but E = κριθήσονται = יִשְׁכְּמוּ (cf. Prov. xxx. 10; Isa. xxiv. 6; Jer. ii. 3, &c.). Here the parallelism shows that G^s is right. Here, as in i. 1 above, we can explain the double rendering by assuming that one of these readings stood in the text and the other in the margin.

Since none of the evidence favours an Aramaic original, and whatever linguistic evidence there is makes for a Hebrew, we may provisionally conclude in favour of the latter.

Chapters vi–xxxvi. The evidence in favour of an Aramaic original of these chapters is practically conclusive.

(a) *Aramaic words transliterated in the Greek or Ethiopic.* Amongst the many Semitic words transliterated in these versions the following are Aramaic and Aramaic only: in G^s φουκά, xviii. 8, i. e. פוכא, μανδο-βαρά, xxviii. 1, and βαβδηρά, xxix. 1, i. e. מדברא. Another Aramaic form is χερουβάν, xiv. 11, 18, xx. 7, but this form is indecisive as it is found not infrequently in the LXX. In E manzerân² for manzerîn, x. 9, i. e. ממורין: 'alwâ, xxxi. 2 (see note *in loc.*) = אהלâ. The Hebrew form is אהלים.

Other transliterations are βάτους, x. 19, i. e. בת, which is both Hebrew and Aramaic: χαλβάνη, xxxi. 1, i. e. חלבנה Hebrew or חלבונה Aramaic. On the other hand there are two Hebrew words transliterated: thus σαπράν, xxxi. 1 = סַפְרָן, which is not found in Aramaic but which is rendered in Aramaic by קטף and גף, xxvii. 2 = גיא = 'valley', which is a pure Hebrew word, the Aramaic being חילא. These last two cases are somewhat strange, but, since גיא is here used as a proper name, its use in an Aramaic document may be justified.

(b) *Aramaic constructions.* In xix. 2 we have the peculiar Greek αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τῶν παραβάντων ἀγγέλων. This is a literal reproduction of the Aramaic idiom נשיהון די מלאכיא די חטו מלאכיא די חטו. The same construction recurs in E ix. 8 which = συνεκοιμήθησων μετ' αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν = שכיבו עמהון עם נשיא. Here G^s, it is true, has omitted μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν. This omission was probably due to the unintelligibility of the construction to a Greek scribe. G^s, however, preserves the missing clause but wrongly connects it with the following verb—this change being due no doubt to an attempt to normalize the Greek. Thus G^s reads συνεκοιμήθησαν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς θηλείαις ἐμιάνθησαν. Here the καὶ should be restored after θηλείαις. In vi. 8 we have a third instance of this idiom, though in a corrupt form: οὗτοί εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν τῶν δεκά(δων) = ראשיהון דעסריתא. This Aramaic idiom has found its way into the O.T. as in Cant. iii. 7.

(c) *Some of the proper names with which paronomasias are connected postulate an Aramaic original.* Thus in G^s viii. 3 we have ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς γῆς. Now the ὁ τρίτος in vi. 7 is Ἀρακίηλ = ארקיאל, where ארק is Aramaic for 'earth'. Thus this angel naturally taught the signs of the earth: ארקיאל יאליף אתי ארקא. Again in G^s viii. 3 we have ὁ δὲ εἰκοστὸς ἐδίδαξε τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης, where ὁ εἰκοστὸς according to G^s vi. 7 is Σαρυλ = סהריאל. Here סהר is Aramaic for 'moon'. Again in viii. 3 the ὁ ὄγδοος in ὁ ὄγδοος

¹ This view was first advanced in my edition of the Ethiopic text, pp. xxvii–xxxiii.

² Here G^s has μαζήρεους and cannot account for E. Hence E here, as in i. 1, v. 9^b above, presupposes another reading than that in G^s, this reading being in the text or margin of the Greek translation.

INTRODUCTION

ἐδίδαξε ἀεροσκοπίαν is in G^s vi. 7 Ἐξέκυλ (G^s Ζακίλ) = שַׁחֲקִיאַל. שֶׁחֲקִי (= ἀήρ), it is true, is Hebrew as well as Aramaic.

In xiii. 7 it is said that 'the angels were mourning in Abilene', i. e. אַבְלִין בְּאַבְיִלִין. In G^s vi. 7 the play on Hermon is possible both in Aramaic and Hebrew (see note *in loc.*), but the play on Jared in the same verse is only possible in Hebrew. Whence we may infer that this paronomasia originated in Hebrew and is only reproduced in this Aramaic document. Finally in E G^s x. 7 the command is given to Raphael: ἰασαὶ τὴν γῆν = רַפְּאֵל הָאָרֶעָא, in which there is an obvious play on Raphael's name. But though Nöldeke states that 'רַפְּאֵל ist gemeinsemitisch' (*ZDMG*, 1886, xl. 723, quoted by Schmidt) it is not found in the Targums and later rabbinical literature. Here, therefore, the play may be due to a pre-existing Hebrew document or myth, just as we are obliged to make the same presupposition in the case of 'Jared' above.

(d) *Text restored through retranslation into Aramaic.* In this section there are many corrupt passages, as might be expected, which can be restored through retranslation either into Aramaic or Hebrew, owing to the close affinities of these languages. This may be the case in ix. 4 מַלְכִּיא (i. e. τῶν βασιλέων E) corrupt for עַלְמִיא = τῶν αἰώνων, or מַלְכִּיא for עַלְמִיא: similarly in x. 7 ἐπάταξαν E G^s = אַבְרוּ, which is both Hebrew and Aramaic, and corrupt for אַבְרוּ = εἶπον G^s.¹ In x. 17 τὰ σάββατα αὐτῶν = שַׁבְּתֵיהֶן, wrongly vocalized for שַׁבְּתֵיהֶן, or = שַׁבְּתֵיהֶן corrupt for שַׁבְּתֵיהֶן. xiv. 8 κατεσπούδαζον καὶ ἐθουρύβαζον†. Here the second verb is impossible. The clause in Aramaic = יוֹחוֹן וַיְבַהֲלוֹן. Now the pael יְבַהֲלוֹן = θουρύβαζειν, ταρασσειν, or συνταράσσειν in Dan. iv. 2, 16; v. 9, 10; vii. 15, 28, and is rendered by Theodotion by the latter two verbs. On the other hand, the LXX renders the same Aramaic verb by κατασπεύδειν in iv. 16; v. 6. Thus the translator of the LXX, who, as we know from the rest of his translation of the Aramaic section of Daniel, was very familiar with Aramaic, assigns to the part of the Aramaic verb the same meaning as the piel and hiphil of the Hebrew בָּהַל. Hence we may assume that the pael in Aramaic could mean κατασπεύδειν or θουρύβαζειν. Thus we could explain ἐθουρύβαζον as a mistranslation in this context of the pael. It is also possible that the two verbs are alternative renderings of one and the same verb in the Aramaic. This would have been possible also if the original had been Hebrew; for יְבַהֲלוֹן pointed as a piel would mean κατεσπούδαζον and ἐθουρύβαζον as a niphel. In xiii. 2; xv. 4, 11; xxix. 2 also the text can be restored by either language. (See notes *in loc.*)

But there are other passages that apparently defy restoration save through retranslation into Aramaic. In ix. 10 ἀνέβη ὁ στεναγμὸς αὐτῶν καὶ οὐ δύναται ἐξελεῖν†, the ἐξελεῖν is meaningless, but by retranslation we discover the origin of the corruption. ἐξελεῖν = לְמַפְסַק corrupt for לְמַפְסַק = 'cease'. The lamentations 'cannot cease' because of the lawless deeds which are wrought on the earth'.

In x. 7 (where see note) the variations of the versions can be explained through the Aramaic, where E has twice 'earth' (= γῆ), G^s has once γῆ and once πλεγγή, and G^s πλεγγή both times. The variations could, of course, have originated in G, but γῆ and πλεγγή can be readily accounted for as renderings of אָרֶעָא, which, punctuated as אָרֶעָא = γῆ, and as אָרֶעָא = πλεγγή.

In xvii. 7 E = τὰ ὄρη τῶν γνόφων = מוֹרֵי קְבִלָא. The phrase was derived most probably from Jer. xiii. 16 הָרִי נִשְׁפָּה. But G^s reads ἀνέμους τῶν γνόφων = רוחי קְבִלָא. Here, as we have seen several times already, the Greek translator appears to have found מוֹרֵי in the text and רוחי in the margin (or vice versa), and to have rendered both, one of which was preserved by G^s and the other by the Greek ancestor of E.

In xviii. 2 the text ἴδον τοὺς τέσσαρας ἀνέμους τὴν γῆν βαστάζοντας καὶ τὸ στερέωμα (G^s E) is quite impossible. The winds do not bear the earth. By retranslation into Aramaic we see that τὴν γῆν arose in the Aramaic through a dittography. The clause = חוֹית רוּחִיא אַרְבַּע אָרֶעָא מְסוּבִּין, where אָרֶעָא is a dittograph of אַרְבַּע. The winds bear the firmament, not the earth.

In xxviii. 2 πλεγγὴς δένδρων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων. It would be absurd to speak of a plain as being 'full of trees and seeds'. Here ἀπὸ τῶν σπερμάτων = וּמִזֵּינ, corrupt for וּמִזֵּינ (cf. Dan. i. 12, 16; Mishna, *Kil.* ii. 2; iii. 2) = καὶ τῶν φυτευμάτων. Or the wrong phrase may be due to a wrong punctuation of the Aramaic word by the Greek translator. See note *in loc.*

In xxxi. 3 ὅταν τρίβωσιν refer to certain fragrant trees mentioned in the preceding verse. These trees yielded a fragrant odour when burnt. (See note *in loc.*) Hence I assume that יִדְקֶקֶן (= τρίβωσιν) is corrupt for יִדְלֶקֶן = καύσωσιν.

Chapters xxxvii–lxxi from a Hebrew original. In support of this view Halévy (*op. cit.* pp. 364 sqq.) criticized over a dozen of passages from the Parables and the interpolations with a view to showing that the meaning of the text could not be recovered unless by retranslation from a Hebrew original. Unhappily Halévy based his work on the corrupt text of Dillmann, and most of his conclusions have thereby been invalidated. Some, however, are of permanent value. On the other hand Schmidt (*O.T. and Semitic Studies*, ii. 336–43) strongly contests this view, and maintains the hypothesis of an Aramaic original. I have studied carefully his ingenious essay, but this study has served to confirm me in the belief in a Hebrew original, which I assumed in my edition of 1893, and supported by arguments in my text of 1908. The preparation of my new edition has served to bring fresh evidence on this question to light.

¹ Here again the two readings in the Greek versions can be best explained by variants in the margin of the Semitic original. See footnote p. 173, and the paragraphs on xiv. 8 (*ad fin.*), xvii. 7.

BOOK OF ENOCH

First of all I will give (a) a list of passages which can be restored on the hypothesis of either a Hebrew or an Aramaic original; (b) passages which are believed to presuppose an Aramaic only; and (c) passages which postulate a Hebrew original.

(a) *Passages which can be restored on the hypothesis of a Hebrew or an Aramaic original.* xxxvii. 4 'Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits.' Here the Ethiopic has 'emqēdma = ἐκ προσώπου or ἔμπροσθεν = מִלְפְּנֵי, 'from before,' or practically 'by', as I have rendered it. This late use of מִלְפְּנֵי is found in Esther i. 19; iv. 8; 1 Chron. xxix. 12. The same idiom is found in Aramaic, i. e. מִן־קֶדֶם: cf. Dan. vi. 27 (|| iii. 29 מִנִּי). The same idiom recurs in lxv. 10, and possibly in xlvi. 2, 3, 6.

xl. 9. The play on the names of Raphael and Gabriel is found in Hebrew; it is possible in Aramaic in the case of Gabriel, but a play on Raphael has never been found in Aramaic. In fact, רפא is not found in the Targums.

xlv. 3. 'Shall **try** their works.' For 'try' the text reads 'choose'. Now, as I pointed out in 1908, this = יבחר, corrupt for יבהן: or, if the original had been Aramaic, we had to suppose that the translator followed the wrong meaning of יבחר. Schmidt accepts the latter supposition.

xlvi. 4^b. 'Shall †raise up† the kings . . . from their seats.' A dittograph of this verse reappears in xlvi. 5^a 'shall put down the kings from their thrones'. Here 'raise up' = יטול is corrupt for יפיל = 'put down'. This restoration is possible either in Hebrew or Aramaic.

liv. 10. 'And **when**.' Here the text reads 'and because', but the context requires 'when'. The wrong rendering can be explained either from Hebrew or Aramaic (see note *in loc.*).

lv. 3. In my note I have restored the text by means of Hebrew: but it is possible also through Aramaic, since מִן־קֶדֶם can also mean 'because of'.

lxv. 11. See note *in loc.*

lxvi. 2. Here the text reads 'hands' הַיָּדִים or יְדֵיָא corrupt for הַמַּיִם or יְמֵיָא.

lxviii. 2. Text reads 'provokes me' = יִרְגִּזֵנִי or יִרְגִּזֵנִי.

lxix. 1. As in lxviii. 2.

lxix. 4. The corruption can be explained either by Hebrew or Aramaic.

lxix. 13. *Task*. Here 'number' = מִנִּין (or מְנִינָא as Schmidt points out) which seems corrupt for עִנֵּין (or עִנִּינָא) = 'task'.

lxxi. 1. Same corruption as in lxix. 4.

(b) *Phrases and passages which are adduced by Schmidt in support of an Aramaic original.* Some of these have been dealt with already under (a), i. e. xxxvii. 4; xl. 9; xlv. 3; lxv. 11; lxviii. 2; lxix. 13, in which cases Schmidt suggests that the corrupt passages in question can be best explained by an Aramaic original, though possible also by a Hebrew original. His suggestions on li. 3, xli. 5 are unnecessary, as the corruptions are native to E, and that on lii. 9, as we shall see later, is untenable, and his transformation of xxxviii. 2 'whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits' into 'whose worship has been rendered solely to the Lord of Spirits' is wholly uncalled for, since there is no difficulty in the phrase which recurs twice in xl. 5, xlvi. 8, and has a parallel in Judith viii. 24. The plurals Sûrâfên, Kîrûbên, Afîn in lxi. 10, lxxi. 7 are certainly Aramaic in form, but σφαφέν which occurs only twice in the O.T., i. e. in Isa. vi. 2, 6, appears both times in the oldest MSS. of the A of the LXX in this form, in Isa. vi. 2 and in B in vi. 6. The Aramaic form χερουβεὶν is often found in the LXX. Hence this evidence for an Aramaic original is without weight.

But 'the most convincing evidence . . . of an Aramaic original is furnished by the Ethiopic translations of the term "Son of Man". They are walda sab'ē xlvi. 2, 3, 4; xlvi. 2; lx. 10: walda b'ēsī lxii. 5; lxix. 29^{a, b}; lxxi. 14: and walda 'ēguāla 'ēma hējāw lxii. 7, 9, 14; lxiii. 11; lxix. 26, 27; lxx. 1; lxxi. 17. . . . Of these the last is the most peculiar. Literally it means "the son of the offspring of the mother of the living" . . . and is a rendering of οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and especially of υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου.' Schmidt then proceeds to emphasize the importance of these different renderings in the Parables, whereas in the N.T. it is the last that is uniformly used as a rendering of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, and observes: 'before lxii he uses no other term than walda sab'ē, the equivalent of the Aramaic בֶּר נְשָא. Later he employs four times the phrase walda b'ēsī which corresponds to the Aramaic בְּרָה דְנִבְרָא. . . . This title is found in the Palestinian Lectionary, the Curetonian Fragments, and the Sinaitic text'. From the above evidence Schmidt concludes that, if the translator had 'a Greek text before him in which the N.T. title ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου was uniformly used', it would be scarcely conceivable that he would have used three distinct Ethiopic expressions to render it, and 'these of such a nature as to correspond exactly to the three different Ethiopic terms'. He holds, therefore, that 'the conclusion seems inevitable that he translated directly from the Aramaic. . . . General considerations strengthen this conclusion. If the Parables of Enoch were translated from a Greek text one would certainly expect to find somewhere a quotation from it or a reference to it in early Christian literature'. But Schmidt can find none.

The last argument I will answer first. The reader has only to refer to the list of parallels between the N.T. books and the Parables on pp. 180 sq. in order to learn that the Parables did influence, and that directly, the writers of the N.T. Further, Tertullian's words, when discussing the authenticity of 1 Enoch, cannot be adequately explained, unless as bearing on passages in the Parables referring to the Son of Man: 'Cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de domino praedicarit, a nobis quidem nihil omnino reiiciendum est quod pertineat ad nos. . . . A Iudaeis potest iam videri propterea reiecta, sicut et cetera fere quae sonant Christum' (*De Cultu*

INTRODUCTION

Fem. i. 3). The Noah Apocalypse, moreover, which is interpolated in the Parables, is referred to in Origen, *Contra Celsum* v. 52 οὗς (i. e. τοὺς ἀγγέλους) γενέσθαι κακοὺς, καὶ κολάζεσθαι δεσμοῖς ὑποβληθέντας ἐν γῇ· ὅθεν καὶ τὰς θερμὰς πηγὰς εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνων δάκρυα (1 En. lxvii. 6, 11, 12). This evidence necessitates the existence of a Greek Version of the Parables.

Let us turn now to the next argument. The Ethiopic must have been made direct from the Aramaic because of the three forms in which the title 'Son of Man' is given in the Ethiopic, since these, according to Schmidt, correspond exactly to the three forms in Aramaic. But here I must join issue. We have, unless I have failed wholly in this study, seen that the evidence adduced by Schmidt for an Aramaic original is quite inconclusive, and that on the contrary the evidence so far points, though not conclusively, to a Hebrew original. For this conclusion other evidence will be adduced later. We are not, therefore, predisposed to accept such an extraordinary thesis as that the Ethiopic must have been made directly from the Aramaic. Before dealing directly with the titles in question we might point to two facts which render this thesis not merely improbable, but incredible. 19. No known Ethiopic version has been made directly from the Aramaic. 20. The Book of Enoch, by its artificial division into five books, like the five books of the Pentateuch, the five books of the Psalms, the five Megilloth, the five books in Proverbs, in Ecclesiasticus, the five divisions in the Pirke Aboth, and the five books of the Maccabean wars by Jason of Cyrene (see Hawkins², *Horae Synopticae*, p. 164), was after its kind a carefully edited work in which the fragments of a literature were put together with just as much fitness and insight as that of the Proverbs or the Pirke Aboth. This five-fold division was thus a well-known Jewish device, and, since according to the use of the book made by the N.T. writers it existed in its completed form in the first half of the first century A. D., if not nearly a century earlier, we cannot understand how an Ethiopic translator in the sixth or seventh century A. D. could have used the Greek version for the four books of Enoch, i-xxxvi, lxxii-lxxxii, lxxxiii-xc, xc-cviii, and an Aramaic for the fifth, i. e. the Parables, xxxvii-lxxi. It is very probable that the entire book was translated early in the first century of the Christian era into Greek. That the Semitic original was early lost is to be inferred from the fact that no evidence of any kind testifies to its existence after the birth of Christianity, whereas multitudinous evidence attests the existence of the Greek version.

We may, therefore, safely relegate to the limbo of impossibilities the hypothesis that chapters xxxvii-lxxi of the Ethiopic version were translated directly from the Aramaic.

We have now to consider what Schmidt terms 'the most convincing evidence of an Aramaic original', i. e. the Ethiopic translations of the term 'Son of Man'. The Ethiopic translation was made, as we have just seen, from the Greek. Hence whatever explanation we give of the three forms must be justified by a Greek retranslation. This fact at once discounts any attempt to find a Greek prototype for 'ēguāla 'ēmahējāw 'offspring of the mother of the living'. This Ethiopic phrase is used indifferently as a rendering of ἀνθρωπος, υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἄνθρωποι, υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀνήρ. And the full form walda 'ēguāla 'ēmahējāw = υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου in Dan. vii. 13, Ps. lxxix. 18, in Ezekiel about ninety times, Rev. i. 13, xiv. 14, and in the Gospels always = ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. In itself the Ethiopic phrase can mean 'son of man' or 'the Son of Man'. But if the translator wished to make it clear that the latter title was used, he could do so by prefixing a demonstrative pronoun as a rendering of the Greek article ὁ. This is done in every instance in the Parables save three. In the course of eight verses in lxxxix. 42-9 the Greek article is so rendered eleven times.

Let us now examine the other two titles walda sab'ē and walda b'ēsī. sab'ē distinctively = ἄνθρωπος (though in a few cases it = ἀνήρ). Thus walda sab'ē = υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου. It can also = ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, but to make this unmistakable the translator could prefix the demonstrative pronoun as the equivalent of ὁ.

Next comes walda b'ēsī. b'ēsī = ἀνήρ generally, but as Dillmann (*Lex.* 519) puts it, it stands *creberrime* for ἀνθρωπος. In fact in the Ethiopic Version of our book it is used as a rendering of ἀνθρωπος in i. 2, xv. 1. If more of the Greek version had survived we should no doubt find many other instances.

The result of the above examination comes to this. The above three renderings do not presuppose three different forms in the Greek. They most probably presuppose merely one, i. e. ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, but walda b'ēsī may presuppose ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός. But I think the latter improbable. In lxii. 5; lxix. 29 (*bis*); lxxi. 14 b'ēsī may be a rendering of ἀνθρώπου as in i. 2; xv. 1.

This change of rendering may seem surprising, but we have a perfect parallel in the Curetonian and Sinaitic versions of the Syriac N.T.¹ Thus whereas in the Peshitto b'reh dē-našā (ברה דנאשא) occurs uniformly as a rendering of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, in the Curetonian version we have b'reh de-gabrā (ברה דגברא) in Luke vii. 34; ix. 26; xxii. 48, and in the Sinaitic version b'reh de-gabrā in Mark viii. 38; Luke vii. 34; John xiii. 31, and elsewhere in both these versions b'reh de-našā. In the Palestinian Lectionary there is still another way of rendering the phrase, but this does not concern us here. We have, however, learnt from these versions that differences in the manner of rendering the title 'Son of Man' in these versions does not imply any difference in the original Greek. Similarly we conclude that the three renderings of this title in the Parables do not presuppose corresponding variations in the Greek, but are due to the translator.

If, then, these variations in the Parables are due to the translator or translators it follows that these translators were Aramaic-speaking Jews, since the phrases walda b'ēsī and walda sab'ē are respectively equivalents of b'reh de gabrā and b'reh dē-našā.²

On the above grounds we conclude that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου stood in all cases in the Greek version of the

¹ See Schmidt in *Encyc. Bibl.* iv. 4714.

² The Aramaisms in the Ethiopic version of the O.T. are probably due to Aramaean missionaries.

BOOK OF ENOCH

Parables.¹ That this Greek *phrase* represents the Hebrew **בְּיָהֳדָם**, we shall further conclude from the evidence given in the next section.

(c) *Passages which postulate a Hebrew original.*

xxxix. 7^b. 'The righteous . . . shall †be strong† (*a-m* : 'be beautiful' *m, β*) as fiery lights'. Neither reading is satisfactory. *a-m* = **יְהוֹקִי** which may be corrupt for **יְהוֹרִי** = 'shine': cf. Dan. xii. 3 **כְּכֹכְבִּים** **יִהְיוּ**.

xlvi. 7. 'These are they who †judge† the stars of heaven.' Here, as I have shown, the text appears to be based on Dan. viii. 10, and should be read (see my note *in loc.*) as follows:—

'These are they who raise their hands against the Most High,
And cast down the stars of heaven,
And tread them upon the earth.'

Thus 'judge' = **יָדִינוּ** which the context shows to be corrupt for **יְרִידוּ** = 'cast down'.

xlvi. 4^b. 'Because the number of the righteous **had been offered**.' As the context shows (see my note *in loc.*) these words mean that the number of the righteous, i.e. the martyrs, is complete: cf. Rev. vi. 10, 11. Now *a* reads qarēba = ἡγγικε = **קָרַב**, which in Mishnaic Hebrew = 'has been offered'. This meaning is not found in the qal of this verb in Aramaic.

lii. 9. 'All these things shall be [denied and] destroyed from the surface of the earth.' Here there were two alternative Greek renderings of **יִכָּחְרוּ**. One was originally in the text, and the other in the margin, but subsequently both were incorporated into the text. Or the dittograph was native to the Hebrew, i.e. **יִכָּחְרוּ** and **יִכָּחְרוּ**. Schmidt attempts to explain the corruption from an Aramaic basis by assuming that **יִתְרַמְאוּ** stood in the original, and that this received the two renderings in the text. But **רַמַּא** does not mean 'to destroy'. Moreover, the Ethiopic word kēhēda here, which means 'to deny', occurs again in xlv. 1; xlvi. 7; xlviii. 10, in which three passages Schmidt says it goes back to the Aramaic **כַּפַּר**. Thus his proposal is satisfactory in no respect.

lx. 6. I have followed *u* in the text, but the parallelism is in favour of regarding the text as corrupt in the word 'worship'. This word is wholly unsatisfactory. It = **יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶי**, which may be corrupt (or **יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶי** = 'pervert' or 'corrupt'). Thus we recover an excellent parallelism:—

'For those who corrupt the righteous law,
And for those who deny the righteous judgement,
And for those who take His name in vain.'

lxv. 10^a. 'Their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be **withheld** by me for ever.'

For 'withheld' the text reads *οὐ λογισθήσεται* or *ἀριθμῆσεται*. The Ethiopic word can mean either. The former rendering (as in lii. 8^d) is generally followed here. It is, however, unsatisfactory. The true reading, as I pointed out in my text, can be recovered by retranslation into Hebrew. *οὐ λογισθήσεται* = **לֹא יִחְשַׁב**, corrupt for **לֹא יִחְשַׁב** = 'shall not be withheld'. Here Schmidt follows the other possible meaning of the Ethiopic word *ἀριθμῆσεται* = **יִתְמַנֵּה**—a corruption of **יִתְמַנֵּה**.

lxv. 10^b. 'Because of the **sorceries** which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those who dwell upon it shall be destroyed.' Instead of 'sorceries' the Ethiopic reads 'months' = **חֳדָשִׁים**, which Halévy rightly recognized as a corruption of **חֲרָשִׁים** = 'sorceries'. It is true that on an exceptional occasion Aramaic-speaking Jews used **חֲרָשִׁים** instead of their own word **יִרְחִים**. Hence the evidence for a Hebrew original is slightly weakened here.

The text of this passage as known to Halévy and originally to myself was corrupt, and Schmidt rightly objected to this text even when emended as follows: 'because of the sorceries which they have searched out and (through which) they know that the earth . . . will be destroyed.' Schmidt observes that it 'is a strange idea that the terrible judgement of the flood would come because men had succeeded in discovering that the earth with its inhabitants would be destroyed.' This observation is just, but the remedy lies in the MSS. *g t u*, which omit the 'that'. The omission of this word restores the meaning of the whole verse. See note on p. 131 of my second edition of Enoch.

From the above evidence we infer a Hebrew original. As in the Hebrew chapters of Daniel, so here there were possibly many Aramaisms.

Chapters lxxii–lxxxii. From a Hebrew original.

lxxvi. 1, 14. Here the word in the text 'winds' = **רוּחוֹת**, which should have been rendered 'quarters'. This restoration is possible both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

lxxvii. 1. In this verse there is a play on the four quarters of the earth. It is possible to recover this play by retranslation into either Hebrew or Aramaic in the case of the 'east' and 'north': **קִדְמִים** or **קִדְמִים** and **צָפוֹן** or **צָפוֹן**.

But this is not so in the case of the south and west. As regards the first the text reads 'the south, because the Most High will descend there, yea there . . . will He . . . descend' = **יָרֵד שָׁמָּה**. This is possible only in Hebrew.

lxxvii. 2. 'And the west quarter is named (lit. 'its name') diminished because there all the luminaries wane.' **וְהָרְחוֹק הַמַּעֲרִבִית שְׁמוֹ אֲחֵרִין כִּי שָׁם יֵאָחֲזוּ כָּל-הַמֵּאֲוֹרוֹת**.

¹ There is just a possibility that two forms stood in the Greek version, i.e. *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* and *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός*, and that these were due to the translators, who in this case also would be Aramaic-speaking Jews, but this is highly improbable.

INTRODUCTION

lxxviii. 1. Of the two names of the sun which are transliterated, though corruptly, in this verse, one is Hebrew and not Aramaic ; i. e. Orjares = אִיר הָרָם. The other, Tômás, i. e. תִּמּוֹז, is Hebrew and Aramaic ; but if it is corrupt from חמה, as Halévy conjectures, it is Hebrew.

lxxviii. 2. Of the four names of the moon which are here transliterated, three are Hebrew only, Asônjá, i. e. אִישׁוֹן, Eblâ, i. e. לְבָנָה, and Benâsê, i. e. בְּנוֹר־כֶּסֶה.

lxxx. 5. See note *in loc.*

lxxxii. 10. See note *in loc.*

lxxxii. 15. ‘Tamâinî and Sun.’ These two names are one, i. e. שֶׁמֶשׁ הַיְמָנִי ‘the southern sun’. This is Hebrew, and not Aramaic.

Chapters lxxxiii–xc. *From a Hebrew (or Aramaic?) original.*

lxxxix. 44. The emendation suggested here is possible both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

xc. 13^a, 16^a. In the duplicate version which we have of these verses, ‘shepherds’ in xc. 13 corresponds to ‘ravens’ in xc. 16. The latter is right. The corruption can be explained from a Hebrew background, רָעִים, corrupt for עֲרֵבִים, or from an Aramaic רַעִין, corrupt for עֲרִיבִין.

xc. 13^b, 16^b. In the former ‘cried to’ corresponds to ‘were gathered together’ in the latter. Now the former = κρᾶζον = יִצְעֻקִי or יִצְעֻקִי, and the latter יִצְעֻקִי or יִצְעֻקִי in Hebrew. But this explanation is impossible in Aramaic ; for though זַעַק and זַעַק occur in the sense of ‘to cry’, no mood of this verb is used in the sense of ‘to assemble’. For this word they use כָּנַשׁ.

xc. 18. **covered them.** The Ethiopic expression here is not good Ethiopic, but reproduces the Greek ἐκάλυψεν ἐπ’ αὐτούς, which in turn is a literal rendering of כָּסָה עֲלֵיהֶם (Hebrew), or חָפָא (כָּסִי or) עֲלֵיהוֹן in Aramaic.

xc. 27. ‘I saw those sheep †burning and their bones burning†.’ This clause is obviously corrupt. In ‘bones’ there appears to be a mistranslation of the late Hebrew עֲצָם or the Aramaic גֵּרָם, which literally mean ‘bone’ or ‘bones’, but which when compounded with a suffix = ‘self’ or ‘selves’. The participle is then a doublet. Hence we have וָאֵרָא הַצֹּאֵן הַזֶּה עֹצְמָה בַּעֲרָת = ‘I saw these very sheep burning.’ This is possible also in Aramaic.

xc. 38. ‘The first among them became the **lamb**.’ ‘The lamb’ = הַמִּלָּה, which was corrupted into הַמִּלָּה, as Goldschmidt has pointed out, whence the Ethiopic text ‘the word’. This explanation is possible also in Aramaic.

Chapters xci–civ. *From a Hebrew original.*

xciii. 5. Text reads ‘after him’ = אַחֲרָיו, which I take to be corrupt for אַחֲרֵיתוֹ = ‘his posterity’.

xciii. 8^b. The Ethiopic has a peculiar form, and = ἀσεβήσουσιν καρδίαι πάντων ἀπὸ τῆς σοφίας, which is pure Hebrew = מִחֲכָמָה כָּל־לֵב יִרְשַׁע. Cf. Ps. xviii. 22, רִשְׁעֹתַי מִאֲלֹהֵי.

xcv. 1^a. ‘Oh, that mine eyes were [a cloud of] waters.’ The bracketed word is either an intrusion and = עֵינַי, a dittograph of עֵינַי = ‘eyes’, or עֵינַי is corrupt for עֵינַי = ‘fount’, the corruption being due to the occurrence of the phrase ‘cloud of waters’ in xcv. 1^a. Hence ‘Oh, that mine eyes were a fount of waters’. This is possible also in Aramaic.

xcvi. 5. ‘Who devour the finest of the wheat
And drink **wine in large bowls**.’

For the emended phrase E has here the extraordinary words ‘strength of the root of the fountain’ = ἰσχυρὸς πηγῆς = עֵינַי עֵינַי, corrupt for עֵינַי עֵינַי (Amos vi. 6). See my note *in loc.*

xcvi. 6^a. **From every fountain.** E reads ‘at every time’ = בְּכָל־עֵת, corrupt for מִכָּל־עֵינַי.

xcvii. 8^b–9. We have here a remarkable series of rhyming verses which arise on retranslation into Hebrew.

8	עֵשֶׂר עֶשְׂרִי	9 ^a	וְנַעֲשָׂה שְׁחָשְׁבָנוּ
	וְרָכִישׁ לָנוּ	b	כִּי כִסֶּף אִסַּף אִסַּפְנוּ
	וְכָל קָנִינוּ	d	וְרַבִּים אִכְרִי בַחֲנִינוּ
	אֶשְׂרֵי אֵינִינוּ	c	וּזְלָאִים כְּמִים אִוְצְרִינוּ

xcviii. 4^{ab}. See note *in loc.*

xcix. 6. Here E = εἰς ἡμέραν αἵματος ἀδιαλείπτου, but in Tertullian (*De Idol.* iv) the phrase appears as ‘in diem sanguinis *perditionis*’ = εἰς ἡμέραν αἵματος ἀπωλείας = לְיוֹם דָּם לֵאיד, where לֵאיד is corrupt for לָעַר = ἀδιαλείπτου.

xcix. 16. E (1, g β) reads ‘the spirit of His indignation’ = רוּחַ אַפּוֹ, corrupt for חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ = ‘His fierce indignation.’

c. 6^a. See note *in loc.*

ci. 4. E reads ‘kings’ = מְלָכִי, corrupt for מַלְחֵי, ‘sailors’. This is also possible in Aramaic.

§ 10. (a) INFLUENCE OF 1 ENOCH ON JEWISH LITERATURE.

In the *Book of Jubilees*, written before 105 B.C., the older Sections of 1 *Enoch* are drawn upon, but in the later Sections the converse relation may be assumed:—

<i>Jubilees.</i>		1 <i>Enoch.</i>
i. 11. ‘sacrifice . . . to demons’.		xix. 1. ‘sacrificing to demons as gods’.
16. ‘the plant of uprightness’.		xciii. 2. ‘the plant of uprightness’.

BOOK OF ENOCH

Jubilees.

29. 'the heavens . . . shall be renewed . . . the powers of the heaven . . . the luminaries be renewed'.
 ii. 2. 'the spirit . . . of snow . . . of hoar-frost'.
 iii. 10. 'the heavenly tablets', and *passim*.
 iv. 15. 'Jared; for in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth'.
 'the Watchers'. Cf. x. 5.
 20. 'he took to himself a wife . . . Ednî'.
 22. 'testified to the Watchers'.
 'unite themselves, so as to be defiled with the daughters of men'.
 23. 'we conducted him into the Garden of Eden'.
 26. 'the Mount of the East'.
 v. 1. 'they bare . . . giants'.
 6. 'He bade us to bind them in the depths of the earth'. Cf. v. 10, x. 7.
 9. 'that each should slay his neighbour'.
 10. 'And their fathers were witnesses (of their destruction), and after this they were bound in the depths of the earth for ever, until the day of the great condemnation when judgement is executed', &c.
 11, 12. 'He †destroyed† all . . . And He †made† . . . a new and righteous nature', &c.
 29. 'the (i.e. the seven) floodgates of heaven were restrained; and . . . all the mouths of the abysses of the earth were opened, and the water began to descend into the deep below'.
 vii. 22. The Giants, the Nâphîl, the Eljô.
 'they devoured one another'. Cf. v. 2, 9.
 23. 'shed much blood . . . the earth was filled with iniquity'.
 29. 'into Sheol shall they go, and into the place of condemnation shall they descend, and into the darkness'. Cf. xxii. 22.
 39. 'the seventh in his generation'.
 viii. 12. 'the middle of the earth' (Shem's lot).
 x. 1. 'the unclean demons began to lead astray . . . and destroy them'.
 xii. 2. 'What help and profit have we from those idols?'
 4. 'who causes the rain and the dew to descend on the earth'.
 xv. 32. 'But over Israel He did not appoint any angel or spirit for He alone is their ruler'. Contrast 1 En. lxxxix. 59.
 'He will . . . require them at the hands of His angels'.
 xvi. 26. 'plant of righteousness'.
 xxii. 17. 'worship evil spirits'.
 xxx. 22. 'the book of life'. Cf. xxxvi. 10.
 xxxii. 18, 19. Jacob's seed are to rule and judge.
 xxxvii. 20. 'the boar' (= Esau).

1 *Enoch.*

- xc. 16. 'a new heaven shall appear, and all the powers of the heavens shall give sevenfold light'.
 lx. 18. 'the spirit of the snow'.
 17. 'the spirit of the hoar-frost'.
 lxxxi. 1, 2, xciii. 2, ciii. 2. 'the heavenly tablets'.
 vi. 6. (the angels) 'descended in the days of Jared'.
 i. 5, xii. 2-4. 'the Watchers'.
 lxxxv. 3. 'Before I took . . . Edna'.
 xii. 3-6, xiii. 1-10, xiv. 4-7, xv. 2 sqq.
 x. 11. 'united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves with them'. Cf. xv. 3, 4.
 lx. 8. ' . . . the garden where the elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam'.
 xviii. 7, 8. Cf. xxiv. 3, xxv. 3.
 vii. 2. 'they bare great giants'.
 x. 12. 'bind them fast . . . **in the valleys** (*emended*) of the earth'.
 x. 9. 'that they may destroy each other in battle'.
 x. 12. 'And when their sons have slain one another, and they have seen the destruction of their beloved, bind them fast for seventy generations **in the valleys** of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is for ever and ever is consummated'.
 x. 15, 16. 'destroy all . . . and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear', &c.
 lxxxix. 7. 'those (i.e. the seven) water torrents were removed from that high roof and the chasms of the earth were levelled up and other abysses were opened. 8. Then the water began to run down into these', &c.
 vii. 1. (*Syncellus' Greek Version*). The Giants, Nephilim, the Eliud.
 lxxxvii. 1. 'devour each other'. Cf. vii. 5, x. 9, 12.
 ix. 1. 'much blood being shed . . . all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth'.
 ciii. 7, 8. 'their souls shall be made to descend into Sheol . . . and into darkness . . . and a burning flame . . . grievous judgement'.
 xciii. 3. 'the seventh in the first week'.
 xxvi. 1. 'the middle of the earth' (Palestine).
 xix. 1. 'their (i.e. the angels') spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray'. Cf. also xv. 8, 11; xvi. 1.
 xcix. 7. 'shall get no manner of help from them'.
 ci. 2. 'withholds the rain and the dew from descending on the earth'.
 lxxxix. 59. 'And He called seventy shepherds and cast those sheep to them'.
 xc. 17, 22.
 x. 16. 'plant of righteousness'.
 xcix. 7. 'worship impure spirits and demons'.
 xlvii. 3. 'the books of the living'.
 xc. 3; xcvi. 1. The righteous rule and judge.
 lxxxix. 12, 42, 49, 66. 'wild boar', 'wild boars' (= Edom).

INTRODUCTION

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, written between 109 and 105 B. C., there are nine direct references to Enoch.

T. Lev. x. 5. 'the house which the Lord shall choose . . . as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous'.

xvi. 1. 'I have learned (+ 'in the book of Enoch' $\beta A^B S$) . . . for seventy weeks,' &c.

xiv. 1. 'I have learned ('from the writing of Enoch' $\beta A^B S^1$), &c.'

The other six, *T. Sim.* v. 4; *T. Jud.* xviii. 1 ($\beta A S^1$); *T. Zeb.* iii. 4 (βS^1); *T. Dan.* v. 6; *T. Naph.* iv. 1; *T. Benj.* ix. 1, cannot be traced directly to any passage in 1 En. In *T. Zeb.* iii. 4 *a* reads 'Moses' for 'Enoch' in βS^1 .

There are also parallels in the *Testaments* to 1 *Enoch*, e. g.:

T. Reub. v. 6, 7. The Watchers, the women, and the giants.

T. Lev. iii. 4. 'the Great Glory' ($a \beta A^B S^1$).

xvi. 2. 'make void the law and set at naught . . . by evil perverseness'.

xviii. 5. 'The heavens shall exult in his days
And the earth shall be glad . . .
And the angels of the glory of the presence of
the Lord shall be glad in him'.

T. Naph. iii. 5. 'the Watchers also changed the order of their nature'.

Possibly 1 *Enoch* was used by the author of the *Assumption of Moses*, written between A. D. 7 and 30.

Ass. Mos.

x. 3. 'He will go forth from His holy habitation,
4. And the earth shall tremble: to its confines shall
it be shaken: And the high mountains shall be made
low, and the hills (*emended*) shall be shaken and fall'.

The affinities of 2 *Baruch* with 1 *Enoch* are more numerous.

2 *Bar.*

x. 8. 'Sirens'.
xiii. 8. 'the judgement . . . no respect of persons'.
xxiv. 1. 'the books shall be opened'.
xxix. 4. Myth of Behemoth and Leviathan.
5. 'the earth shall yield its fruit ten thousandfold'.

xxxv. 2. Become ye springs, O mine eyes, and ye,
mine eyelids, a fount of tears'.
li. 10. 'they shall be made like unto the angels,
and be made equal to the stars'.
liv. 2. 'For whom nothing is too hard'.
lv. 3. Ramiel.
lvi. 12-13.
lix. 2. 'the eternal law'.

In 4 *Ezra*, written between A. D. 81-96, we find an apparent use of 1 *Enoch*, particularly of the Parables.

4 *Ezra.*

vi. 49-52. Leviathan and Behemoth.

vii. 32, 33. 'Et terra reddet qui in ea dormiunt, et
pulvis qui in eo silentio habitant, et promptuaria red-
dent quae eis commendatae sunt animae. Et reve-
labitur Altissimus super sedem iudicii.'

37.
85, 95.
125. 'nostrae vero facies super tenebras nigrae'.

1 *En.* lxxxix. 50. 'the house for the Lord', &c.

lxxxix. 59 sqq. 'seventy shepherds'.

xc. 6, 7.

1 *En.* vi-ix. 2.

xiv. 20; cii. 3.
xcix. 2, 14; civ. 9, 10.

li. 4. 'And in those days shall the mountains leap
like rams,
And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied
with milk,
And the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall
be lighted up with joy'.
vi.-ix. 2.

1 *Enoch.*

i. 4. 'will come forth from His dwelling'.
i. 5, 6. '. . . unto the ends of the earth. The
high mountains shall be shaken And the high hills . . .
made low'.

1 *Enoch.*

xix. 2. 'Sirens'.
lxiii. 8. 'His judgements have no respect of persons'.
xc. 20. 'opened those books'.
lx. 7-9, 24. Myth of Leviathan and Behemoth
(earlier form).
x. 19. 'Each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand'.
xcv. 1. 'Oh, that mine eyes were a fount of waters',
&c.
civ. 2, 4. 'ye shall shine as the lights of heaven . . .
have great joy as the angels'.
lxxxiv. 3. 'nothing is too hard for Thee'.
xx. 7. 'Remiel' (G^2).
vi-x.
xcix. 2. 'the eternal law'.

1 *Enoch.*

lx. 7-9, 24. Leviathan and Behemoth (earliest form
of myth).
li. 1, 3. 'and in those days shall the earth also give
back that which has been entrusted to it, And Sheol
also shall give back that which it has received, And
hell shall give back that which it owes . . . And the
Elect one shall . . . sit on My throne'.
lxii. 1: lx. 6.
c. 5.
lxii. 10. 'the darkness shall grow deeper on their
faces'.

BOOK OF ENOCH

From the second century A.D. onwards all knowledge of the *Book of Enoch* vanishes from Jewish literature with the exception of a few references that are given by Jellinek in the *Zeitschr. D. M. G.*, 1853, p. 249.

(b) THE INFLUENCE OF I ENOCH ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I *Enoch* has had more influence on the *New Testament* than has any other apocryphal or pseudepigraphic work. A few examples will clearly illustrate this.

<i>New Testament.</i>	<i>I Enoch.</i>
<i>(a) General Epistles.</i>	
<i>Jude</i> 6. 'the angels which left their own habitation . . . reserved . . . great day'.	xii. 4. 'the Watchers . . . who have left the high heaven' . . .
14. 'the seventh from Adam'.	x. 4-6, 11, 12. 'Bind . . . darkness . . . judgement'.
14, 15.	lx. 8. 'the seventh from Adam'.
I <i>John</i> i. 7. 'walk in the light'.	i. 9. Cf. v. 4; xxvii. 2.
ii. 8. 'the darkness is past'.	xcii. 4. 'walk in eternal light'.
15. 'Love not the world nor the things that are in the world'.	lviii. 5. 'the darkness is past'.
	cviii. 8. 'love . . . nor any of the good things which are in the world'.
<i>(b) Revelation.</i>	
ii. 7. 'the tree of life'. Cf. xxii. 2, 14, 19.	xxv. 4-6. The tree of life.
iii. 5. 'clothed in white raiment'.	xc. 31. 'clothed in white'.
10. 'them that dwell upon the earth'.	xxxvii. 5. 'those that dwell on the earth'.
17. 'I am rich and increased with goods'.	xcvii. 8. 'We have become rich with riches and have possessions'.
20. 'I will come in to him and will sup with him and he with me'.	lxii. 14. 'and with that Son of Man shall they (i.e. the righteous) eat and lie down and rise up'.
iv. 6. 'round about the throne were four living creatures'.	xl. 2. 'On the four sides of the Lord of spirits I saw four presences'.
8. 'they rest not . . . saying'.	xxxix. 13. 'who sleep not . . . and say'.
vi. 10. The prayer of the righteous for judgement.	xlvii. 2. The prayer of the righteous for judgement.
15, 16. Compare the fear of the kings of the earth, and the princes, and the chief captains, and the rich, and the strong, when they see 'the face of him that sitteth on the throne'.	lxii. 3. 'the kings, and the mighty, and the exalted . . . shall be terrified . . . and pain shall seize them when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory'.
vii. 1. Angels of the winds.	lxix. 22. 'spirits . . . of the winds'.
15. 'He that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them'.	xlvi. 4. 'I will cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them'.
ix. 1. 'I saw a star from heaven fallen to the earth'.	lxxxvi. 1. 'And I saw . . . and behold a star fell from heaven'.
20. 'worship demons, and the idols of gold, and of silver, and of brass, and of stone, and of wood'.	xcix. 7. 'worship stones, and grave images of gold, and silver, and wood, <and stone> and clay, and those who worship impure spirits and demons'.
xiii. 14. 'deceiveth them that dwell on the earth'.	liv. 6. 'leading astray those who dwell on the earth'.
xiv. 9, 10. 'tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels . . . '.	xlvi. 9. 'burn before the face of the holy . . . sink before the face of the righteous'.
10. 'holy angels'.	xx. 1 and <i>passim</i> . 'holy angels'.
20. 'blood came out . . . even to the horses' bridles'.	c. 3. 'the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners'.
xvii. 14. 'Lord of lords and King of kings'.	ix. 4. 'Lord of lords . . . King of kings'.
xx. 13. 'the sea gave up the dead . . ., and death and Hades gave up the dead which were in them'.	li. 1. 'in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it, and Sheol also shall give back . . . and hell shall give back . . . '.
15. 'cast into the lake of fire'.	xc. 26. 'cast into this fiery abyss'.
xxii. 3. 'no more curse'. Cf. xxi. 4.	xxv. 6. 'no sorrow or plague or torment or calamity'.
<i>(c) Epistles of St. Paul.</i>	
<i>Rom.</i> viii. 38. 'angels . . . principalities . . . powers'.	<i>I Enoch.</i>
Cf. <i>Eph.</i> i. 21; <i>Col.</i> i. 16.	lxi. 10. 'angels of power and . . . angels of principalities'.
ix. 5. 'God blessed for ever'. Cf. xi. 31.	lxxvii. 1. 'He who is blessed for ever'.
I <i>Cor.</i> vi. 11. 'justified in the name of the Lord Jesus'.	xlvi. 7. 'in his (i.e. the Messiah's) name they are saved'.

INTRODUCTION

New Testament.

2 Cor. iv. 6. 'to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ'.

Eph. i. 9. 'according to His good pleasure'.

v. 8. 'children of light'. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 5.

Col. ii. 3. 'in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge'.

1 Thess. v. 3. 'then sudden destruction cometh upon them as travail upon a woman with child'.

2 Thess. i. 7. 'the angels of His power'.

1 Tim. i. 9. 'law is not made for a righteous man but for the lawless', &c.

i. 15. 'worthy of all acceptation'. Cf. iv. 9.

v. 21. 'the elect angels'.

vi. 15. 'King of kings and Lord of lords'.

(d) *Epistle to the Hebrews.*

iv. 13. 'there is no creature that is not manifest in His sight: but all things are naked and laid open before the eyes of Him with whom we have to do'.

xi. 5. 'Enoch was translated', &c.

xii. 9. 'Father of Spirits'.

(e) *Acts of the Apostles.*

iii. 14. 'the Righteous One' (= Christ).

iv. 12. 'none other name . . . whereby we must be saved'.

x. 4. 'thy prayers . . . are gone up for a memorial before God'.

xvii. 31. 'He will judge the world in righteousness by the man whom He hath ordained'.

(f) *The Gospels.*

John v. 22. 'He hath committed all judgement unto the Son'.

xii. 36. 'sons of light'. Cf. Luke xvi. 8.

xiv. 2. 'mansions'.

Luke i. 52. 'He hath put down princes from their thrones'.

ix. 35. 'This is My Son, the Elect One'.

xviii. 7. 'Shall not God avenge His elect which cry unto Him day and night'. Cf. 2 Pet. iii. 9.

xxi. 28. 'your redemption draweth nigh'.

xxiii. 35. 'the Christ of God, the Elect One'.

Matt. xix. 28. 'when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory'.

'ye also shall sit on twelve thrones'.

xix. 29. 'inherit eternal life'.

xxv. 41. 'prepared for the devil and his angels'.

xxvi. 24. 'It had been good for that man if he had not been born'.

1 *Enoch.*

xxxviii. 4. 'the Lord of Spirits has **caused His light to appear** (*emended*) on the face of the holy, righteous and elect'.

xliv. 4. 'according to His good pleasure'.

cviii. 11. 'the generation of light'.

xlvi. 3. 'the Son of Man . . . who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden'.

lxii. 4. 'Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail'.

lxi. 10. 'the angels of power'.

xciii. 4. 'a law shall be made for the sinners'.

xciv. 1. 'worthy of acceptation'.

xxxix. 1. 'elect and holy children . . . from the high heaven'.

ix. 4. 'Lord of lords . . . King of kings'.

1 *Enoch.*

ix. 5. 'all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee'.

xv. 1; lxx. 1-4.

xxxvii. 2. 'Lord of Spirits' (and *passim* in Parables).

1 *Enoch.*

liii. 6. 'the Righteous and Elect One' (= Messiah).

xlvi. 7. 'in His (i.e. the Messiah's) name they are saved'.

xcix. 3. 'raise your prayers as a memorial . . . before the Most High'.

xli. 9. 'He appoints a judge for them all and he judges them all before Him'.

1 *Enoch.*

lxix. 27. 'the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man'.

cviii. 11. 'the generation of light'.

xxxix. 4. 'dwelling places of the holy', &c.

xlvi. 4. 'shall +raise up+ (Read 'put down') the kings . . . from their thrones'.

xl. 5. 'the Elect One' (i.e. the Messiah). Cf. xlv. 3, 4 'Mine Elect One'; xlix. 2, 4.

xlvi. 1, 2. 'the prayer of the righteous . . . that judgement may be done unto them', &c.

li. 2. 'the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved'.

xl. 5. 'the Elect One'.

lxii. 5. 'When they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory'.

cviii. 12. 'I will seat each on the throne of his honour'.

xl. 9. 'inherit eternal life'.

liv. 4, 5. 'chains . . . prepared for the hosts of Azâzêl'.

xxxviii. 2. 'It had been good for them if they had not been born'.

(c) THE INFLUENCE OF 1 ENOCH ON PATRISTIC LITERATURE.

Epistle of Barnabas (soon after A. D. 70).

xvi. 4 λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή· καὶ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ παραδώσει Κύριος τὰ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς καὶ τὴν μάνδραν καὶ τὸν πύργον αὐτῶν εἰς καταφθοράν.

1 *Enoch.*

lxxxix. 56. 'He forsook that their house and their tower and gave them (i.e. 'those sheep') all into the hands of the lions, to . . . devour them. 66. . . . devoured. . . those sheep . . . and they burnt that tower and demolished that house'.

BOOK OF ENOCH

Apocalypse of Peter (ed. Robinson and James, 1892).
2. τοὺς πεινῶντας καὶ διψῶντας καὶ θλιβομένους, &c.
3. σώματα . . . λευκότερα πάσης χιόνος καὶ ἐρυθρό-
τερα παντὸς ῥόδου.
5. μὴ φωνῇ τὸν Κύριον θεὸν ἀνευφήμουν.
6. οἱ κολάζοντες ἄγγελοι.
8. ἄγγελοι βασανισταί.

Justin Martyr.
Apol. ii. 5 οἱ δ' ἄγγελοι . . . γυναικῶν μίξεσιν ἡττή-
θησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἳ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαί-
μονες . . . καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπους φόνους, πολέμους, μοιχείας
. . . καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν ἐσπειραν. Cf. i. 5.

Tatian (flor. A. D. 160).
Oratio adv. Graecos, 8.
20.

Athenagoras (about A. D. 170).
Legatio pro Christianis, 24, 25 οὗτοι τοίνυν οἱ ἄγ-
γελοι οἱ ἐκπεσόντες τῶν οὐρανῶν, . . . οὐκέτι εἰς τὰ ὑπερ-
ουράνια ὑπερκύβηαι δυνάμενοι' καὶ αἱ τῶν γιγάντων ψυχαί,
οἱ περὶ τὸν κόσμον εἰσὶ πλανώμενοι δαίμονες.

Minucius Felix.
xxvi 'Isti igitur spiritus, posteaquam simplicitatem
substantiae suae . . . perdiderunt . . . non desinunt
perditi iam perdere . . . et alienati a Deo, inductis
religionibus a Deo segregare. Eos spiritus daemona
esse poetae sciunt . . .'

Irenaeus (ob. circa A. D. 202).
i. 15. 6 . . . Δε' ἀγγελικῆς δυνάμεως Ἀζαζήλ ποιῶν.
iv. 16. 2 (ed. Stieren) 'Sed et Enoch . . . cum esset
homo, legatione ad angelos fungebatur et translatus
est et conservatur usque nunc testis iudicii Dei,
quoniam angeli quidam transgressi deciderunt in
terram in iudicium.'
iv. 36. 4.
v. 28. 2 ' . . . daemoniis et apostaticis spiritibus
ministrantibus ei, per eos faciet signa, in quibus
seducat habitantes super terram.'

Tertullian, writing between A. D. 197 and 223, regards Enoch as scripture.

Apol. xxii.
De Cultu Fem. i. 2.
ii. 10.
De Idol. iv.
De Idol. ix; *De Virg. Veland.* vii.

Clement of Alexandria (circa A. D. 150-210).
Eclogae Prophet. (ed. Dindorf), iii. 456.
iii. 474.
Strom. iii. 9.

Julius Africanus (ob. circa A. D. 237).
Chronographia. . . . ἄγγελοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θυγατράσιν
ἀνθρώπων συνῆλθον. Ἐν ἐνίοις ἀντιγράφοις εἶρον 'οἱ
υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.' Εἰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀγγέλων νοοῖτο ἔχειν τούτους,
τοὺς περὶ μαγείας καὶ γοητείας, ἔτι δὲ ἀριθμῶν κινήσεως,
τῶν μετεώρων ταῖς γυναιξὶ τὴν γνῶσιν παραδεδοκέναι, ἀφ'
ὧν ἐποίησαν τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς γίγαντας, δι' οὗς τῆς κακίας
ἐπιγενομένης . . .

i *Enoch.*

cviii. 7-9.
cvi. 2, 10.

lxi. 9-11. 'one voice . . . bless', &c.
liii. 3, &c. 'angels of punishment'.

ix. 8, 9; xv. 8, 9.

viii. 3. 'astrology'.
vi. 6; xv. 8, 9.

vi; vii; xiii. 5; xv. 8, 10.

viii; xv. 8-12; xvi. 1; xix. 1.

viii. 1. Cf. also x. 8.
xii. 4-6; xiii; xiv. 3-7; xv; xvi.

x. 2, 'a deluge,' &c.
xcix. 7.

xix. 1.

i *En.* xv. 8, 9.
viii. 1. 3.
viii. 1.
xix. 1; xcix. 6, 7.
vi; xiv. 5.

xix. 3.
viii. 2, 3.
viii; xvi. 3.

vii. 1; viii, &c.

INTRODUCTION

Origen (A. D. 185-254) does not regard Enoch as inspired, and yet he does not wholly reject it. Cf. *Contra Celsum*, v. 52-4; *In Ioannem*, vi. 25; *In Num. Homil.* xxviii. 2; *De Princip.* i. 3. 3; iv. 35.

Acta SS. Perpet. et Felic. (ed. Robinson, p. 72 sqq.).

vii.
xii.

Commodianus (flor. A. D. 250), *Instructiones* (ed. Migne, P. L. v. 203-4).

i. 3. (Deus) Visitari voluit terram ab angelis istam,
Legitima cuius spreverunt illi dimissi,
Tanta fuit forma feminarum, quae flecteret illos,
Ut coinquinati non possent caelo redire.
Rebelles ex illo contra Deum verba misere.
Altissimus inde sententiam misit in illos
De semine quorum gigantes nati feruntur.
Ab ipsis in terra artes prolatae fuere,
Et tingere lanas docuerunt et quaeque geruntur,
Mortales et illi mortuos simulacro ponebant.
Omnipotens autem, quod essent de semine pravo,
Non censuit illos recipi defunctos e morte.
Unde modo vagi subvertunt corpora multa
Maxime quos hodie colitis et deos oratis.

Cyprian (flor. A. D. 250).

De Hab. Virg. 14 (ed. Hartel, i. p. 197) 'Neque Deus . . . tinguere . . . docuit . . . lapillis aut margaritis . . . quae omnia peccatores et apostatae angeli suis artibus prodiderunt . . . oculos circumducto nigrore fucare . . .'

Pseudo-Cyprian (third century A. D.).

Ad Novatianum (ed. Hartel, *Cyprian*, iii. p. 67) 'Ecce venit cum multis milibus nuntiorum suorum facere iudicium de omnibus et perdere omnes impios et arguere omnem carnem de omnibus factis impiorum quae fecerunt impie et de omnibus verbis quae de Deo locuti sunt peccatores.'

Hippolytus (flor. A. D. 220).

Or. adv. Graecos (ed. Bunsen, *Analecta Ante-Nicaena*, i. 393). . . . "Αἰδον, ἐν ᾧ συνέχονται ψυχαὶ δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων . . . 'Ο "Αἰδης τόπος ἐστὶν . . . ἀκατασκεύαστος, χωρίον ὑπόγειον, ἐν ᾧ φῶς κόσμον οὐκ ἐπιλάμπει.

Zosimus of Panopolis (third century), quoted in *Syn-cellus* (Dindorf, i. 1829, p. 24).

Clementine Homilies (fourth century?).

viii. 12 sqq.

The *Clementine Recognitions* has a parallel but independent passage, iv. 26, 27.

Lactantius (flor. A. D. 320) in his *Instit.* ii. 14 (Migne, P. L. vi. 330-2; Brandt and Laubmann, i. p. 162 sqq.) gives quite a long passage which for its main features is indebted to 1 *Enoch* xiv. 5-7; lxix. 4; vii. 1; liv. 6; xv. 8-11; xvi. 1; xix. 1.

Inst. iv. 27; v. 18.

vii. 7.
vii. 16.
vii. 19.
vii. 24.
vii. 26.

Cassianus (A. D. 360-435).

Collatio viii. 21 ' . . . illa opinio vulgi, qua credunt angelos vel maleficia vel diversas artes hominibus tradidisse.'

1 *Enoch*.

xxii. 9.
xiv. 9-17.

(Cf. *Jub.* iv. 15).

vi. 1, 2.
xiv. 5.
i. 9; xiii. 2.
x. 4 sq.; xii. sq.
vii. 2.

viii. 1.
xix. 1.

xv. 6.
xix. 1.

1 *En.* viii. 1, &c.

i. 9.

xxii. 3. 'all the souls of the children of men'.
xxi. 1. 'where things were chaotic' . . . 'a place chaotic'.

vi-viii.

vi. 1-xix. 1.

xix. 1.
xxii.
lxxx. 2.
xc. 19; xci. 12.
x. 17 sq.
xlvi. 9.

viii. 1.

BOOK OF ENOCH

Thenceforward 1 *Enoch* fails to secure a single favourable notice. See Hilary, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3; Chrysostom, *Homil. in Gen.* vi. 1; Jerome, *De Viris Illustr.* iv, *Comment. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3, *Comment. in Ep. ad Titum* i. 12; Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xv. 23, 4, xviii. 38. The book is finally condemned in explicit terms in *Constit. Apost.* vi. 16. From this period the book fell into disuse and became lost to the Western Church, except in the fragments preserved by Syncellus in his *Chronography*, pp. 20-3; 42-7 (ed. Dindorf, 1829). These fragments are vi-ix. 4; viii. 4-x. 14; xv. 8-xvi. 1 and another.

There are also, as might be expected, many parallels in *Gnostic and Apocryphal Literature* to 1 *Enoch*.

<i>Pistis Sophia</i> (third century?) ed. Schwartz, 1851-3. p. 245. p. 354.	1 <i>En.</i> xxxii. 3, 6. vii. 1; viii. 3.
<i>Acts of Thomas</i> (Tisch. <i>Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha</i>). p. 218, ch. xxxii.	vi. 6; lxxxvi. 3; vii. 2, 4.
<i>Acts of 'the Disputation of Archelaus with Manes'</i> (perhaps early in fourth century). ch. xxxii (Routh, <i>Reliquiae</i> , iv. p. 211).	lxxxvi. 1, 3; vii. 1; xv. 3; xviii. 11, 12.
<i>The Narrative of Joseph of Arimathaea</i> (date uncertain) iii. 3 (ed. Tisch. <i>Evangelia Apocrypha</i> , 2nd ed., Lipsiae, 1876, p. 465).	has a close parallel to 1 <i>Enoch</i> . c. 10, 12.
<i>The Apocalypse of Paul</i> has a similar idea. 4 sqq. (Tisch. <i>Apocal. Apocr.</i> p. 36).	c. 10, 12.
<i>The Book of Adam and Eve</i> (ed. Malan, 1882). ii. 8. ii. 19. ii. 22. iii. 4.	xxvi. 1; xc. 26. vi. 6; viii. 1. xxxix. 4, 6, 7. vi-x.

(For the above details in Patristic, and Apocryphal Literature I owe much to Dr. Lawlor in *Journal of Philology*, xxv (1897) 164-225.)

§ 11. INFLUENCE ON NEW TESTAMENT DOCTRINE.

B. Doctrines in Enoch which had an undoubted share in moulding the corresponding New Testament doctrines, or are at all events necessary to the comprehension of the latter.

- (a) The nature of the Messianic kingdom and of the future life.
- (b) The Messiah.
- (c) Sheol and the Resurrection.
- (d) Demonology.

(a) *The Kingdom.* We shall only deal with one incident coming under this head; it is found in the three Synoptists: Matt. xxii. 23-33; Mark xii. 18-27; Luke xx. 27-36. This incident can only be rightly understood from Enoch. When the Sadducees said, 'Whose wife shall she be of them; for the seven had her to wife,' they are arguing from the sensuous conception of the Messianic kingdom—and this was no doubt the popular one—given in 1 Enoch i-xxxvi, according to which its members, including the risen righteous, were to enjoy every good thing of earth, and to have each a thousand children. The Sadducees thought thereby to place this young prophet on the horns of a dilemma, and oblige Him to confess either that there was no resurrection of the dead, or else that polygamy or polyandry would be practised in the coming kingdom. But the dilemma proves invalid; and the conception of the future life portrayed in our Lord's reply tallies almost exactly in thought, and partially in word, with that described in 1 En. xci-civ, according to which there is to be a resurrection indeed, but a resurrection of the spirit, and the risen righteous are to rejoice 'as the angels of heaven' (1 En. civ. 4; Matt. xxii. 30; Mark xii. 25), being 'companions of the hosts of heaven' (1 En. civ. 6).

(b) *The Messiah.* The Messiah is referred to in xc. 37, 38. He is represented as the head of the Messianic community out of which he proceeds, but he has no special rôle to fulfil, and his presence in that description seems due merely to literary reminiscence. This Messiah-reference exercised no influence on New Testament conceptions. But with regard to the Messiah described in the Parables the case is very different. Four titles applied for the first time in literature to the

INTRODUCTION

personal Messiah in the Parables are afterwards reproduced in the New Testament. These are 'Christ' or 'the Anointed One', 'the Righteous One', 'the Elect One', and 'the Son of Man'.

Christ or the Anointed One. This title, found repeatedly in earlier writings but always in reference to actual contemporary kings or priests, is now for the first time—see xlviii. 10; lii. 4—applied to the ideal Messianic king that is to come. It is associated here with supernatural attributes. A few years later in another writing, the Psalms of Solomon (xvii. 36; xviii. 6, 8), it possesses quite a different connotation. In those Psalms the Messiah, though endowed with divine gifts, is a man and nothing more, and springs from the house of David.

The Righteous One. This title, which occurs in Acts iii. 14; vii. 52; xxii. 14 (cp. 1 John ii. 1), first appears in 1 Enoch as a Messianic designation; see 1 En. xxxviii. 2; liii. 6. Righteousness is one of the leading characteristics of the Messiah, xlv. 3.

The Elect One. This title likewise appearing first in 1 En. xl. 5; xlv. 3-4; xlix. 2, 4; li. 3, 5, &c., passes over into the New Testament, Luke ix. 35; xxiii. 35, 'The Christ, the Elect One.' In the Old Testament we find 'Mine Elect', Isa. xlii. 1, but not 'the Elect One'.

The Son of Man. This definite title (see notes on xlv. 2, 3) is found in 1 Enoch for the first time in Jewish literature, and is, historically, the source of the New Testament designation, and contributes to it some of its most characteristic contents. For an account of the relations between the Enochic and New Testament uses of this title, we must refer to the Appendix on 'The Son of Man' at the close of the book.

(c) *Sheol.* If we except the Psalms we have in 1 Enoch the first instances in which this word is found in its New Testament signification. For the history of this word and its meanings, see note on lxii. 10. Observe that x. 6, 13 refers to an abyss of fire prepared for Semjaza and his angels (cf. Matt. xxv. 41; Rev. xx. 4, 13-15).

It is further interesting to note that the writer of xci-civ delivers himself of a sustained polemic in cii. 4-civ. 9 against the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol, and the fact that this writer in xci. 4 borrows Sirach i. 25 makes it probable that the immediate book he had in view is Sirach, which enforces dogmatically and repeatedly the Old Testament doctrine of Sheol.

The Resurrection. This doctrine, which is first taught beyond possibility of doubt in Dan. xii, though a true exegesis will find many intimations of the doctrine in earlier books, was made a commonplace of Jewish theology by 1 Enoch. For the various forms this doctrine assumed, see note on li. 1.

(d) *The Demonology* of 1 Enoch reappears for the most part in the New Testament.

(a) The angels which kept not their first estate, Jude 6; 2 Pet. ii. 4, are the angelic Watchers who fell from lusting after the daughters of men, and whose fall and punishment are recounted in 1 En. vi-xvi. They have always been imprisoned in darkness from the time of their fall.

(β) Demons. These are, according to 1 En. xvi. 1, the spirits which went forth from the souls of the giants who were the children of the fallen angels and the daughters of men. These demons were to work moral ruin on the earth without hindrance till the final judgement as disembodied spirits.

So in the New Testament. The demons are disembodied spirits, Matt. xii. 43-5; Luke xi. 24-6. They are not punished till the final judgement: Matt. viii. 29, 'Art Thou come hither to torment us *before the time*?' They are subject to Satan, Matt. xii. 24-8.

(γ) Satan appears in Enoch as the ruler of a counter-kingdom of evil, yet a kingdom subject to the Lord of Spirits. He led astray the angels and made them his subjects, liv. 6; lxix. 5. A Satan also led astray Eve, lxix. 6. The Satans (as in Job) can still appear in heaven, xl. 7. The functions of the Satans are threefold: they tempted to evil, lxix. 4, 6; they accused the fallen, xl. 7; they punished the condemned as angels of punishment, liii. 3; lvi. 1.

So in the New Testament there is the counter-kingdom of sin, Matt. xii. 26; Luke xi. 18; 'if Satan cast out Satan, how shall his kingdom stand?' Satan led astray the angels, Rev. xii. 4, and led astray man, 2 Cor. xi. 3. The demons are subjects of Satan, Matt. xii. 24-8. The functions of Satan are tempting, Matt. iv. 1-12; Luke xxii. 31; accusing, Rev. xii. 10; punishing, 1 Cor. v. 5, where impenitent sinners are delivered over to Satan for punishment.

BOOK OF ENOCH

§ 12. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(a) CHIEF EDITIONS OF THE TEXT.

i. TRANSLATIONS.

- LAURENCE. *The Book of Enoch, an apocryphal production, now first translated from an Ethiopic MS. in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1821.
- DILLMANN. *Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt*, Leipzig, 1853.
- SCHODDE. *The Book of Enoch translated with Introduction and Notes*, Andover, 1882.
- CHARLES. *The Book of Enoch translated from Dillmann's Ethiopic Text emended and revised in accordance with hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS. and with the Gizeh and other Greek and Latin fragments*, Oxford, 1893.
- BEER in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, Tübingen, 1900, ii. 236-310.
- FLEMMING and RADERMACHER. *Das Buch Henoch herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Leipzig, 1901.
- MARTIN. *Le Livre d'Hénoch traduit sur le texte éthiopien*, Paris, 1906.
- CHARLES. *The Book of Enoch, translated anew from the Editor's Text, with Introduction, Commentary, Critical Notes, and Appendices*, Oxford, 1912.

ii. EDITIONS OF THE VERSIONS.

Editions of the Greek Versions.

- BOURIANT. *Fragments grecs du livre d'Énoch. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire*, tom. ix, pp. 91-136, 1892.
- L'Évangile et l'Apocalypse de Pierre avec le texte grec du livre d'Énoch. *Texte publié en fac-simile par l'héliogravure d'après les photographies du manuscrit de Gizeh*, Paris, 1893.
- DILLMANN. *Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Preuss. Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1892, li-lviii, pp. 1039-54, 1079-92.
- LODS. *Le Livre d'Hénoch: Fragments découverts à Akhmîm, publiés avec les variantes du texte éthiopien, traduits et annotés*, Paris, 1892.
- CHARLES. *Book of Enoch*, pp. 318-70, Oxford, 1893. In this work I attempted an exhaustive comparison of the Greek and Ethiopic texts.
- SWETE. *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. iii.
- RADERMACHER. *Das Buch Henoch, herausgegeben . . . von J. Flemming und L. Radermacher*, pp. 18-60, 113-14, Leipzig, 1901. This text on the whole is well edited. As Dr. Radermacher is not a Semitic scholar he was sorely handicapped in editing a Greek text which is Greek in vocabulary, but largely Semitic in idiom.
- The Vatican Fragment, written in tachygraphic characters (Vatican, No. 1809), was published by Mai, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, tom. ii, and deciphered by Gildemeister in *ZDMG*, 1885, pp. 621-4, and studied afresh by von Gebhardt in *Merx' Archiv*, ii. 243, 1872.

Editions of the Ethiopic Version.

- LAURENCE. *Libri Enoch Versio Aethiopica*, Oxoniae, 1838. This text was issued simply as a transcript of *a*, one of the MSS. brought to Europe by Bruce, the great Abyssinian traveller, in 1773.
- DILLMANN. *Liber Henoch, Aethiopice, ad quinque codicum fidem editus, cum variis lectionibus*, Lipsiae, 1851.
- CHARLES. *The Book of Enoch*, Oxford, 1893. This translation was based on a drastic revision of Dillmann's text. Ten new MSS., belonging to the British Museum, were used, *g₁ g m* being of primary importance, and *fhikln o* being of only secondary.
- FLEMMING. *Das Buch Henoch: Aethiopischer Text herausgegeben von Joh. Flemming* (= *Texte und Untersuchungen*, Neue Folge, vii. 1). Leipzig, 1902. Dr. Flemming's text is based on fifteen MSS., *a b c d e g₁ g, m p q t u v w y*. This editor had been at no little pains in the preparation of the text. His collations of *g m q*, however, are inaccurate and defective.

(b) CHIEF CRITICAL INQUIRIES.

- LÜCKE. *Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes* (2nd ed., 1852), pp. 89-144; 1071-3.
- DILLMANN. *Das Buch Henoch übersetzt und erklärt*, Leipzig, 1853. In this edition he insisted that the book proceeded from one author with the exception of certain historical allusions, vi-xvi; xci. 12-17; xciii; cvi, cvii; and certain Noachic interpolations, liv. 7-lv. 2; lx; lxx-lxix. 25, and also of xx; lxx; lxxv. 5; lxxxii. 9-20; cviii.
- In 1860, in Herzog's *R. E.* (ed. 1), vol. xii. 308-10, he recognized the separate authorship of xxxvii-lxxi, and its priority to the rest of the book.
- In 1883, in Herzog's *R. E.* (ed. 2), vol. xii. 350-2, he describes 1 Enoch as a mere 'combination of the Enoch and Noah writings', and concedes that xxxvii-lxxi are later than the rest of the book.
- EWALD. *Abhandlung über des äthiopischen Buches Henokh Entstehung, Sinn und Zusammensetzung*, 1855; *History of Israel*, v. 345-9 (translated from the German).
- HILGENFELD. *Die jüdische Apokalyptik*, 1857, pp. 91-184.
- HALÉVY. 'Recherches sur la langue de la rédaction primitive du livre d'Énoch' (*Journal Asiatique*, 1867, pp. 352-95).

INTRODUCTION

- GEBHARDT. 'Die 70 Hirten des Buches Henoch und ihre Deutungen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Barkochba-Hypothese' (Merx' *Archiv für wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. T.*, 1872, vol. ii, Heft ii, pp. 163-246).
 TIDEMAN. 'De Apocalypse van Henoch en het Essenisme' (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1875, pp. 261-96).
 DRUMMOND. *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877, pp. 17-73.
 SCHÜRER. *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (translated from the second and revised edition of the German), vol. iii, div. ii, pp. 54-73, 1886.
 BALDENSPERGER, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1888, pp. 7-16.
 CHARLES. *The Book of Enoch, translated from Professor Dillmann's Ethiopic Text, emended and revised in accordance with hitherto uncollated Ethiopic MSS. and with the Gizeh and other Greek and Latin fragments*, Oxford, 1893.
 CLEMEN. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1898, pp. 211-27, 'Die Zusammensetzung des Buches Henoch'.
 BEER. 'Das Buch Henoch' in Kautzsch's *Die Apocryphen und Pseudepigraphen des A. T.*, vol. ii, 1900, pp. 224-30.
 FLEMMING and RADERMACHER. *Das Buch Henoch*, Leipzig, 1901.
 MARTIN. *Le Livre d'Hénoch traduit sur le texte éthiopien*, Paris, 1906. [For further details see my new Commentary, *Introduction*, § 9.]

(c) CHIEF EDITIONS OF THE BOOK.

See under Translations, § 12 (a) i.

LAURENCE.	BEER.
DILLMANN.	FLEMMING and RADERMACHER.
SCHODDE.	MARTIN.
CHARLES.	CHARLES.

§ 13. ABBREVIATIONS AND BRACKETS SPECIALLY USED IN THE TRANSLATION OF I ENOCH.

- a, b, c, d*, &c., denote the Ethiopic MSS.
a denotes the earlier Ethiopic MSS., i. e. *g₁ g m q t u*.
β denotes the later Ethiopic MSS., i. e. *a b c d*, &c. (i. e. from *a* to *z₁a₁b*, with the exception of the earlier MSS.).
 E denotes the Ethiopic Version.
 G^s denotes the fragments of the Greek Version preserved in Syncellus: in the case of 8^b-9^b there are two forms of the text, G^{s1} G^{s2}.
 G^g denotes the large fragment of the Greek Version discovered at Akhmim, and deposited in the Gizeh Museum, Cairo.
 Two special brackets are used in the translation of I Enoch :
 ⌈ ⌋. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are found in G^g but not in E.
 ⌈ ⌋. The use of these brackets means that the words so enclosed are found in E but not in G^g or G^s.

BOOK OF ENOCH

SECTION I. CHAPTERS I—XXXVI

INTRODUCTION

I–V. *Parable of Enoch on the Future Lot of the Wicked and the Righteous.*

- 1** ¹ The words of the blessing of Enoch, wherewith he blessed the elect [¶]and [¶]righteous, who will be ² living in the day of tribulation, when all the wicked [¶]and godless [¶]are to be removed. And he took up his parable and said—Enoch a righteous man, whose eyes were opened by God, saw the vision of the Holy One in the heavens, [¶]which [¶]the angels showed me, and from them I heard everything, and from them I understood as I saw, but not for this generation, but for a remote one which is ³ for to come. Concerning the elect I said, and took up [¶]my [¶]parable concerning them :

- The Holy Great One will come forth from His dwelling,
4 And the eternal God will tread upon the earth, (even) on Mount Sinai,
[And appear from His camp]
And appear in the strength of His might from the heaven [¶]of heavens [¶].
5 And all shall be smitten with fear,
And the Watchers shall quake,
And great fear and trembling shall seize them unto the ends of the earth.
6 And the high mountains shall be shaken,
And the high hills shall be made low,
And shall melt like wax before the flame.

- I. **1. The blessing of Enoch.** Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 1, ‘the blessing of Moses.’
the elect and righteous. This phrase is found also in xxxviii. 2, 3, 4, xxxix. 6, 7, xlvi. 1, lviii. 1, 2, lx. 13, lxiii. 12, 13, 15, lxx. 3.
day . . . removed. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 9 (a citation?).
all the wicked. Here Gk. reads *πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς* = כל־הצרים corrupt for כל־הרעים. So E.
removed + ‘and the righteous will be saved’ G^g.
2. took up his parable, &c. So G^g. Cf. Num. xxiv. 3, 4, whence also ‘eyes were opened’ (of Balaam).
saw. ‘had’ G^g, corrupt.
the Holy One. See verse 3. The change from the first to the third person, as here, is frequent in this book.
Cf. xii. 1–3, xxxvii. 1, 2, lxx. 1, 3, lxxi. 5, xcii. 1, and esp. xci–civ.
to come + ‘do I speak’ G^g.
3. the elect. This designation belongs mainly to the Parables. It occurs in i. 8, v. 7, xxv. 5, xl. 5, xli. 2, xlvi. 1, 9, li. 5, lvi. 6, 8, lviii. 3, lxi. 4, 12, lxii. 7, 8, 11, xciii. 2.
^{3b–9.} A poem consisting of tristichs. The discovery of this structure is helpful in the restoration of the text, especially in stanzas 1 and 7.
Holy Great One. So G^g, E always has ‘Holy and Great One’. Also in x. 1, xiv. 1, xxv. 3, lxxxiv. 1, xcii. 2, xcvi. 6, xcvi. 6, civ. 9. God is called simply ‘The Holy One’ in i. 2, xciii. 11; and ‘The Great One’ in xiv. 2, ciii. 4, civ. 1 (twice).
come forth from His dwelling. Mic. i. 3, Isa. xxvi. 21, Ass. Mos. x. 3.
the eternal God = אֱלֹהֵי הָעוֹלָם, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος. Cf. Gen. xxi. 33, Isa. xl. 28, Rom xvi. 26. This could also be translated ‘God of the world’. Cf. lviii. 4, lxxi. 10, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2; also xii. 3, lxxi. 3 (‘Lord, King . . . of the world’).
4. Sinai, where the law was given, will be the place of future judgement. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2; Ps. lxviii. 17. Verses 4–9 all deal with the final judgement.
upon the earth G^g, ‘thence’ E.
[**And appear from His camp.**] So G^g, a needless repetition after ‘from his dwelling’. It spoils the parallelism. E has ‘and appear with His hosts’.
5. Watchers. Here and in x. 9, 15, xii. 4, xiii. 10, xiv. 1, 3, xv. 2, xvi. 1, 2, xci. 15 = fallen angels. In xii. 2, 3, xx. 1, xxxix. 12, 13, xl. 2, lxi. 12, lxxi. 7 = archangels. The name first occurs in Dan. iv. 13, 17, 23. The Greek here inaptly inserts the singing of the Watchers (see 2 En. xviii).
quake E, ‘believe’ G^g.
6. Cf. O.T.; e.g. Ps. xcvi. 5, Mic. i. 4, and Ass. Mos. x. 4.
shaken + ‘shall fall and be dissolved’ G^g.
made low + ‘so that the mountains shall waste away’ G^g.

BOOK OF ENOCH 1. 7—5. 2

- 7 And the earth shall be 'wholly' rent in sunder,
And all that is upon the earth shall perish,
And there shall be a judgement upon all (men).
- 8 But with the righteous He will make peace,
And will protect the elect,
And mercy shall be upon them.
- And they shall all belong to God,
And they shall be prospered,
And they shall 'all' be blessed.
- 'And He will help them all',
And light shall appear unto them,
'And He will make peace with them'.
- 9 And behold ! He cometh with ten thousands of 'His' holy ones
To execute judgement upon all,
And to destroy 'all' the ungodly :
- And to convict all flesh
Of all the works 'of their ungodliness' which they have ungodly committed,
'And of all the hard things which' ungodly sinners 'have spoken' against Him.
- 2¹ Observe ye everything that takes place in the heaven, how they do not change their orbits, 'and'
the luminaries which are in the heaven, how they all rise and set in order each in its season, and trans-
gress not against their appointed order. Behold ye the earth, and give heed to the things which
take place upon it from first to last, 'how **steadfast** they are', how 'none of the things upon earth'
change, 'but' all the works of God appear 'to you'. Behold the summer and the winter, 'how
the whole earth is filled with water, and clouds and dew and rain lie upon it.'
- 3 Observe and see how (in the winter) all the trees 'seem as though they had withered and shed
all their leaves, except fourteen trees, which do not lose their foliage but retain the old foliage from
two to three years till the new comes.
- 4 And again, observe ye the days of summer how the sun is above the earth over against it. And
you seek shade and shelter by reason of the heat of the sun, and the earth also burns with glowing
heat, and so you cannot tread on the earth, or on a rock by reason of its heat.
- 5¹ Observe ye how the trees cover themselves with green leaves and bear fruit : wherefore give ye
heed 'and know' with regard to all 'His works', and recognize how He that liveth for ever hath
made them so.
- 2 And 'all' His works go on 'thus' from year to year 'for ever', and all the tasks which they

8. **will make peace.** See v. 4 (note).
the righteous. i. 7, 8, v. 6, xxv. 4, xxxviii. 3, xxxix. 4, xlii. 4, xlvii. 1, 2, 4, xlviii. 1, 7, 9, l. 2, liii. 7, lvi. 7, lviii. 3, 5, lx. 2, lxi. 3, lxii. 3, lxxxii. 4, xciv. 3, I I, xc v. 3, 7, xcvi. 1, 8, xc vii. 1, 3, 5, xc viii. 12-14, xcix. 3, c. 5, 7, 10, cii. 4, 10, ciii. 1, civ. 1, 6, 12, 13.
will protect, &c. So E. G^g has ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς ἔσται συντήρησις. Cf. Wisd. iv. 15.
they shall be prospered. τὴν εὐδοκίαν δώσει αὐτοῖς G^g, corrupt for εὐδοκίαν as in Sir. xliii. 26.
light. Cf. xxxviii. 4. This 7th stanza is restored from the Greek. E omits two clauses of the tristich.
9. Quoted by St. Jude 14, 15 ; Pseudo-Cyprian (ed. Hartel iii. 67) ; Pseudo-Vigilius (Migne lxii. col. 363). The Greek supplies the defects in the Ethiopic, i.e. 'His', 'all', 'of their ungodliness' 'and hard words which' 'have spoken'. Cf. v. 4, xxvii. 2, ci. 3. For a full discussion of the literary problem see my edition of Enoch in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Part xi, pages 5 and 7. The Greek, however, has ὅτι wrongly for ἰδοὺ, and a dittograph in the last clause of stanza 9.
Ten thousands of His holy ones. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 2, Dan. vii. 10. The angels are so called in xii. 2, xiv. 23, xxxix. 5, xlvii. 2, lvii. 2, lx. 4, lxi. 8, 10, 12, lxv. 12, lxix. 13, lxxxi. 5, ciii. 2, cvi. 19, as already in Job v. 1, xv. 15, Zech. xiv. 5, Dan. iv. 13, viii. 13. They are called 'holy angels' in xx. 1-7, xxi. 5, 9, xxii. 3, xxiv. 6, xxvii. 2, xxxii. 6, lxxi. 8, xciii. 2. And 'holy ones of heaven' in ix. 3. For other names see vi. 2 (note).
II. In ii-v. 3 the order of nature is contrasted with the disorder of man's world. In Test. Naph. iii. 2, 3, men are told to observe God's law as sun, moon, and stars observe their appointed order, and the Watchers who left their natural order are held up as a warning. Cf. Sirach xvi. 26-28, Pss. Sol. xviii. 12-14.
2. **steadfast** : 'corruptible' G^g, possibly a misreading of נכנים as נבליים.
3. The Hebrews had two seasons only, Summer and Winter. Cf. Gen. viii. 22, Isa. xviii. 6, Zech. xiv. 8.
III. On the fourteen evergreen trees see Geoponica xi. 1. The twelve trees (see my Greek Verss. of Test. of xii Patr., pp. 248, 249) for use with sacrifices have nothing to do with this list here. The Greek has lost iii. 1^b-v. 1^a through homoeoteleuton.
V. 2. **all the tasks . . . change not** 'all His works serve Him and change not' E.

BOOK OF ENOCH 5. 2–9

- accomplish for Him, and 'their tasks' change not, but according as God hath ordained so is it done.
- 3 And behold how the sea and the rivers in like manner accomplish and 'change not' their tasks 'from His commandments'.
- 4 But ye—ye have not been steadfast, nor done the commandments of the Lord,
But ye have turned away and spoken proud and hard words
With your impure mouths against His greatness.
Oh, ye hard-hearted, ye shall find no peace.
- 5 Therefore shall ye execrate your days,
And the years of your life shall perish,
And the 'years of your destruction' shall be multiplied in eternal execration,
And ye shall find no mercy.
- 6a In those days ye shall make your names an eternal execration unto all the righteous,
b And by you shall 'all' who curse, curse,
'And all' the sinners 'and godless' shall imprecate by you,
7c And for you the godless there shall be a curse.
- 6d 'And all the . . . shall rejoice,
e And there shall be forgiveness of sins,
f And every mercy and peace and forbearance :
g There shall be salvation unto them, a goodly light.
- i And for all of you sinners there shall be no salvation,
j But on you all shall abide a curse'.
- 7a But for the elect there shall be light and joy and peace,
b And they shall inherit the earth.
- 8 And then there shall be bestowed upon the elect wisdom,
And they shall all live and never again sin,
Either through ungodliness or through pride :
But they who are wise shall be humble.
- 9 And they shall not again transgress,
Nor shall they sin all the days of their life,
Nor shall they die of (the divine) anger or wrath,
But they shall complete the number of the days of their life.
- And their lives shall be increased in peace,
And the years of their joy shall be multiplied,
In eternal gladness and peace,
All the days of their life.

4. **the commandments of the Lord.** Cf. xcix. 2 'the eternal law'.

of the Lord : 'His' G^g.

proud and hard words. See i. 9, note, and Cf. Ps. xii. 4 ; Dan. vii. 8, 11, 20. The charge of blasphemy is frequent in xci–civ, e.g. xci. 7, 11.

greatness + 'for ye have spoken with your lies' G^g, a gloss.

hard-hearted. Cf. xcvi. 11, c. 8 'obstinate of heart'.

ye shall find no peace. This phrase occurs only in i–xxxvi and xci–civ, v. 4, xii. 5, xiii. 1, xvi. 4, xciv. 6, xcvi. 11, 15, xcix. 13, ci. 3, cii. 3, ciii. 8, and cf. i. 8. Cf. Isa. xlviii. 22, lvii. 21.

5. **shall perish** G^g. 'ye shall destroy' E, corruptly.

6. **ye shall make your names** E (lit. 'give'). 'your names shall be' G^g. Read perhaps 'ye shall leave', &c., as in Isa. lxxv. 15.

by you . . . curse G^g. 'you shall the sinners curse' E, wrongly. For G^g cf. Ps. cii. 9. G^g adds five lines, of which one or two only can be original. I have transferred 7c, so as to give three parallel tetrastichs in 6, 7.

7. The temporal blessings promised in the O.T., cf. Ps. xxxvii. 11, are here renewed, but the writer has forsaken O.T. ground on the question of Sheol and the Resurrection.

joy E, 'grace' G^g.

8. **bestowed upon the elect wisdom.** See xlii. 1, 2. G^g adds in this verse doublets from 7^{ao} 8^a.

wise . . . humble seems suspicious. G^g adds largely, and omits 'humble'.

9. Cf. Isa. lxxv. 20, 22, Zech. viii. 4 ; 1 En. xxv. 4, 5 (note).

Sin G^g. 'be judged' E, another meaning of ܣܝܢ.

increased, multiplied. Cf. Gen. i. 22, &c., but here of spiritual expansion.

BOOK OF ENOCH 6. 1–8

VI–XI. *The Fall of the Angels: the Demoralization of Mankind: the Intercession of the Angels on behalf of Mankind. The Dooms pronounced by God on the Angels: the Messianic Kingdom—* (a Noah fragment).

6¹ And it came to pass when the children of men had multiplied that in those days were born unto² them beautiful and comely daughters. And the angels, the children of the heaven, saw and lusted after them, and said to one another: ‘Come, let us choose us wives from among the children of men³ and beget us children.’ And Semjâzâ, who was their leader, said unto them: ‘I fear ye will not⁴ indeed agree to do this deed, and I alone shall have to pay the penalty of a great sin.’ And they all answered him and said: ‘Let us all swear an oath, and all bind ourselves by mutual imprecations⁵ not to abandon this plan but to do this thing.’ Then sware they all together and bound themselves⁶ by mutual imprecations upon it. And they were in all two hundred; who descended ‘in the days’¹ of Jared on the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon, because they had sworn⁷ and bound themselves by mutual imprecations upon it. And these are the names of their leaders: Samîazâz, their leader, Arâkîba, Râmêêl, Kôkabiêl, Tâmiêl, Râmiêl, Dânêl, Êzêqêêl, Barâqîjal,⁸ Asâêl, Armârôs, Batârêl, Anânêl, Zaqîêl, Samsâpêêl, Satarêl, Tûrêl, Jômjâêl, Sariêl. These are their chiefs of tens.

VI–XI. These chapters are abruptly introduced. See introduction. vi. 3–8, viii. 1–3, ix. 7, x. 11 belong to a Semjaza cycle of myths. As in lxix. 2 he is chief and Azazel only tenth in command. Elsewhere in Enoch Azazel is chief and Semjaza is not mentioned. These myths, however, were already confused in their present form when lxxxviii–lxxxix. 1 were written. Again, x. 1–3 belongs to an Apocalypse of Noah, many fragments of which occur in Enoch. Syncellus gives an additional fragment of it after x. 3. Indeed, vi–xi is all Noachic; cf. Jub. vii. 21–25, and my edition of Jubilees lxxi seq., 264. xii–xvi, however, belong to the Book of Enoch.

VI. 2. **children of the heaven.** Cf. xiii. 8, xiv. 3, xxxix. 1. See xv. 1–7. Cf. ‘sons of the holy angels’ lxxi. 1, and note.

The entire myth of the angels and the daughters of men in Enoch arises from Gen. vi. 1–4: ‘the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men.’ This refers not to alliances between Sethites and Cainites, but to an early Persian (?) myth to the effect that before Zoroaster’s coming demons had corrupted the earth and allied themselves with women (Bousset, *Rel. d. Jud.* 382, 560). The original LXX rendering for ‘sons of God’ was ἀγγελοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, as in Philo, *de Gigantibus*, Justin Martyr, *Apol.* ii. 5, Eusebius, Augustine, and Ambrose. On the myths see Grünbaum in *ZDMG* xxxi. 225 ff., and for statements dependent on this account in Enoch, or harmonizing with it, cf. Jub. iv. 15, v. 1 seqq.; Test. Reub. v. 6, 7, Test. Naph. iii. 5, 2 En. vii, xviii, Jude 6, 2 Pet. ii. 4; Joseph, *Ant.* i. 3. 1; Philo, *de Gigantibus*; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 5; Ps. Clement, *Hom.* viii. 13; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 1. 10; Tert. *de Virg. Veland.* vii; *Adv. Marcion.* v. 18; *De Idol.* ix; Lact. *Instit.* ii. 15; Commodian, *Instruct.* i. 3. In the *De Civ. Dei* xv. 23 Augustine combats this view and denies the inspiration of Enoch which Tertullian had upheld.

saw and >G^s.

4. **And they** >G^s.

and said >G^s.

6. **in the days of Jared** see cvi. 13. So the Greek; the Ethiopic is corrupt. We thus get two paronomasiae in the Hebrew: Jared, and ירד ‘descend’, and Hermon and הרמ ‘a curse’. For the tradition cf. Orig. *Comment. in Ioann.* tom. viii, p. 132, ed. Huet.; Epiphanius, *Adv. Haer.* i. 4, ed. Petav., tom. i, p. 4; Hilary, *Comm. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3.

The reasons for the angels’ descent in the Book of Jubilees differ from those given in this chapter. There in iv and v it is said that the Watchers were sent to earth by God ‘to instruct the children of men to do judgement and uprightness’, and that when so doing they began to lust after the daughters of men. Cf. Test. Reub. v. 6. In 1 Enoch the angels are said to have descended because of their lust, and the same reason is given in Jalkut Shim. *Beresh.* 44. See Weber, *Jüd. Theologie*, 253.

The Book of Jubilees has an implicit polemic against this and other statements of Enoch. In later tradition Azazel could not return to heaven because he had outstayed the seven days’ limit assigned to angelic visitants to earth.

7. This list is incomplete, as a name has been lost after Tûrêl.

Samîazâz: possibly שמעון or שמחזאי (cf. Shamchazai in Targ. Jon. on Gen. vi. 3).

Râmêêl: probably corrupt for Arakiêl as in G^s. In viii. 3 G^s says of Arakiêl, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδίδαξεν τὰ σημεῖα τῆς γῆς. Now in Aramaic ܥܪܟܝ = ‘earth’, and thus his duties are reflected in his name. He is mentioned as unfallen in Sib. Or. ii, 215–217.

Kôkabiêl = ‘star of God’.

Tâmiêl = ‘perfection of God’.

Râmiêl: see 2 Bar. lv. 3, Sib. Or. ii, 215–217.

Êzêqêêl: in viii. 3 G^s says ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος ἐδίδαξεν ἀεροσκοπίαν; thus his name describes his function, as קהש = ἀήρ (2 Kings xxii. 12).

Barâqîjal = ‘lightning of God’.

Armârôs or Pharmaros (G^s), Arearôs (G^s). In viii. 3 G^s says he ἐδίδαξεν . . . ἐπαυιδάς . . . καὶ ἐπαυιδῶν λυτήριον: the name thus may come from ܐܪܡܪ, a spell or incantation, and be Abarôs or something similar.

Samsâpêêl. G^s in viii. 3 assigns to the 7th τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ ἡλίου. So the name should be Shamshiel. For the sun-god Shamash see *K.A.T.*³ 367–370.

Tûrêl = ‘rock of God’.

Jômjâêl = ‘day of God’.

Sariêl, Arâzjâl (E), Esdrêel (viii. 3). G^s (viii. 3) assigns him τὰ σημεῖα τῆς σελήνης, so these forms are corrupt for Sariel (G^s) סריר = ‘moon’. G^s gives Seriel in viii. 3 but Atriel here.

8. **chiefs of tens.** G^s has ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν οἱ δέκα, an Aramaic construction = our text. Cf. xix. 2 G.

BOOK OF ENOCH 7. 1—9. 3

- 7** ¹ And all the others together with them took unto themselves wives, and each chose for himself one, and they began to go in unto them and to defile themselves with them, and they taught them charms
² and enchantments, and the cutting of roots, and made them acquainted with plants. And they
³ became pregnant, and they bare great giants, whose height was three thousand ells: Who consumed
⁴ all the acquisitions of men. And when men could no longer sustain them, the giants turned against
⁵ them and devoured mankind. And they began to sin against birds, and beasts, and reptiles, and
⁶ fish, and to devour one another's flesh, and drink the blood. Then the earth laid accusation against
the lawless ones.
- 8** ¹ And Azâzêl taught men to make swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates, and made
known to them **the metals** (of the earth) and the art of working them, and bracelets, and ornaments,
and the use of antimony, and the beautifying of the eyelids, and all kinds of costly stones, and all
² colouring tinctures. And there arose much godlessness, and they committed fornication, and they
³ were led astray, and became corrupt in all their ways. Semjâzâ taught enchantments, and root-
cuttings, 'Armârôs the resolving of enchantments, Barâqîjâl (taught) astrology, Kôkabêl the con-
⁴ stellations, **Êzêqêêl the knowledge of the clouds**, (Araqîêl the signs of the earth, Shamsiêl the signs
of the sun), and Sariêl the course of the moon. And as men perished, they cried, and their cry
went up to heaven . . .
- 9** ¹ And then Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel looked down from heaven and saw much blood being
² shed upon the earth, and all lawlessness being wrought upon the earth. And they said one to another:
'The earth made †without inhabitant cries the voice of their cryings† up to the gates of heaven.
³ †And now to you, the holy ones of heaven‡, the souls of men make their suit, saying, "Bring our cause

VII. The Ethiopic and Greek vary considerably in this and the eighth chapter. The notes of time in the Greek are due to later hands.

1. **charms and enchantments.** Cf. Wisdom xii. 4, Joseph. *Ant.* viii. 2. 5.

2. **great giants.** For further references to these cf. Wisdom xiv. 6, Tob. vi. 14, Sir. xvi. 7, 1 Bar. iii. 26, 3 Macc. ii. 4, Jubilees vii. 22, 23.

three thousand ells. Syncellus omits the height, and the misdeeds of the giants (verses 3–6), but adds 'And they bare unto them three kinds (of offspring); first, great giants. And the giants †begot the Naphilim and to the Naphilim were† born the Eliud. And they grew according to their greatness'. The Eth. and the Giz. Gk. have lost this from the original. Jub. vii. 21–22 is based on this passage and enables us to correct 'begot' and 'were born' to 'slew'. Also in vii. 24 Jub. quotes most of viii. 5. Cf. E and G^s (omitted by G^s). Thus both lines of text E G^s and G^s are here defective. The three classes of giants go back to Gen. vi. 4; cf., too, 1 En. lxxxvi. 4, lxxxviii. 2 and Jub. vii. 21, 22 (Giants, Nâphîl, Eljô).

5. **drink the blood.** With the Jews a great crime. Gen. ix. 4; 1 Sam. xiv. 32–34; Acts xv. 20; Jub. vii. 28, xxi. 6, 1 En. xcvi. 11.

one another's flesh. One class of giants destroyed another. Cf. Jub. vii. 22.

VIII. 1. **Azâzêl.** See note on vi–xi, also x. 4 note. The origin of the name is unknown. See *Encyc. Bib. in loc.* Azâzêl here is first in order and tenth in command according to Syncellus, who alone adds a number. He calls Semjâzâ the *πρώταρχος* in verse 3.

metals . . . antimony, &c. Cf. Tert. *De Cultu Fem.* i. 2; ii. 10 ('ut Enoch refert'), where he follows this passage closely. Cf., too, Test. Reub. v. 5, 6; Isa. iii. 16–24. The Ethiopic misread *μέταλλα* (G^s) as *μετ' αὐτά*, G^s as *μεγάλα*.

the metals of the earth G^s. So E on repeating the phrase in a doublet. G^s ends this verse: 'And the children of men made (them) for themselves and their daughters and transgressed and led astray the holy ones.' This contradicts our Noachic text, and agrees with Jub. and Test. xii Patr. where the women by these arts seduce the angels.

2–3. The variations between the Eth. and G^s are here numerous.

2. **and they committed . . . astray** > G^s.

3. **resolving of enchantments.** Dan. v. 12; cf. 1 En. xcv. 4 'anathemas that cannot be resolved'.

astrology. Cf. Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* Dind. iii. 474 'Ἐνὸς φησιν τοὺς παραβάοντας ἀγγέλους διδάξαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀστρονομίαν καὶ μαντικὴν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας.

Several of these names correspond to the functions. See vi. 7 (notes). G^s alone gives us the complete list, and he gives their numbers not their names, according to their order in vi. 7.

Êzêqêêl. E reads Tâmiêl wrongly here (See vi. 7, note), G^s has Sathêl, and G^s E *ἀστεροσκοπίαν* for *ἀεροσκοπίαν*.

After viii. 3 G^s introduces 'after this the giants began to devour men's flesh', and this leads up to viii. 4, the cry of men.

4. **to heaven** + 'saying Bring our cause before the Most High and our destruction before the Great Glory, before the Lord of all the lords in greatness' G^s 2. Cf. ix. 3.

IX. 1. **And then** (E), 'then' G^s, + 'the four great archangels hearing' G^s 1 2.

The Eth. has Surjan and Urjan, i.e. Suriel and Uriel. For Suriel the Greek has Raphael, thus giving us the usual four archangels. See xl. 2 (note).

looked down from heaven. Ps. xiv. 2.

2. **the earth . . . heaven:** 'the voice of them that cry upon the earth to the gates of heaven' G^s.

without inhabitant. Cf. lxvii. 2, lxxxiv. 5; Test. Naph. iii. 5.

3. **and now . . . heaven.** Lost in G^s 1 2 through hmt.

holy ones. See i. 9 (note).

BOOK OF ENOCH 9. 4—10. 5

- 4 before the Most High.” And they said to the Lord of the ages : ‘ Lord of lords, God of gods, King of kings, (and God of the ages), the throne of Thy glory (standeth) unto all the generations of the 5 ages, and Thy name holy and glorious and blessed unto all the ages ! Thou hast made all things, and power over all things hast Thou : and all things are naked and open in Thy sight, and Thou seest all 6 things, and nothing can hide itself from Thee. Thou seest what Azâzêl hath done, who hath taught all unrighteousness on earth and revealed the eternal secrets which were (preserved) in heaven, which 7 men were striving to learn : And Semjâzâ, to whom Thou hast given authority to bear rule over 8 his associates. And they have gone to the daughters of men upon the earth, and have slept with the 9 women, and have defiled themselves, and revealed to them all kinds of sins. And the women have 10 borne giants, and the whole earth has thereby been filled with blood and unrighteousness. And now, behold, the souls of those who have died are crying and making their suit to the gates of heaven, and their lamentations have ascended : and cannot cease because of the lawless deeds which are 11 wrought on the earth. And Thou knowest all things before they come to pass, and Thou seest these things and Thou dost suffer them, and Thou dost not say to us what we are to do to them in regard to these.’
- 10 1 Then said the Most High, the Holy and Great One spake, and sent Uriel to the son of Lamech, 2 and said to him : (‘ Go to Noah and) tell him in my name “ Hide thyself ! ” and reveal to him the end that is approaching : that the whole earth will be destroyed, and a deluge is about to come 3 upon the whole earth, and will destroy all that is on it. And now instruct him that he may escape 4 and his seed may be preserved for all the generations of the world.’ And again the Lord said to Raphael : ‘ Bind Azâzêl hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness : and make an opening 5 in the desert, which is in Dûdâêl, and cast him therein. And place upon him rough and jagged

Most High. See xcix. 3 (note).

4. The angels’ prayer is fuller in G^s, and a still more rhetorical form of it occurs in lxxxiv. 2, 3. For angelic intercession see v. 10 note.

Lord of the ages. So G^{s1}. Lord of the kings E, >G^{s2}. (and God of the ages) G^{s12}.

5. **power over all things** EG^s, ‘all power’ G^s.
and nothing . . . seest. Lost in G^s through hmt.

6. **revealed . . . to learn**, G^s. E corrupt, but easily emended to our text. For ἔγνωσαν G^s we read γινῶναι as G^s suggests. G^s ‘revealed to the world the things which are (preserved) in heaven. And the children of men are practising his practices in order to know the mysteries’.

the eternal secrets, &c. What these are is not told.

7. (and) G^s. Semjaza is the leader in this verse, as Azazel in verse 6. See note on vi-xi.

8-9. Cf. Justin, *Apol.* ii. 5 οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι—γυναικῶν μίξειςιν ἡττήθησαν καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκνωσαν, οἱ εἰσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι δαίμονες—καὶ εἰς ἀνθρώπων φόνους, πολέμους, μοιχείας—καὶ πᾶσαν κακίαν ἐσπείραν.

8. **with the women** >G^s.

The Eth. contains an Aramaism μετ’ αὐτῶν μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν which has led G^s to add a verb ἐμίανθησαν, and G^s to omit μετὰ τῶν θηλειῶν.

all kinds of sins + ‘and have taught them to make hate-producing charms’ G^s, or reading μισητίαν for μίσσητρα, ‘to practise lewdness’.

9. **Giants.** τῖτᾱνας G^s, γίγαντας G^s.

10. **cannot cease**, &c. ἐξελθεῖν, E G^s=רענענע corrupt for רענענע=‘cease’.

The angels’ intercession on men’s behalf, as in this chapter and also in xv. 2, xl. 6, xlvii. 2, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 1, is an O.T. doctrine; cf. Job v. 1, xxxiii. 23; Zech. i. 12. It was evidently a popular doctrine. Cf. Tobit xii. 12 (contrast Acts x. 4), xii. 15; Rev. viii. 3; Test. Levi iii. 5 and v. 6, 7 (see my full note on doctrine 200 B.C.–A.D. 100, T. Levi iii. 5).

11. **seest** G^s, ‘knowest’ E.

suffer them. So Greek texts, misread by E ῥὰ εἰς for ῥᾱς.

X. 1 (said) >E.

the Most High. See xcix. 3 (note).

the Holy and Great One (E). See i. 3 (note). ‘And the Great Holy One’ G^s.

Uriel. So G^s, G^s has Istraël. E is corrupt.

son of Lamech, i.e. Noah.

2. (Go to Noah and) G^s; original, as each command begins with ‘Go’. Cf. x. 4, 9, 11 in G^s.

Hide thyself; i.e. to receive further disclosures from the angel. Cf. xii. 1, 2.

3. G^s is much fuller. ‘Instruct the righteous (man) what he is to do, from the son of Lamech, and he will preserve his soul unto life and escape through the world, and from him will be planted a plant and it will be established throughout all the generations of the world.’

of the world G^s n >E-n.

4-8. Raphael’s task—to remove Azazel and heal the earth; Uriel’s task is given in 1-3, Gabriel’s in 9-10, Michael’s in 11-12.

4. Azazel as the chief offender and leader is first punished (in v. 11, Semjaza), by imprisonment now, and finally by fire. He is conceived as chained in the wilderness into which the scape-goat was led. The Jerusalem Targum (Ps. Jonathan) on Leviticus says that the goat was sent to die in a hard and rough place in the wilderness of jagged rocks, i.e. Beth Chadure or Beth Chaduda (Joma, vi. 8). This Beth Chaduda (=‘Dudael’ of this verse) was a definite locality near Jerusalem. Cf. Lev. xvi. 10, 22. On Semjaza and Azazel see Targ. Ps. Jon. on Gen. vi. 3, where both names occur and the myth is given. Observe that Azazel is punished in a place by himself; and also that in the Noah sections this place is in the valleys of the earth, but in the genuine Enoch beyond the earth.

5. **upon him**, ‘under him’ Gk. wrongly. Cf. liv. 5.

BOOK OF ENOCH 10. 5-17

rocks, and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever, and cover his face that he may
6, 7 not see light. And on the day of the great judgement he shall be cast into the fire. And heal the
earth which the angels have corrupted, and proclaim the healing of the earth, that they may heal
the plague, and that all the children of men may not perish through all the secret things that the
8 Watchers have **disclosed** and have taught their sons. And the whole earth has been corrupted
9 through the works that were taught by Azâzêl: to him ascribe all sin.' And to Gabriel said the
Lord: 'Proceed against the bastards and the reprobates, and against the children of fornication:
and destroy [the children of fornication and] the children of the Watchers from amongst men: [and
cause them to go forth]: send them one against the other that they may destroy each other in
10 battle: for length of days shall they not have. And no request that they (i.e. their fathers) make
of thee shall be granted unto their fathers on their behalf; for they hope to live an eternal life, and
11 that each one of them will live five hundred years.' And the Lord said unto Michael: 'Go, **bind**
Semjâzâ and his associates who have united themselves with women so as to have defiled themselves
12 with them in all their uncleanness. And when their sons have slain one another, and they have
seen the destruction of their beloved ones, bind them fast for seventy generations in the **valleys**
of the earth, till the day of their judgement and of their consummation, till the judgement that is
13 for ever and ever is consummated. In those days they shall be led off to the abyss of fire: (and)
14 to the torment and the prison in which they shall be confined for ever. And whosoever shall be
condemned and destroyed will from thenceforth be bound together with them to the end of all
15 generations. And destroy all the spirits of the reprobate and the children of the Watchers, because
16 they have wronged mankind. Destroy all wrong from the face of the earth and let every evil work
come to an end: and let the plant of righteousness and truth appear: 'and it shall prove a blessing;
the works of righteousness and truth¹ shall be planted in truth and joy for evermore.
17 And then shall all the righteous escape,
And shall live till they beget thousands of children,
And all the days of their youth and their **old age**
Shall they complete in peace.

for ever, i.e. *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*, may denote various periods, according to the context in which it is used. Here it equals
seventy generations (cf. *v.* 12); in *v.* 10 five hundred years; elsewhere again an unending period.

For verses 5 and 12 cf. Jude 6.

6. day of the great judgement G^s, 'great day of judgement' E. See xlv. 2 (note). This judgement inaugurates
the final judgement of the angels.

the fire. See xviii. 11, xix, xxi. 7-10; 2 Bar. xlv. 15, xlviii. 39, lix. 2.

7. Raphael's name suggests 'healing'. Cf. Tob. iii. 17, xii. 14.

healing of the earth E G^s, 'healing of the plague' G^s.

the plague G^s, 'the earth' E.

disclosed G^s, 'smitten' E G^s.

8. Note how all sin is ascribed to the fallen angels.

works that were taught G^s, 'teaching of the works' E.

9, 10. Gabriel to destroy the giants. The account here is closely followed by Jubilees v. 6-11. The giants slay one
another in the presence of their parents; cf. xiv. 6, and *v.* 12 here. The parents are then bound in the earth's
abysses, and their power of hurting the earth is at an end; cf. xiv. 5. But it is not so with the spirits of the giants.
They enjoy an impunity in wrong-doing until the final judgement. See xv. 11-xvi. 1.

9. [the children . . . and] >G^s, dittograph in E.

[and cause . . . forth] dittograph in E of 'send'.

send . . . battle, 'send . . . war' G^s.

10. **an eternal life**, i.e. five hundred years. See *v.* 5 (note). As to the prayer of the fallen angels, cf. xii. 6, xiii.
4-6, xiv. 7.

11. This verse describes Michael's task, which is distinct from that of Gabriel. Cf. lxxxviii. 3 which is distinct from
lxxxviii. 2.

the Lord >G^s.

bind. So G^s, 'show' G^s and E, i.e. *δηλώσον* for *δησον*.

united . . . with them. Jub. iv. 22.

12. **their sons:** 'all these sons' E, 'all' being corrupt as often in E for def. art.

The binding of the angels in the valleys has been altered in E to 'in the hills' as in the Greek myths of the Titans.
For the valley see lxvii. 4 sqq. and cf. Jub. v. 10 'in the depths of the earth', and Jude 6 *ὑπὸ ζόφον*.

seventy generations. This period has no connexion with the Apocalypse of Weeks.

13. **abyss of fire**, i.e. the same as that mentioned in *v.* 6, xviii. 11, xix, xxi. 7-10, xc. 24. Cf. Rev. xx. 10, 14, 15
'lake of fire', and Matt. xxv. 41.

14. **condemned** G^s. *κατακαυσθή* G^s E corrupt for *κατακριθή*.

all generations E, 'the ('their' G^s) generation' G^s. Here G^s ends.

15. Gabriel is given this charge in *v.* 9.

16. **plant of righteousness**, i.e. Israel. Israel springs from a seed that 'is sown' by God, lxii. 8: hence it is
established as 'a plant of the seed for ever', lxxxiv. 6; is called 'the plant of uprightness', xciii. 2; the plant of
righteousness, xciii. 5; the eternal plant of righteousness, xciii. 10; and 'the plant of righteous judgement', xciii. 5.

17. The writer wanders off to a very sensuous picture of Messianic bliss; cf. xxv. 4 (note).

old age. The reading (E and G^s) 'Sabbath' is due to a corruption in the original Aramaic or Hebrew.

BOOK OF ENOCH 10. 18—12. 4

- 18 And then shall the whole earth be tilled in righteousness, and shall all be planted with trees and
 19 be full of blessing. And all desirable trees shall be planted on it, and they shall plant vines on it :
 and the vine which they plant thereon shall yield wine in abundance, and as for all the seed which
 is sown thereon each measure (of it) shall bear a thousand, and each measure of olives shall yield
 20 ten presses of oil. And cleanse thou the earth from all oppression, and from all unrighteousness,
 and from all sin, and from all godlessness : and all the uncleanness that is wrought upon the earth
 21 destroy from off the earth. 'And all the children of men shall become righteous', and all nations
 22 shall offer adoration and shall praise Me, and all shall worship Me. And the earth shall be cleansed
 from all defilement, and from all sin, and from all punishment, and from all torment, and I will
 never again send (them) upon it from generation to generation and for ever.
 11 1 And in those days I will open the store chambers of blessing which are in the heaven, so as to send
 2 them down 'upon the earth' over the work and labour of the children of men. And truth and peace
 shall be associated together throughout all the days of the world and throughout all the generations
 of men.'

XII–XVI. *Dream-Vision of Enoch : his Intercession for Azazel and the fallen Angels : and
 his Announcement of their first and final Doom.*

- 12 1 Before these things Enoch was hidden, and no one of the children of men knew where he was
 2 hidden, and where he abode, and what had become of him. And his activities had to do with the
 Watchers, and his days were with the holy ones.
 3 And I Enoch was blessing the Lord of **majesty** and the King of the ages, and lo ! the Watchers
 4 called me—Enoch the scribe—and said to me : 'Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness, go, †declare†
 to the Watchers of the heaven who have left the high heaven, the holy eternal place, and have defiled
 themselves with women, and have done as the children of earth do, and have taken unto themselves

18. shall all be planted with trees E, 'and a tree shall be planted in it' G^g.

18, 19. Cf. O.T. prophecies, Amos ix. 13, 14 ; Hos. ii. 22, 23 ; Jer. xxxi. 5 ; Isa. xxv. 6 ; Ezek. xxviii. 26, xxxiv. 26, 27.

19. G^g corrupt.

each measure shall bear. Contrast Isa. v. 10, and cf. the chiliastic expectations of Papias in Iren. *adv.*
Haer. v. 33. Cf., too, 2 Bar. xxix. 5.

20. The cleansing is by the Messianic kingdom probably, not by the deluge.

oppression E, 'impurity' G^g.

20, 21. from off . . . righteous E > G^g.

21. The conversion of the Gentiles. Cf. xc. 30 (note), xci. 14.

22. the earth E, 'all the earth' G^g.

XI. concludes an account of the Messianic kingdom. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 12.

upon the earth > G^g.

2. Cf. Ps. lxxxv. 10 ; Isa. xxxii. 17.

of men G^g, ἀνάντων E †for ἀνθρώπων.

XII–XVI. The visions are only preserved in fragments and are out of order. Cf. lxxviii–lxxx, xci–xciv. As Enoch
 can still intercede for the fallen Watchers their doom in x is not yet carried out. The original order was ; Enoch was
 asked to intercede for Azazel (lost), vision (lost), answer in xiii. 1–2 ; then to intercede for the Watchers, xiii. 3, xii. 3,
 xiii. 4–7, vision in xiii. 8, answer to the Watchers xiii. 9–10. This second vision is given at length, with God's
 revelation about the Watchers' first estate, sin, and doom, xiv. 2–xvi. 2. The closing message of doom for the Watchers
 in xvi. 3–4 is a duplicate of xii. 4–6, which seems more original. This repetition is very Semitic. Thus the original
 order would be xiv. 1 . . . , xiii. 1–2, xiii. 3, xii. 3, xiii. 4–10, xiv. 2–xvi. 2, xii. 4–6 || xvi. 3–4. xii. 1–2 is an editorial
 introduction. Note that here in this Enoch section a man intercedes for angels : in the Noah section angels intercede
 for men (ix. 3, 4), but not for angels (lxviii. 3, Noachic).

XII. 1. Before these things, before the angels' intercession for men (ix) and God's doom (x) on the Watchers.

was hidden E, 'was taken' G^g, to receive the following revelation. Cf. x. 2. Enoch is still living, and not finally
 translated from earth as yet. As man he writes the petition for the fallen angels (xiii. 6) ; receives a vision in sleep,
 and is transported in spirit unto heaven (xiv. 2) ; speaks with a tongue of flesh (xiv. 2) ; and is terrified, like a mortal
 man, at the presence of God (xiv. 24).

2. holy ones. See i. 9 (note).

Watchers. See i. 5 (note).

3. of majesty G^g. So E by the slightest change.

King of the ages. See i. 3 (note). Watchers E, + 'of the Holy Great one' G.

called. Enoch is really asked to intercede. So read this verse after xiii. 3.

the scribe. Cf. xcii. 1. Enoch is further called the scribe of righteousness (xii. 4, xv. 1), because he is himself
 a righteous man (xv. 1, lxxi. 14–16) and also declares the righteous judgement that is coming (xiii. 10, xiv. 1, 3, lxxxi. 6,
 lxxxii. 1, &c.).

4–6. Really the close of xii–xvi. See note above.

4. Cf. Jude 6. † declare E, G^g 'and say', correctly. Cf. xvi. 4.

have left. Cf. xv. 3.

the holy eternal place E, 'the holiness of the eternal place' G^g.

BOOK OF ENOCH 12. 5—14. 4

- 5 wives : “ Ye have wrought great destruction on the earth : And ye shall have no peace nor forgive-
6 ness of sin : and inasmuch as †they† delight themselves in† their† children, The murder of †their†
beloved ones shall† they† see, and over the destruction of †their† children shall† they† lament, and
shall make supplication unto eternity, but mercy and peace shall ye not attain.”’
- 13** ¹ And Enoch went and said : ‘ Azâzêl, thou shalt have no peace : a severe sentence has gone forth
² against thee to put thee in bonds : And thou shalt not have toleration nor †request† granted to thee,
because of the unrighteousness which thou hast taught, and because of all the works of godlessness
³ and unrighteousness and sin which thou hast shown to men.’ Then I went and spoke to them all
⁴ together, and they were all afraid, and fear and trembling seized them. And they besought me to
draw up a petition for them that they might find forgiveness, and to read their petition in the presence
⁵ of the Lord of heaven. For from thenceforward they could not speak (with Him) nor lift up their
⁶ eyes to heaven for shame of their sins for which they had been condemned. Then I wrote out their
petition, and the prayer †in regard to their spirits and their deeds individually and in regard to their
⁷ requests that they should have forgiveness and length†. And I went off and sat down at the waters
of Dan, in the land of Dan, to the south of the west of Hermon : I read their petition till I fell
⁸ asleep. And behold a dream came to me, and visions fell down upon me, and I saw visions of
chastisement, †and a voice came bidding (me)† to tell it to the sons of heaven, and reprimand them.
⁹ And when I awaked, I came unto them, and they were all sitting gathered together, weeping in
¹⁰ †Abelsjâil, which is between Lebanon and Sênêsêr, with their faces covered. And I recounted before
them all the visions which I had seen in sleep, and I began to speak the words of righteousness, and
to reprimand the heavenly Watchers.
- 14** ¹ The book of the words of righteousness, and of the reprimand of the eternal Watchers in accordance
² with the command of the Holy Great One in that vision. I saw in my sleep what I will now say with
a tongue of flesh and with the breath of my mouth : which the Great One has given to men to
³ converse therewith and understand with the heart.]As He has created and given †to man the power of
understanding the word of wisdom, so hath He created me also and given †me the power of reprimanding
⁴ the Watchers, the children of heaven. I wrote out your petition, and in my vision it appeared thus,
that your petition will not be granted unto you †throughout all the days of eternity, and that judge-

- Ye have** G^g, ‘and have’ E.
5. And ye G^g, ‘and they’ E.
no peace. Cf. v. 4, xiii. 1.
5, 6. †they, †their. Read ‘ye’, ‘your’.
6. Cf. x. 10, 12, xiv. 6.
- XIII. 1. Azazel addressed in conformity with x. 4. Message of his doom. See xii–xvi (note).
went and said E, ‘said “Go”’ G^g.
no peace xvi. 4, v. 4.
bonds x. 4.
2. †request. Read ‘rest’.
4, 5. As the angels could not address God nor lift up their eyes to heaven, Enoch is besought to become their
intercessor. As a scribe, he draws up their petition in writing, and does not present it by word of mouth.
4. read G^g, ‘take up’ E.
6. †in regard to . . . length†. For ‘length’ read ‘length of days’, x. 9, 10.
7. waters of Dan. This river, called also the Little Jordan (Joseph, *Ant.* v. 3. 1, viii. 8. 4) is a tributary of the
Jordan. This place (from דן, to judge) is chosen because of the significance of its name here—judgement.
the west of Hermon E, ‘Hermon of the West’ G^g.
8. to tell . . . and reprimand E, ‘Tell . . . to reprimand’ G^g.
sons of heaven. See vi. 2 (note).
9. †Abelsjâil, perhaps Abilene אבילין, with a play on אבלין, ‘mourning’.
10. Sênêsêr—Senir, a name of Hermon—Deut. iii. 9, Cant. iv. 8.
recounted G^g, ‘spake’ E.
reprimand, cf. 1 Cor. vi. 3, ‘judge angels’.
heavenly Watchers. See i. 5 (note). The vision follows in xiv. 2–xvi. 2.
- XIV. 1. A title for the section xii–xvi.
The book of the words ^gG^g, ‘This book is the word’ E (rest of MSS.).
eternal, lit. ‘who are from eternity’, in the loose sense of that word. See x. 5 (note).
Holy Great one G^g, ‘Holy and Great one’ E. See i. 3 (note).
- XIV. 2.–XVI. 2—the Vision.
2, 3. God has created man with a tongue for speech and a faculty of understanding, and so has created Enoch with
a power of reprimanding the eternal watchers.
tongue of flesh. Cf. lxxxiv. 1.
the Great One. Cf. ciii. 4, civ. 1.
and understand with the heart E, ‘with understanding of the heart’ G^g.
3. to man . . . and given >G^g, through hmt.
children of heaven. See vi. 2 (note).
4–7. Enoch’s reprimand to the Watchers.

BOOK OF ENOCH 14. 5-24

5 ment has been finally passed upon you : yea (your petition) will not be granted unto you⁷. And from
henceforth you shall not ascend into heaven unto all eternity, and 'in bonds' of the earth the decree
6 has gone forth to bind you for all the days of the world. And (that) previously you shall have seen
the destruction of your beloved sons and ye shall have no pleasure in them, but they shall fall before
7 you by the sword. And your petition on their behalf shall not be granted, nor yet on your own :
even though you weep and pray and **speak all the words** contained in the writing which I have
8 written. And the vision was shown to me thus : Behold, in the vision clouds invited me and a mist
summoned me, and the course of the stars and the lightnings sped and **hastened** me, and the winds in
9 the vision caused me to fly and lifted me upward, and bore me into heaven. And I went in till I drew
nigh to a wall which is built of crystals and surrounded by tongues of fire : and it began to affright
10 me. And I went into the tongues of fire and drew nigh to a large house which was built of crystals :
and the walls of the house were like a tessellated floor (made) of crystals, and its groundwork was
11 of crystal. Its ceiling was like the path of the stars and the lightnings, and between them were
fiery cherubim, and their heaven was (clear as) water. A flaming fire surrounded the walls, and its
12 portals blazed with fire. And I entered into that house, and it was hot as fire and cold as ice : there
13 were no delights of life therein : fear covered me, and trembling gat hold upon me. And as I quaked
14 and trembled, I fell upon my face. And I beheld a vision, And lo ! there was a second house, greater
15 than the former, and the entire portal stood open before me, and it was built of flames of fire. And
16 in every respect it so excelled in splendour and magnificence and extent that I cannot describe to
17 you its splendour and its extent. And its floor was of fire, and above it were lightnings and the path
18 of the stars, and its ceiling also was flaming fire. And I looked and saw 'therein' a lofty throne : its
appearance was as crystal, and the wheels thereof as the shining sun, and there was the **vision** of
19 cherubim. And from underneath the throne came streams of flaming fire so that I could not look
20 thereon. And the Great Glory sat thereon, and His raiment shone more brightly than the sun and
21 was whiter than any snow. None of the angels could enter and could behold His face by reason
22 of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold Him. The flaming fire was round about
Him, and a great fire stood before Him, and none around could draw nigh Him : ten thousand times
23 ten thousand (stood) before Him, yet He needed no **counsellor**. And the most holy ones who were
24 nigh to Him did not leave by night nor depart from Him. And until then I had been prostrate on
my face, trembling : and the Lord called me with His own mouth, and said to me : 'Come hither,

5. Cf. xiii. 5. Also Athenagoras' *Apology*, xxv. 1; Origen, *c. Celsum* v. 52.
in bonds of the earth G^s, 'on the earth' E. Read 'in bonds on the earth' or (cf. Lam. iii. 34) 'as prisoners of the earth'.
6. Cf. x. 9, xii. 6.
pleasure in them. Cf. xii. 6. So G^s. E has 'ye shall not possess them'.
7. **speak all the words.** I have emended μή into μὴν in G^s καὶ μὴν λαλοῦντες πᾶν ῥῆμα (Cf. converse in x. 7 G^s). If we accept the negative and read λαχόντες for λαλοῦντες, we can take the phrase as an apodosis—'ye are not to be granted a single request', &c.
Iren. iv. 16. 2 refers to this passage and to Enoch's *legatio ad angelos*.
8. **clouds invited me.** The expression is peculiar. Cf. perhaps Matt. xvii. 5. We should expect, however, some such idea as in Ps. xviii. 10, 11, civ. 3.
sped E, κατεσπούδαζον G^s. Cf. *Passio Perpetuae* xi.
hastened ἐθορύβαζον G^sE. But דחך in Heb. and Aram. means also 'hasten', cf. Dan. iv. 5.
caused me to fly E=ἀνεπέρωσαν, G^s=ἐξεπέρασαν. Perhaps read ἐξεπέρασαν, cf. Num. xi. 31.
- 9-13. Enoch is carried up into heaven and passes within the outer court of God's palace.
10. **crystals**=hailstones. Cf. Isa. xxx. 30. (made) of crystals E. G^s has 'and they were all of snow'.
13. **delights**=τροφή. τροφή G^s.
14. Cf. lx. 3, lxxi. 11; Ezek. i. 28; Dan. viii. 17, 18.
15. The doors are open so that Enoch can describe what is within. G^s is corrupt.
- 18-22. The writer draws on Isa. vi: Ezek. i. x.; Dan. vii. 9, 10. This passage is used by the author of lxxi. 5-8.
18. **therein** > G^s.
a lofty throne: Ezek. i. 26; Dan. vii. 9; 1 Kings xxii. 19; Isa. vi. 1; Ass. Mos. iv. 2; Test. Levi v. 1; Rev. iv. 2.
vision. So I emend. E has 'voice' (ὁπός). G^s has *opos* corrupt for ὅρασις.
19. Dan. vii. 10.
streams of flaming fire E, 'flaming streams of fire' G^s.
20. **the Great Glory.** Cf. cii. 3; Test. Lev. iii. 4.
whiter than, &c. Cf. Dan. vii. 9; Ps. civ. 2; Jam. i. 17; Rev. iv. 3.
21. **enter** + 'into this house' G^s.
by reason of the magnificence and glory G^s, 'of the Magnificent and Glorious One' E (cf. ciii. 1), but this seems corrupt.
22. **could draw nigh.** Cf. 3 Macc. ii. 15; 1 Tim. vi. 16.
He needed no counsellor. Cf. Sir. xlii. 21, and 2 En. xxxiii. 4. E, with a slight change, gives our text. G^s has πᾶς λόγος αὐτοῦ ἔργον. Cf. 2 En. xxxiii. 4.
23. **the most holy ones** G^s, 'the holiness of the holy ones' E^a.
'did not leave.' Contrast lxxi. 8.
24. **prostrate** G^s. E is corrupt. Cf. Dan. viii. 17; 2 En. xxi. 2; Luke xxiv. 5.

BOOK OF ENOCH 14. 25—16. 2

- 25 Enoch, and hear my word.' 'And one of the holy ones came to me and waked me¹, and He made me rise up and approach the door : and I bowed my face downwards.
- 15 1 And He answered and said to me, and I heard His voice : ' Fear not, Enoch, thou righteous man and scribe of righteousness : approach hither and hear my voice. And go, say to "the Watchers of heaven"², who have sent thee to intercede "for them : "You should intercede" for men, and not men for you : Wherefore have ye left the high, holy, and eternal heaven, and lain with women, and defiled yourselves with the daughters of men and taken to yourselves wives, and done like the children of earth, and begotten giants (as your) sons ? And though ye were holy, spiritual, living the eternal life, you have defiled yourselves with the blood of women, and have begotten (children) with the blood of flesh, and, **as the children** of men, have lusted after flesh and blood as those "also" do who die and perish. Therefore have I given them wives also that they might impregnate them, and beget children by them, that thus nothing might be wanting to them on earth. But you were "formerly"³ spiritual, living the eternal life, and immortal for all generations of the world. And therefore I have not appointed wives for you ; for as for the spiritual ones of the heaven, in heaven is their dwelling. And now, the giants, who are produced from the spirits and flesh, shall be called evil spirits upon the earth, and on the earth shall be their dwelling. Evil spirits have proceeded from their bodies ; because they are born from **men** "and" from the holy Watchers is their beginning and primal origin ; "they shall be evil spirits on earth, and" evil spirits shall they be called. [As for the spirits of heaven, in heaven shall be their dwelling, but as for the spirits of the earth which were born upon the earth, on the earth shall be their dwelling.] And the spirits of the giants **afflict**, oppress, destroy, attack, do battle, and work destruction on the earth, and cause trouble : they take no food, "but nevertheless" hunger¹ and thirst, and cause offences. And these spirits shall rise up against the children of men and against the women, because they have proceeded "from them".
- 16 1 From the days of the slaughter and destruction and death "of the giants", from the souls of whose flesh the spirits, having gone forth, shall destroy without incurring judgement—thus shall they destroy until the day of the consummation, the great "judgement" in which the age shall be consummated, over the Watchers and the godless, yea, shall be wholly consummated." And now as

- hear my word G^s, 'to my holy word' E (ἀγίου for ἄκουσον).
25. bowed : so G^s, 'looked' E corruptly.
- XV. 1. scribe of righteousness. See xii. 3 (note).
2. Watchers of heaven >G^s.
intercede. See ix. 10 (note).
for them...intercede >G^s through hmt.
3. Cf. xii. 4 ; Jude 6.
- 4-7. For mortal man upon earth wedlock is appointed, to continue the race ; but for immortal angels in heaven it involves pollution and guilt. Cf. Matt. xxii. 30, no marriage in heaven.
4. spiritual, living the eternal life E, 'and spirits, living, eternal' G^s.
as the children of men, 'with the blood of men' G^s E, i.e. כְּבָרִים for כְּבָנִים.
lusted after + 'and made' E.
5. nothing...to them. Est corrupt.
6. spiritual, &c. G^s as in v. 4.
- 8-9. The forbidden union of angels and the daughters of men gives rise to a monstrous race of giants, with spiritual powers and earthly desires. So from these giants when they die will proceed evil spirits, i.e. demons, living on earth. Moreover, these demons will not be restrained as the fallen angels are, nor slain like the mortal bodies of the giants. Cf. Justin, *Apol.* ii. 5 ; Tert. *Apol.* xxii. Lact. *Instit.* ii. 15 regards the demons as wicked angels and no more.
8. shall be called evil spirits E G^s ; πνεύματα ἰσχυρά G^s, defective and corrupt.
9. from men G^s, 'from those above' G^s E.
beginning E + 'of their creation' G^s.
they shall be...earth E G^s. > G^s.
10. G^s omits. The verse is only a repetition of 7, 8.
of the earth E, 'on the earth' G^s.
11. afflict : 'laying waste' G^s, 'clouds' E G^s, i.e. עננין corrupt for מענין = 'afflict'. The demons' evil activities will continue on the earth.
trouble E ; δρόμους G^s, corrupt for τρόμους (?).
but nevertheless hunger G^s. >E + καὶ φάσματα ποιούντα G^s, perhaps rightly.
cause offences G^s, also E, easily corrected.
12. against the women E, 'of the women' G^s.
- XVI. 1. The demons will not be punished until the final judgement, whereas the watchers are punished before and again at that judgement. This doctrine also appears in Jubilees x. 5-11, and in the N.T. Cf. Matt. viii. 29, 'to torment us before the time.'
- of the giants E G^s >G^s + Ναφθλεὶμ οἱ ἰσχυροὶ τῆς γῆς οἱ μεγάλοι ὀνομαστοί G^s. Cf. Gen. vi. 4.
from the souls of whose flesh E^{en} G^s. All texts are here corrupt, though ^{en} are best.
consummation. See xlv. 2 (note).
2. Here we might read a quotation in Syncellus ending—'and these are from the first book of Enoch concerning the watchers'. It limits the age of man to 120 years and so perhaps does belong to the lost Apocalypse of Noah. See my forthcoming Commentary on Enoch, pp. 14, 15.

BOOK OF ENOCH 16. 2—18. 3

to the watchers who have sent thee to intercede for them, who had been 'aforetime in heaven', (say to them): "You have been in heaven, but 'all' the mysteries had not yet been revealed to you, and you knew worthless ones, and these in the hardness of your hearts you have made known to the women, and through these mysteries women and men work much evil on earth."

4 Say to them therefore: "You have no peace."

XVII-XXXVI. *Enoch's Journeys through the Earth and Sheol.*

XVII-XIX. *The First Journey.*

17¹ And they took 'and brought' me to a place in which those who were there were like flaming fire, and, when they wished, they appeared as men. And they brought me to the place of darkness, and to a mountain the point of whose summit reached to heaven. And I saw the places of the luminaries 'and the treasures of the stars' and of the thunder, 'and' in the **uttermost depths**, where were a fiery bow and arrows and their quiver, 'and a fiery sword' and all the lightnings. And they took me to the living waters, and to the fire of the west, which receives every setting of the sun. And I came to a river of fire in which the fire flows like water and discharges itself into the great sea towards the west. I saw the great rivers and came to the great 'river and to the great' darkness, and went to the place where no flesh walks. I saw the mountains of the darkness of winter and the place whence all the waters of the deep flow. I saw the mouths of all the rivers of the earth and the mouth of the deep.

18¹ I saw the treasures of all the winds: I saw how He had furnished with them the whole creation and the firm foundations of the earth. And I saw the corner-stone of the earth: I saw the four winds which bear [the earth and] the firmament of the heaven. 'And I saw how the winds stretch out the vaults of heaven', and have their station between heaven and earth: 'these are the pillars

aforetime E > G^s.

3. E wrongly inserts 'and now' at the beginning of 3.

all G^s > E.

Clem. Alex. *Strom.* ed. Dindorf. iii. 9 is based on this statement.

4. **no peace.** See v. 4 (note).

XVII-XIX. These chapters are foreign to the rest of this section. They are full of Greek elements, e.g. Pyriphlegethon, Styx, Acheron and Cocytus (xvii. 5, 6); the Ocean Stream (xvii. 5, 7, 8; xviii. 10); Hades in the West (xvii. 6).

Again xviii. 6-9 is a duplicate account of xxiv. 1-3; xviii. 12-16 of xxi. 1-6; and xviii. 11 of xxi. 7-10.

Again xix. 1 contradicts x. 11-14; xiv. 5. How could the imprisoned angels (xv. 12-xvi) assume many forms and seduce men to sacrifice to the demons? Still these chapters do belong to the Enoch tradition.

XVII. 1. **and brought** supplied from G^s.

like flaming fire. Cf. Ps. civ. 4.

appeared as men. Cf. xix. 1, 'assuming many different forms', and 2 Cor. xi. 14.

2. **of darkness** G^s ζοφώδη, 'of whirlwind' E = γνοφώδη. Cf. Job xxxvii. 9.

the point of E > G^s.

3. **places of the luminaries:** perhaps the chambers of the sun and moon cf. xli. 5.

and the treasures of the stars supplied from G^s.

of the thunder. Cf. xli. 3, xlii. lix, lx. 13-15 and notes.

in the uttermost depths. E is thus easily emended. G^s has εἰς τὰ ἀποβαθῆ.

fiery bow, with which the lightnings are shot. Cf. Ps. vii. 12; Hab. iii. 9; Lam. ii. 4, iii. 12.

arrows, i.e. lightnings. Ps. xviii. 14, lxxvii. 17, 18.

and a fiery sword E. > G^s. Cf. Ps. vii. 12; Deut. xxxii. 41.

4. **took** E, 'brought' G^s.

The living waters G^s, 'waters of life' E. Cf. Ps. xxxvi. 9; Prov. x. 11, xiii. 14, xiv. 27, xvi. 22; and esp. Rev. xxii. 17.

fire of the west. See xxiii. (notes). This fire is not Gehenna as Enoch does not place that in the west.

receives E, παρέχον G^s.

5. **river of fire.** The Pyriphlegethon.

great sea. Ὠκεανός.

towards the west E, 'of the west' G^s.

6. **I saw** G^s, 'and I saw' E, also in verses 7 and 8, &c. The omission of the copula suits the Aramaic idiom.

the great rivers. Are these the Styx, Acheron, and Cocytus?

river and to the great supplied from G^s.

no flesh G^s, 'all flesh' E.

7. **the mountains of the darkness** E. 'the winds of the darkness' G^s.

8. **The mouths,** &c., i.e. Oceanus. Cf. 'the springs of the great deep' in Babylonian cosmogony: they are at the ends of the earth, and the mountains (cf. v. 7) are near by.

XVIII. 1. **treasures of all the winds.** See xxxiv-xxxvi, xli. 4 (note), lx. 11, 12.

foundations of the earth. Cf. O.T. 2 Sam. xxii. 16; Ps. xviii. 15.

2. **corner-stone.** Job xxxviii. 6.

the earth and G^s E, but a dittograph of ארבע 'four' in the Aramaic seems probable, misread ארעא 'earth'.

3. **And I saw . . . heaven** E, > G^s through hmt.

These are . . . heaven > G^s through hmt.

pillars of the heaven. Cf. Job. xxvii. 11 for the words but not the idea.

BOOK OF ENOCH 18. 4—19. 1

4 of the heaven⁷. I saw the winds of heaven which turn and bring the circumference of the sun and
5 all the stars to their setting. I saw the winds on the earth carrying the clouds: I saw⁸ the paths
6 of the angels. I saw⁹ at the end of the earth the firmament of the heaven above. And I proceeded
and saw a place which burns day and night, where there are seven mountains of magnificent stones,
7 three towards the east, and three towards the south. And as for those towards the east, <one> was
of coloured stone, and one of pearl, and one of **jacinth**, and those towards the south of red stone.
8 But the middle one reached to heaven like the throne of God, of alabaster, and the summit of the
9, 10 throne was of sapphire. And I saw a flaming fire. And beyond these mountains Is a region the
11 end of the great earth: there the heavens were completed. And I saw a deep abyss, with columns¹² of
heavenly fire, and among them I saw columns¹³ of fire fall, which were beyond measure alike towards
12 the height and towards the depth. And beyond that abyss I saw a place which had no firmament
of the heaven above, and no firmly founded earth beneath it: there was no water upon it, and no
13 birds, but it was a waste and horrible place. I saw there seven stars like great burning mountains,
14 and to me, when I inquired regarding them, The angel said: 'This place is the end of heaven and
15 earth: this has become a prison for the stars and the host of heaven. And the stars which roll
over the fire are they which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord in the beginning of
16 their rising, because they did not come forth at their appointed times. And He was wroth with them,
and bound them till the time when their guilt should be consummated (even)¹⁷ for ten thousand years¹⁸.'

19¹ And Uriel said to me: 'Here shall stand the angels who have connected themselves with women,
and their spirits assuming many different forms are defiling mankind and shall lead them astray
into sacrificing to demons¹⁹ as gods²⁰, (here shall they stand,) till²¹ the day of²² the great judgement in

4. winds which turn . . . the sun. Cf. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2.
bring . . . to . . . setting. = *δύνοντας* (Active). *διανέοντας* G⁸ which Dillmann emends to *δινεύοντας*, 'whirling'.
5. carrying the clouds (4, 8 only) explains the difficulties in Job xxxvi. 29, xxxvii. 16. G⁸ *gmqu* read 'in the cloud'.
at the end of the earth the firmament. The firmament's ends rest on the earth's ends, cf. xxxiii. 2, while its
vault is supported by the winds, xviii. 2, 3.
6-9. For the seven mountains see the other account in xxiv. 1-3. Also cf. Jubilees viii. 22.
6. proceeded + 'to the south' E. This addition is obviously wrong. The mountains are in the NW., lxxvii. 3,
lxx. 3. Moreover, as three are towards the east and three towards the south, this *v.* (6) implies that the corner one
must be in the NW.
and saw a place G⁸ > E which seems to have read *εἰς τὸν νότον* for *εἶδον τόπον*.
seven mountains. The Garden lies to the east of them xxxii. 1-2 and like them is in the NW. lxx. 3. Cf. too
xxiv. 1-3 (the mountains), xxiv. sqq. (the Garden or at least the tree of life). See further lxxvii. 3, lx. 22, 23, lx. 8,
xxxii. 1-3 for the Garden's position. For the number 'seven' cf. 4 Ezra vi. 42, 1 En. lxxvii. 5, 8. See full note in my
new Comm. on 1 En. xviii. 6. With the mountains cf. those in lii. 2, liii. 7.
three¹⁰ E, > G⁸.
7. jacinth (?) *ἰάσεως* E, corrupt for (?) *ἰάσπιδος*, 'jasper'. But G⁸ has *ραθεν*. So *ιακίνθου* or *ιανθίνου* is more probably
original. We can neither be sure of identifying the stones or discovering the source of the ideas in our text. But cf.
Ezek. xxviii. 13.
8. like the throne of God. In xxv. 3 it *is* the throne of God. God's mountain is in the north in Isa. xiv. 13. Cf.
Ezek. i. 4; Job xxxvii. 22. Cf. 'the holy mountain of God', Ezek. xxviii. 13, 14, 16.
- alabaster. *φουκα* G⁸ = פוכא.
- sapphire. Ezek. i. 26.
9. a flaming fire. Cf. xxiv. 1.
And beyond these G⁸. E attests, but here as always misrenders, as *ἐπὶ ἐκείνων* for *ἐπέκεινα* (G⁸). Cf. ver. 12.
10. Cf. xviii. 5, xxxiii. 2.
11. Is this the final place of punishment for the fallen angels? If so, cf. x. 6, 13, xviii. 11, xxi. 7-10, xc. 24.
of heavenly fire . . . columns > G⁸. Cf. Gen. xix. 24; Ps. xi. 6; Ezek. xxxviii. 22.
height . . . depth E. ∞ G⁸.
- 12-16. The place of punishment for the disobedient stars, already occupied. Cf. xxi. 1-6.
- 13-16. The stars are regarded as conscious, and therefore punished. Cf. Jude 13 *ἀστέρες πλανῆται*.
13. and to me . . . them G⁸, E corrupt.
14. host of heaven. Cf. Isa. xxiv. 21.
15. the Lord G⁸, 'God' E.
rising + *ὅτι τόπος ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κενός ἐστίν* G⁸—a gloss on *v.* 12.
16. till the time = ten thousand years, xxi. 6.
ten thousand years G⁸, *ἐνιαυτῷ μυστηρίον* E corrupt.

XIX. This chapter disagrees with xv. 12-xvi, as here the spirits of the fallen angels are free to seduce men to sacrifice
to demons. In fact the fallen angels here have the function of tempting men which is elsewhere assigned to the
demons. The women too become female demons here. If, however, xix belongs to x-xvi, then xix is defective. 'Their
spirits' should be followed by 'of the giants', which would be an Aramaic idiom likely to be misunderstood by a Greek
translator.

1. sacrificing to demons as gods. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 17; Ps. cvi. 37; Bar. iv. 7. This passage and xcix. 7 are the
source of Tert. *De Idol.* iv.
as gods E > G⁸.
the day of E > G⁸.
the great judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).

BOOK OF ENOCH 19. 2—21. 8

2 which they shall be judged till they are made an end of. And the women also of the angels who
3 went astray shall become sirens.' And I, Enoch, alone saw the vision, the ends of all things: and
no man shall see as I have seen.

XX. Names and Functions of the Seven Archangels.

20 1, 2 And these are the names of the holy angels who watch. Uriel, one of the holy angels, who is
3 over the world and over Tartarus. Raphael, one of the holy angels, who is over the spirits of men.
4, 5 Raguel, one of the holy angels who †takes vengeance on† the world of the luminaries. Michael, one
6 of the holy angels, to wit, he that is set over the best part of mankind †and† over chaos. Saraqâêl,
7 one of the holy angels, who is set over the spirits, who sin in the spirit. Gabriel, one of the holy
8 angels, who is over Paradise and the serpents and the Cherubim. Remiel, one of the holy angels,
whom God set over those who rise.

XXI—XXXVI. The Second Journey of Enoch.

XXI. Preliminary and final Place of Punishment of the fallen Angels (stars).

21 1, 2 And I proceeded to where things were chaotic. And I saw there something horrible: I saw neither
3 a heaven above nor a firmly founded earth, but a place chaotic and horrible. And there I saw
4 seven stars of the heaven bound together in it, like great mountains and burning with fire. Then
5 I said: 'For what sin are they bound, and on what account have they been cast in hither?' Then
said Uriel, one of the holy angels, who was with me, and was chief over them, and said: 'Enoch, why
6 dost thou ask, and why art thou eager for the truth? These are of the number of the stars †of heaven†,
which have transgressed the commandment of the Lord, and are bound here till ten thousand years,
7 the time entailed by their sins, are consummated.' And from thence I went to another place, which
was still more horrible than the former, and I saw a horrible thing: a great fire there which burnt
and blazed, and the place was cleft as far as the abyss, being full of great descending columns of
8 fire: neither its extent or magnitude could I see, nor could I conjecture. Then I said: 'How

2. the women . . . of the angels G^g, 'lit. their women . . . of the angels'. An Aramaic idiom. E is corrupt.
will become sirens. So G^g. E is corrupt *ὡς εἰρηναίου*. For sirens cf. Apoc. Bar. x. 8. *σεῖρήν* in the LXX renders
הַנְּנָה e.g. Mic. i. 8.

3. the ends of all things. Quoted by Clem. Alex. *Eclog. Proph.* (Dind. iii. 456) as *ὅλας πᾶσας* and Origen, *De Princ.*
iv. 35, as 'universas materias'.

XX. There are seven archangels in this chapter, but only four are mentioned in i-xix, cf. xxi-xxxvi. See lxxxi. 5.
Other discrepancies, however, are reduced by the evidence of G^g.

1. G^{g1,2} are defective, G^{g2} omits and G^{g1} reads only 'angels of the powers'. Both, however, in v. 8 end *ὀνόματα
τῶν ἀρχαγγέλων*.

who watch. See i. 5, xii. 2.

2. Uriel's province here explains, e.g. xix, xxi. 5, 9, xxvii. 2, xxxiii. 3, 4. Cf. 4 Ezra iv. 1, where he is overseer of
the world.

Tartarus G^{g1,2}. E = *τάρταρον*, corrupt.

3. Raphael. See x. 4, 7. His province here suits admirably in xxii. 3, 6. In xxxii. 6, however, his province seems
that assigned to Gabriel in xx. 7.

4. Raguel. There seems to be no connexion between name and function. Cf. xxiii. 4.

†takes vengeance on.† See xxiii. 4 (note).

world of G^{g1,2}. 'world and' E.

5. Michael is Israel's guardian angel, as in Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1, and elsewhere. Cf. xxiv. 6.

(and) over chaos G^{g1,2}. *ἐπὶ τῷ λαῶ* E.

6. Saraqâêl E, 'Sariel' G^{g1,2}.

spirits + 'of mankind' E.

7. Gabriel, not Raphael, should be the speaker in xxxii, according to this verse.

8. Remiel. This clause (only in G^{g2}) completes the *seven*, which number G^{g1} also mentions. For Remiel cf. 4 Ezra iv. 36.

XXI. 1-6. Cf. xviii. 12-16. The place where the disobedient stars are punished.

1. Origen cites in *De Princ.* iv. 35 'ambulavi usque ad imperfectum.'

chaotic. So G^{g1,2}, and E is easily so emended.

3. together E. 'and cast down' G^{g1,2}.

5. chief over them G^{g1,2}. 'chief over me' E.

why art thou eager for the truth G^{g1,2}. The Aramaic original = Dan. vii. 16 (cf. 19), and the Greek text
used by E, had *ἀκρίβειαν*, not *ἀλήθειαν*.

6. of heaven G^{g1,2}. > E.

the Lord G^{g1,2} but late MSS. read 'Most High God', a title not found in Enoch, though 'Most High' occurs
in all the sections. E has 'God'. See xcix. 3 (note).

ten thousand years G^{g1,2}. 'ten thousand ages' E, i.e. 'ālam for 'ām.

the time G^{g1,2}. 'the number of the days' E.

7-10. Another place. Apparently the final prison of the angels here is the abyss of xviii. 11, 12, which was below
the waste place, where the seven stars are bound already. For this final prison, cf. x. 6, xviii. 11, liv. 6, xc. 24-5.

7. conjecture. E^{mu} G^{g1,2}. All E MSS. prefix a gloss 'to look upon'.

BOOK OF ENOCH 21. 9—22. 7

9 fearful is the place and how terrible to look upon! Then Uriel answered me, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: 'Enoch, why hast thou such fear and affright?' And I answered: 'Because of this fearful place, and because of the spectacle of the pain.' And he said unto me: 'This place is the prison of the angels, and here they will be imprisoned for ever.'

XXII. Sheol or the Underworld.

22¹ And thence I went to another place, and he showed me in the west 'another' great and high mountain [and] of hard rock.

<p>E</p> <p>2 And there was in it †four† hollow places, deep and wide and very smooth. †How† smooth are the hollow places and deep and dark to look at.</p>	<p>Gg</p> <p>And there were †four† hollow places in it, deep and very smooth: †three† of them were dark and one bright and there was a fountain of water in its midst. And I said: '†How† smooth are these hollow places, and deep and dark to view.'</p>
---	---

3 Then Raphael answered, one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto me: 'These hollow places have been created for this very purpose, that the spirits of the souls of the dead should assemble therein, yea that all the souls of the children of men should assemble here. And these places have been made to receive them till the day of their judgement and till their appointed period [till the period appointed], till the great judgement (comes) upon them.'

<p>E</p> <p>5 I saw the spirits of the children of men who were dead, and their voice went forth to heaven and made suit. Then I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said unto him: 'This spirit—whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit?'</p>	<p>Gg</p> <p>I saw <the spirit of> a dead man making suit, and his voice went forth to heaven and made suit. And I asked Raphael the angel who was with me, and I said unto him: 'This spirit which maketh suit, whose is it, whose voice goeth forth and maketh suit to heaven?'</p>
--	--

7 And he answered me saying: 'This is the spirit which went forth from Abel, whom his brother Cain slew, and he makes his suit against him till his seed is destroyed from the face of the earth, and his seed is annihilated from amongst the seed of men.'

8. terrible, *δεινός*, 'terrible' G^s¹². E = *ὀδυνηρός*.
9. Uriel E > G^s^{1,2}.
and I answered G^s^{1,2}. > E which inserts 'and he answered me' after 'with me'.
the spectacle of the pain E (*ὀδυνης*), 'the terrible (*δεινής*) spectacle' G^s.
10. unto me E > G^s.
for ever G^s gives a doublet.

XXII. This chapter contains a very detailed account of Sheol or Hades. The writer places it in the far west, as the Babylonians, Greeks, and Egyptians did, and not in the underworld, as the Hebrews. In all other sections of Enoch the Hebrew view prevails. This is the earliest statement of the Pharisaic or Chasid doctrine of Sheol, but here it is already fullgrown. The departed have conscious existence, and moral, not social distinctions are observed in Sheol. See lxiii. 10, for the history of this doctrine. Cf. Dan. xii.

1. [and] > G^s.
2. †four†, three are gloomy and one bright, according to our text, but *vv.* 8 and 9 show that there are *three* in all, not *four* (G^s). E has there inserted 'regarding it and' to avoid the inconsistency.
†four† . . †three†. Read 'three . . two'.
hollow. *καλοί* E for *κοῖλοι*. So too in *ver.* 3.
†how†. Read 'why' to suit the reply 'for this very purpose' in *v.* 3. hollow places²⁰. So G. E has *κυκλώματα*.
deep and dark. This seems to suit only the places of punishment. Contrast 'one bright' and *v.* 9.
3. Raphael has the same rôle in Tobit.
created E. *ἐκρίθησαν* G^s corruptly.
the spirits of the souls of the dead, G^s E^g^u, E rest of MSS. corrupt. Cf. ix. 10.
4. been made. So I emend G^s E, which corruptly read 'made'.
to receive them. Cf. promptuaria of 4 Ezra iv. 35, vii. 95, 1 En. c. 4, 5 (note).
[till the period appointed.] A dittograph.
- 5-7. Formerly thought to describe the first division of Sheol, which contains the souls of the righteous, who in their life were persecuted, and suffered a violent and undeserved death. The idea of the righteous or of the angels crying for vengeance on the wicked occurs in all the sections of Enoch. Cf. ix. 1-3, 10, 11, xxii. 5-8, xlvii. 1, 2, lxxxix. 76, xcvi. 3, 5, xcix. 3, 16, civ. 3. Cf. also Rev. vi. 10; 4 Ezra iv. 35. But really these verses describe not a division of Sheol, but the sight of a soul demanding vengeance.
5. spirits . . dead. E. *ἀνθρώπους νεκροὺς ἐντυγχάνοντος* G^s defective and corrupt. Note the singular in *v.* 6.
- 6, 7. Abel's soul cries for vengeance. Gen. iv. 10.
6. which maketh suit > E.
answered + 'and said to me' E, a doublet of 'saying'.

BOOK OF ENOCH 22. 8—23. 3

E
8 Then I asked regarding it, and regarding all the **hollow places**: 'Why is one separated from the other?'
9 And he answered me and said unto me: 'These three have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And such a division has been made (for) the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the **bright spring** of water. And such has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed on them in their lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great pain till the great day of judgement and punishment and torment of those who curse for ever and retribution for their spirits. There He shall bind them for ever. And such a division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners. Such has been made for the spirits of men who were not righteous but sinners, who were complete in transgression, and of the transgressors they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be slain in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.'
14 Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: 'Blessed be my Lord, the Lord of righteousness, who ruleth for ever.'

G^s
Then I asked regarding all the **hollow places**: 8
'Why is one separated from the other?'
And he answered me saying: 'These three 9 have been made that the spirits of the dead might be separated. And **this** division has been made for the spirits of the righteous, in which there is the bright spring of water. And **this** 10 has been made for sinners when they die and are buried in the earth and judgement has not been executed upon them in their lifetime. Here their spirits shall be set apart in this great 11 pain, till the great day of judgement, scourgings, and torments of the accursed for ever, **so that** (there may be) retribution for their spirits. There He shall bind them for ever. And **this** 12 division has been made for the spirits of those who make their suit, who make disclosures concerning their destruction, when they were slain in the days of the sinners. And **this** has been 13 made for the spirits of men who shall not be righteous but sinners, who are godless, and of the lawless they shall be companions: but their spirits shall not be punished in the day of judgement nor shall they be raised from thence.'
Then I blessed the Lord of glory and said: 14
'Blessed art Thou, Lord of righteousness, who ruleth over the world.'

XXIII. *The fire that deals with the Luminaries of Heaven.*

23 1, 2 From thence I went to another place to the west of the ends of the earth. And I saw a burning
3 fire which ran without resting, and paused not from its course day or night but (ran) regularly. And

8. The three divisions of Sheol are now given.
hollow places. κριμάτων E, κυκλωμάτων G^s, both corrupt for κοιλωμάτων.
 9. The first division is for the souls of the righteous, whether martyred or not. Thus good and ill fortune in life do not continue even after death, despite 5-7. 'The bright spring' seems to refer to an existing tradition. For the phrase 'water of life' in Babylonian literature see *K.A.T.* 523 seqq.
spirits n. Rest of MSS. read 'souls', but 'nafs' often = 'spirits'. Cf. xv. 12, lxix. 12, xcix. 7.
bright. E has 'brightness'.
 10. The second division is for those sinners who lived prosperously and attained to honourable burial, having escaped punishment in life.
this. G^s corruptly reads 'thus'.
 11. **great pain.** Cf. ciii. 7, 8; Luke xvi. 23-5.
great day of judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).
the accursed = τῶν καταραμένων, which E wrongly takes actively.
so that, &c., emended by Radermacher.
for ever, in Greek, 'till the age', i. e. till the final judgement.
 12. The third division is for the sinners who suffered in their life and therefore incur less penalty in Sheol. The suffering unrighteous cry to God for vengeance.
 13. **their spirits shall not be slain.** There are degrees of suffering in Sheol. The worst penalty seems to be 'the slaying of the spirit', but even this did not imply annihilation. See cviii. 3 (note), also xcix. 11.
their spirits + 'because those who suffer affliction here are punished less' G^s, a gloss.
shall not be punished G^s. 'shall not be slain' E.
nor shall they be raised. The sinners in the second division will rise, but only for a severer condemnation. Is the Resurrection here general, or only for Israel? If general, this declaration is unique in pre-Christian Jewish Apocrypha.
 14. After each fresh revelation Enoch generally bursts forth into a doxology. Cf. xxv. 7, xxvii. 5, xxxvi. 4, xxxix. 9-13, xlviii. 10, lxxxi. 3, lxxxiii. 11, lxxxiv. xc. 40.
Lord of glory. See xxv. 3 (note).
Lord of righteousness. Cf. xc. 40, cvi. 3.
- XXIII. 1, 2. Enoch is still in the west, but proceeds to another quarter in it, where there is a restless river of fire.
xvii. 4 seems to deal with the same subject.
1. **west of the ends** G^s. E = 'west, to the ends'.
2. **burning** E. > G^s.
but ran regularly E. G^s = ἄμα (corrupt for ἀλλὰ) διαμένον.

BOOK OF ENOCH 23. 4—25. 4

4 I asked saying : ‘ What is this which rests not ? ’ Then Raguel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered me and said unto me : ‘ This course of fire which thou hast seen is the fire in the west which †persecutes† all the luminaries of heaven.’

XXIV—XXV. *The Seven Mountains in the North-West and the Tree of Life.*

- 24 1 And from thence I went to another place of the earth, and he showed me a mountain range of
2 fire which burnt day and night. And I went beyond it and saw seven magnificent mountains all
differing each from the other, and the stones (thereof) were magnificent and beautiful, magnificent
as a whole, of glorious appearance and fair exterior : three towards the east, one founded on the
other, and three towards the south, one upon the other, and deep rough ravines, no one of which
3 joined with any other. And the seventh mountain was in the midst of these, and it excelled them
4 in height, resembling the seat of a throne : and fragrant trees encircled the throne. And amongst
them was a tree such as I had never yet smelt, neither was any amongst them nor were others like
it : it had a fragrance beyond all fragrance, and its leaves and blooms and wood wither not for ever :
5 and its fruit is beautiful, and its fruit resembles the dates of a palm. Then I said : ‘ How beautiful
is this tree, and fragrant, and its leaves are fair, and its blooms very delightful in appearance.’
6 Then answered Michael, one of the holy and honoured angels who was with me, and was their
leader.
- 25 1 And he said unto me : ‘ Enoch, why dost thou ask me regarding the fragrance of the tree,
2 and why dost thou wish to learn the truth ? ’ Then I answered him saying : ‘ I wish to
3 know about everything, but especially about this tree.’ And he answered saying : ‘ This high
mountain which thou hast seen, whose summit is like the throne of God, is His throne, where the
Holy Great One, the Lord of Glory, the Eternal King, will sit, when He shall come down to visit
4 the earth with goodness. And as for this fragrant tree no mortal is permitted to touch it till the
great judgement, when He shall take vengeance on all and bring (everything) to its consummation

4. And said unto me E. > G^g.
of fire G^g. > E.
which thou hast seen E. > G^g.
†persecutes† ἐκδιώκων G^g (E supports) corrupt for ἐκδικῶν.

XXIV. Enoch has been in the extreme West in xxiii : now he goes to the NW. First he sees a mountain range of fire, and then the seven great mountains, one of which is the throne of God.

1. And from thence . . . of the earth E. > G^g.
day and E. > G^g.
2. beyond it. ἐπέκεινα αὐτῶν. E = ‘ towards it ’ : cf. xviii. 9.
and beautiful E. ‘ in beauty ’ G^g.
three towards 1^o E. > G^g.
one 1^o 2^o E. > G^g.
rough G^g. ‘ crooked ’ E.
3. excelled them in height ἡοῖβ. G^g omits ‘ them ’. All other MSS. of E read ‘ their height ’.
resembling G^g. E easily emended.
fragrant E. ‘ of goodly appearance ’ G^g = εὐειδῆ for εὐώδη.
4. The tree of life. Cf. xxv. 4-6.
neither was any amongst them E. ‘ and no one else had enjoyed them ’ G^g.
is beautiful and its fruit E. > G^g through hmt.
5. How G^g. > E.
fragrant G^g. E = ‘ of goodly appearance ’.
its blooms G^g. E corrupt.
very E. > G^g.
6. Michael, Israel’s patron angel, is in charge of these treasures of the Messianic Kingdom. From xx. 7, we should expect Gabriel here.
and honoured E. > G^g.
XXV. 1. ask + ‘ and why didst thou marvel ’ G^g.
why 2^o G^g. > E.
wish to learn the truth G^g, ‘ enquire accurately to learn ’ E.
2. Then I + ‘ Enoch ’ α-γ,β. > G^g.
saying E. > G^g.
3. This high mountain, i. e. the middle one of the seven. Cf. xviii. 6-9, xxiv. 1-3. It is not Sinai, but the throne of God when He descends to bless the earth. Cf. lxxvii. 1.
which thou hast seen E. > G^g.
the Holy Great One . . . Glory E. G^g = ‘ the Great Lord the Holy One of Glory ’.
Holy Great One. See i. 3 (note).
Lord of Glory. Cf. xxii. 14, (xxv. 7), xxvii. 3, 5, xxxvi. 4, xl. 3, lxiii. 2, lxxxiii. 8.
Eternal King. Cf. vv. 5, 7, xxvii. 3 ; only found in i-xxxvi.
He shall come down. This mountain is in the north-west. In lxxvii, God will descend in the south.
4. great judgement. See xlv. 2 (note).
4, 5. This is the tree of life. After the final judgement men by eating of it will be endowed with a long life—not eternal life. Cf. v. 9, x. 17, xxv. 6. Cf. Apoc. Bar. lxxiii. 2, 3, 6, 7 ; lxxiv. This materialistic conception of the tree of life, based on Gen. ii. 9, iii. 22, appears later, e. g. 4 Ezra viii. 52 ; ? Rev. ii. 7, xxii. 2, 14.

BOOK OF ENOCH 25. 5—27. 2

5 for ever. It shall then be given to the righteous and holy. Its fruit **shall be** for food to the elect: it shall be transplanted to the holy place, to the temple of the Lord, the Eternal King.

6 Then shall they rejoice with joy and be glad,
And into the holy place shall they enter;
And its fragrance shall be in their bones,
And they shall live a long life on earth,
Such as thy fathers lived:

And in their days shall no 'sorrow' or plague
Or torment or calamity touch them.'

7 Then blessed I the God of Glory, the Eternal King, who hath prepared such things for the righteous, and hath created them and promised to give to them.

XXVI. *Jerusalem and the Mountains, Ravines, and Streams.*

26 1 And I went from thence to the middle of the earth, and I saw a blessed place 'in which there were
2 trees' with branches abiding and blooming [of a dismembered tree]. And there I saw a holy mountain,
3 'and' underneath the mountain to the east there was a stream and it flowed towards the south. And
I saw towards the east another mountain higher than this, and between them a deep and narrow
4 ravine: in it also ran a stream 'underneath' the mountain. And to the west thereof there was another
mountain, lower than the former and of small elevation, and a ravine 'deep and dry' between
5 them: and another deep and dry ravine was at the extremities of the three 'mountains'. And all
the ravines were deep 'and narrow', (being formed) of hard rock, and trees were not planted upon
6 them. And I marvelled 'at the rocks, and I marvelled' at the ravine, yea, I marvelled very much.

XXVII. *The Purpose of the Accursed Valley.*

27 1 Then said I: 'For what object is this blessed land, which is entirely filled with trees, and this
2 accursed valley 'between'?' 'Then Uriel, one of the holy angels who was with me, answered and
said:

5. then G^s, E = 'this'.

holy G^s, 'humble' E.

Its fruit . . . to the elect. So G. Cf. Ezek. xlvii. 12. E is very corrupt.

elect. See i. 3 (note).

transplanted, i.e. the tree of life was moved from the earthly Eden to the Garden of Righteousness, and will
thence be moved to Jerusalem.

to the holy place, i.e. Jerusalem when purified. For the divine New Jerusalem see xc. 29.

6. In this verse I have followed G^s. E differs in lines 2 and 3, where *gg, o, b* read for 'shall . . . bones' 'and they
shall draw the fragrance thereof into their bones,' i.e. into themselves. If we accept this, we might read 'Then shall
they rejoice with joy And be glad in the holy place', &c.

no sorrow or plague. Cf. Isa. lxxv. 19, 20. torment . . touch them cf. Wisd. iii. 1.

7. For doxology cf. xxii. 14 (note).

who, G. E = 'because'.

created them, G^s, 'created such things', E.

XXVI. Enoch visits Jerusalem and its vicinity.

1. the middle of the earth—Jerusalem. Cf. Ezek. xxxviii. 12, v. 5. In Jubilees, viii. 12, 19, it is called the earth's
ὀμφαλός or navel, as Delphi was among the Greeks. In 1 En. xc. 26, Gehenna is 'in the midst of the earth'.

blessed place, all MSS. of E except *q* read 'blessed planted place'. Cf. xxvii. 1, lxxxix. 40; Dan. xi. 16, 41, 45.
branches abiding and blooming. Cf. the blessing of Joseph, Gen. xlix. 22: also John xv. 5.

2. a holy mountain, Zion.

and 2^o > G^s.

a stream, the brook of Siloah.

flowed E, G^s has *δύσω* for *βύσω*.

3. another mountain, the Mount of Olives.

between them E. 'between it' G.

a ravine, the valley of the Kedron, or of Jehoshaphat.

underneath G^s, 'towards' or 'alongside' E.

4. another mountain, i.e. the Mount of Offence.

a ravine, i.e. the valley of Hinnom.

deep and dry G^s, 'underneath it' E.

XXVII. 1. and this accursed valley between E. G^s = 'and (why is) this valley accursed?' i.e. G^s has lost *η*.
Gehenna was early associated with the worship of Moloch, repressed by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 10), and cursed by
Jeremiah (Jer. vii. 31, 32, xix. 2, 6, xxxii. 35). In Isa. lxvi. 24, the rebellious and apostate Jews suffer by fire there, in
the presence of the righteous, as here. There are two stages in the growth of the idea. (1) In 1 Enoch xlviii. 9, liv.
1, 2, lxii. 12, 13, xc. 26, 27, the apostate Jews are there corporally and spiritually punished for ever. In xxxvii–lxx, the
wicked are to be swept away after awhile. Cf. xlviii. 9, lxii. 12, 13. (2) It is a place of spiritual punishment only, for
apostate Jews xci–civ. Cf. xcvi. 3. In the N. T. (e.g. Matt. v. 29, 30) Gehenna is for the wicked generally.
Later Judaism regarded Gehenna as the purgatory of faithless Jews, and the place of eternal perdition for the
Gentiles. Weber *Jüd. Theol.* 341 sqq.

2. Then Uriel . . said: This E. > G^s.

BOOK OF ENOCH 27. 2—31. 2

'This⁷ accursed valley is for those who are accursed for ever: here shall all 'the accursed' be gathered together who utter with their lips against the Lord unseemly words and of His glory speak hard things.

E

Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be their place of judgement. In the last days there shall be upon them the spectacle of righteous judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the merciful bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King.

G^s

Here shall they be gathered together, and here shall be the place of their habitation. In the last times, in the days of the true judgement in the presence of the righteous for ever: here shall the godly bless the Lord of glory, the Eternal King.

In the days of judgement over the former, they shall bless Him for the mercy in accordance with which He has assigned them (their lot). Then I blessed the Lord of Glory and set forth His 'glory' and lauded Him gloriously.

XXVIII—XXXIII. *Further Journey to the East.*

- 28¹ And thence I went 'towards the east', into the midst 'of the mountain range' of the desert, and² I saw a wilderness and it was solitary, full of trees and plants. 'And' water gushed forth from³ above. Rushing like a copious watercourse [which flowed] towards the north-west it caused clouds and dew to ascend on every side.
- 29¹ And thence I went to another place in the desert, and approached to the east of this mountain range. And 'there' I saw aromatic trees exhaling the fragrance of frankincense and myrrh, and the trees also were similar to the almond tree.
- 30^{1, 2} And beyond these, I went afar to the east, and I saw another place, a valley (full) of water. And³ therein there was a tree, the colour (?) of fragrant trees such as the mastic. And on the sides of those valleys I saw fragrant cinnamon. And beyond these I proceeded to the east.
- 31¹ And I saw other mountains, and amongst them were 'groves of' trees, and there flowed forth from² them nectar, which is named sarara and galbanum. And beyond these mountains I saw another

valley. G^s has γῆ—a transliteration of נַחַשׁ as in Neh. xi. 35, &c.

the accursed > E.

unseemly words. Cf. v. 4 (note).

habitation G^s. 'judgement' E.

2-3. The text differs, according as we follow G^s or E.

3. spectacle E. Cf. xlviii. 9, lxii. 12.

the godly = εὐσεβεῖς emended from ἀσεβεῖς. E corrupt: ?emend to 'those who have obtained mercy'.

Lord of glory. See xxv. 3.

Eternal King. See xxv. 3 (note).

5. His 'glory' G^s. > 'glory' E. lauded G^s. 'remembered' E, zakarkû for zamarkû.

XXVIII. The Wilderness between Jerusalem and the Jordan according to Ezek. xlvii. 8, 12 was one day to be well watered and covered with trees.

1. towards the east > G^s.

of the mountain range > G^s.

and plants. E > 'and'. Both G^s and E misrender the Aramaic original as 'seeds'.

2. and > G^s.

3. rushing G^s. E φαινόμενον corrupt for φερόμενον.

which flowed. Added in E.

caused . . . to ascend G^s. E so emended by change of a vowel point.

clouds. G^s E read ὕδωρ, i. e. מַיִן for עָנָן.

XXIX. 1. Enoch goes further East to the region of fragrant trees.

and thence, E transposes before + 'water' (= 'clouds') in preceding verse.

2. there > G^s.

aromatic. A corruption in the Aramaic leads to a false reading—'of judgement'.

exhaling G^s. E = πλέον for πνέοντα.

almond tree G^s. > E, but after πλέον in line before has kuaskuas = ? καρύαις (G^s).

XXX. 1. beyond G^s. See xviii. 9 note.

went G^s. 'mountains' E.

afar G^s. 'not afar' E.

another + 'great' G^s.

water + 'like that which fails not' E—a gloss?

2. therein was a tree G^s. 'I saw a beautiful tree' E.

the colour G^s. 'like' E.

3. beyond. See xviii. 9 (note).

XXXI. 1. groves G^s. > E.

nectar. E prefixes 'as it were'.

sarara E. σαρραρ G^s, a transliteration of שָׂרָר a kind of balsam.

BOOK OF ENOCH 31. 3—32. 6

mountain 'to the east of the ends of the earth', 'whereon were aloe-trees', and all the trees were full
3 of stacte, being like almond-trees. And when one burnt it, it smelt sweeter than any fragrant odour.

<p>32 1 And after these fragrant odours, as I looked towards the north over the mountains I saw seven mountains full of choice nard and fragrant trees and cinnamon and pepper.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Gg</p> <p>To the north-east I beheld seven mountains full of choice nard and mastic and cinnamon and pepper.</p>
--	---

2 And thence I went over the summits of 'all' these mountains, far towards the east 'of the earth',
and passed above the Erythraean sea and went far from it, and passed over 'the angel' Zotiél.

<p style="text-align: center;">E</p> <p>3 And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and saw beyond those trees many large trees growing there and of goodly fragrance, large, very beautiful and glorious, and the tree of wisdom whereof they eat and know great wisdom.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Gg</p> <p>And I came to the Garden of Righteousness, and from afar off trees more numerous than these trees and great—†two† trees there, very great, beautiful, and glorious, and magnificent, and the tree of knowledge, whose holy fruit they eat and know great wisdom.</p>
--	---

4 'That tree is in height like the fir, and its leaves are¹ like (those of) the Carob tree: and its fruit
5 is like the clusters of the vine, very beautiful: and the fragrance of the tree penetrates afar. Then
6 I said: 'How¹ beautiful is the tree, and how attractive is its look!' Then Raphael the holy angel,
who was with me, answered me 'and said': 'This is the tree of wisdom, of which thy father old
(in years) and thy aged mother, who were before thee, have eaten, and they learnt wisdom and their
eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked and they were driven out of the garden.'

2. to the east of the ends of the earth G^s. >E.
whereon were aloe trees E. >G^s. This aloe is the modern eagle wood. See *Encyc. Bib.* i. 120-1.
all G^s. E corrupt.
of stacte i.e. *στακτής* emended from G *εξ αυτης*, and E=*στερεός*.
3. burnt *τριβωσιν* G. E=*λάβωσιν*, probably corrupted from G's reading. G in turn follows a misreading of
פלל 'burn' as קלל 'pound'.
it G^s reads *διδ* corrupt for *αὐτό*. E=*τὸν καρπὸν*.
smelt sweeter G^s. 'was better' E.

XXXII. The earthly Garden of Eden and the Tree of Knowledge.

1. and after . . odours >G^s through hmt.
To the north-east G^s, 'towards the North' E. That G^s is right appears from *v.* 2 'far towards the East'
in both G^s and E. So the Garden of Righteousness in lxx. 3, lxxvii. 3 in the NW. is distinct from the primitive
earthly Garden of Righteousness or Eden in the NE. mentioned here. Also the seven mountains here in the NE.
must be distinct from the seven mountains, one being God's throne, in the NW. in xviii. 6, xxiv. 2 seqq. The garden
here seems not to be the abode of the departed righteous, unlike the garden in lx. 8, 23, lxi. 12, lxx. 2, lxx. 3, lxxvii. 3.
Instead their souls have a division in Sheol. xxii. 9.
2. Erythraean sea. The Persian and Indian Oceans. Cf. lxxvii. 6, 7.
went G^s. E corrupt.
far from it E. G^s corrupt.
the angel E. >G^s.
Zotiél. Seemingly the angel who guarded the entrance to Paradise.
3. Garden of Righteousness. Cf. lxxvii. 3; also lx. 8, 23, lxi. 12, with notes. This garden is in the East; that
in lxxvii. 3 in a part of the North; in lxx. 3 in the NW.
In xxxvii-lxx, as well as in the Noachic fragments, this garden is the abode of the departed righteous; while
in i-xxxvi a special division in Sheol is assigned to their spirits. Can this division and the garden be the same place?
Both are in the West lxx. 3, 4 and xxii. 1. See my Commentary *in loc.*
beyond. So E which wrongly makes *μακρόθεν* govern the following words.
growing E (= *φύόμενα*). G^s reads *δύω μὲν*, which would require 'the tree of life' before 'and the tree of wisdom'.
But the tree of life is near the chief of the Seven Mountains in the NW. See xxxii. 1, xxv. 5, xviii. 9 (notes).
4. That tree . . its leaves are G^s. >E through hmt.
the fragrance . . . afar E in *q*, but *gmu* add, after 'penetrates', 'proceeds', while *zβ* add 'and proceeds'. G^s
reads 'its fragrance penetrates afar from the tree'.
5. Then G^s. 'and' E. G^s preserves the Aramaic idiom. Cf. ix. 1, &c.
How G^s, *ὥς*. >E as in xxiv. 5.
the tree G^s. 'this tree' E.
and how G^s *q* + 'beautiful and' E.
6. Adam and Eve here seem to be still alive. If x. 1 belongs to this section the Samaritan chronology is followed.
See lxx. 2 (note). Note that Adam's sin is not regarded as the cause of man's fall.
Then G^s. 'and' E.
Raphael. xx. 7 leads us to expect Gabriel here.
and said E. >G^s.
thy father. G^s breaks off with 'thy father ate'.

BOOK OF ENOCH 33. 1—37. 2

33 ¹ And from thence I went to the ends of the earth and saw there great beasts, and each differed from the other; and (I saw) birds also differing in appearance and beauty and voice, the one differing from the other. And to the east of those beasts I saw the ends of the earth whereon the heaven ² rests, and the portals of the heaven open. And I saw how the stars of heaven come forth, and ³ I counted the portals out of which they proceed, and wrote down all their outlets, of each individual star by itself, according to their number and their names, their courses and their positions, and their ⁴ times and their months, as Uriel the holy angel who was with me showed me. He showed all things to me and wrote them down for me: also their names he wrote for me, and their laws and their companies.

XXXIV—XXXV. *Enoch's Journey to the North.*

34 ¹ And from thence I went towards the north to the ends of the earth, and there I saw a great and ² glorious device at the ends of the whole earth. And here I saw three portals of heaven open in the heaven: through each of them proceed north winds: when they blow there is cold, hail, frost, ³ snow, dew, and rain. And out of one portal they blow for good: but when they blow through the other two portals, [†]it is with violence and affliction on the earth, and they blow with violence.[†]

35 And from thence I went towards the west to the ends of the earth, and saw there three portals of the heaven open such as I had seen in the [†]east[†], the same number of portals, and the same number of outlets.

XXXVI. *The Journey to the South.*

36 ¹ And from thence I went to the south to the ends of the earth, and saw there three open portals ² of the heaven: and thence there come dew, rain, [†]and wind[†]. And from thence I went to the east to the ends of the heaven, and saw here the three eastern portals of heaven open and small portals ³ above them. Through each of these small portals pass the stars of heaven and run their course ⁴ to the west on the path which is shown to them. And as often as I saw I blessed always the Lord of Glory, and I continued to bless the Lord of Glory who has wrought great and glorious wonders, to show the greatness of His work to the angels and to **spirits** and to men, that they might praise His work and all His creation: that they might see the work of His might and praise the great work of His hands and bless Him for ever.

SECTION II. CHAPTERS XXXVII—LXXI.

THE PARABLES.

37 ¹ The second vision which he saw, the vision of wisdom—which Enoch the son of Jared, the son ² of Mahalalel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam, saw. And this is the beginning of the words of wisdom which I lifted up my voice to speak and say to those which dwell on earth: Hear, ye men of old time, and see, ye that come after, the words of the Holy

XXXIII. 2. **whereon the heaven rests.** See xviii. 5 (note).

3. The portals of the stars are described at length in lxxii–lxxxii.

4. Uriel here writes down the accounts, but in *v.* 3 it is Enoch who writes. **companies**, or 'companions'. So *Ea.* *Eβ* reads 'functions.'

XXXIV. The portals of the North winds, and the nature of those winds. Cf. lxxvi. For the winds of the four quarters cf. Rev. vii. 1.

1. **device** (*a-m*) 'wonder' *ml²β*.

2. **and** > *q*. **north winds.** So apparently *gm*, *β* and also *t¹t²u*. 'winds through the north' *q*.

XXXV, XXXVI. Portals of the West and South and East winds.

XXXV. **the** [†]east[†]. Read the North. Or, better, transpose this chapter after xxxvi. 3.

XXXVI. 1. **come** + 'the south wind' *a-q*, *β*. 'from the south' *u*.

[†]And wind[†]. Meaningless. But cf. xxxiv. 2. Perhaps these stood originally 'and from thence come the south winds, and when they blow there is dew and rain'.

2, 3. Above the winds' portals are the stars' portals in the East.

4. **to spirits and to men** *gqu¹* (but *gq* read *nafāsāt*, *u* *nafāsātā*), other MSS. 'to the spirits of men'.

the work of His might. *q* reads 'the might of His work'.

XXXVII. 1. This genealogy helps to show that the Parables form an independent work.

The second vision. The first seems to be i. 2.

2. **beginning.** The Ethiopic word used here and in *v.* 3 may also = 'sum'.

and say. 'Say', *a-m*, *dy₁a*.

men of old time, including Cainan, Mahalalel, and Jared, according to the LXX chronology, followed in the Parables. See liv. 7 (note), lxx. 4 (note).

words of the Holy One *gmt¹, fv₁b*. Other MSS. 'holy words'.

BOOK OF ENOCH 37. 3—38. 4

3 One which I will speak before the Lord of Spirits. It were better to declare (them only) to the men of old time, but even from those that come after we will not withhold the beginning of wisdom.
4 Till the present day such wisdom has never been given by the Lord of Spirits as I have received according to my insight, according to the good pleasure of the Lord of Spirits by whom the lot of
5 eternal life has been given to me. Now three Parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth.

XXXVIII—XLIV. The First Parable.

XXXVIII. *The Coming Judgement of the Wicked.*

38 1 The first Parable.

- When the congregation of the righteous shall appear,
And sinners shall be judged for their sins,
And shall be driven from the face of the earth :
2 And when the Righteous One shall appear before the eyes of the righteous,
Whose elect works hang upon the Lord of Spirits,
And light shall appear to the righteous and the elect who dwell on the earth,
Where then will be the dwelling of the sinners,
And where the resting-place of those who have denied the Lord of Spirits ?
It had been good for them if they had not been born.
3 When the secrets of the righteous shall be revealed and the sinners judged,
And the godless driven from the presence of the righteous and elect,
4 From that time those that possess the earth shall no longer be powerful and exalted :

Lord of Spirits. Only in 2 Macc. iii. 24 in contemporary or earlier writings, yet cf. 'the God of the spirits of all flesh' Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16. In Enoch it occurs in xxxvii. 4 (twice), xxxviii. 2 (twice), 4, 6, xxxix. 2, 7 (twice), 8, 9 (twice), 12, xl. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, xli. 2 (twice), 6, 7, xliii. 4 (twice), xlv. 1, 2, xlvii. 3 (twice), 6, 7, 8, xlviii. 1, 2 (twice), 4, xlviii. 2, 3, 5, 7 (twice), 10 (twice); xlix. 2, 4, 1, 2, 3 (twice), 5, li. 3, lii. 5, 9, liii. 6, liv. 5, 7, lv. 3, 4, lvii. 3, lviii. 4, 6 (twice), lix. 1, 2, lx. 6, 8, 24, 25 (twice), lxi. 3, 5, 8, 9 (thrice) 11, 13 (twice), lxii. 2, 10, 12, 14, 16 (twice), lxiii. 1, 2 (twice), 7, 12 (twice), lxv. 9, 11, lxvi. 2, lxvii. 8, 9, lxviii. 4 (twice), lxix. 24 (twice), 29, lxx. 1, lxxi. 2, 17. We find it in all 104 times, and 28 of these at least in the Interpolations. In the genuine portions it fits the context most closely : cf. xxxix. 12, xl. 1—10, xlv. 3—8, &c. : but in the Interpolations it is never so appropriate : cf. xli. 6, 7, lix. 1, 2 (context = natural phenomena).

3. **to the men of old time.** For 'ēllû I read la'ēlla.

4. Cf. 2 En. xlvii. 2 ; also 1 En. xciii. 10 seqq.

by i. e. 'ēmqēdma = מלפני.

the lot of eternal life. Cf. xl. 9, lviii. 3, lxii. 14. The life of a member of the Messianic kingdom is eternal in xxxvii—lxx ; in i—xxxvi it is limited in duration, v. 9, x. 17, xxv. 6, in the Dream Visions, lxxxiii—lxxxix, its duration is uncertain. The kingdom itself is temporary in xci—civ, and the real recompense of the righteous is the eternal life which follows on the close of the Messianic kingdom and the final judgement.

5. **Parables.** Cf. Num. xxxii. 7, 18, Job xxvii. 1 = elaborate discourses, in the form of a vision, a prophecy, or a poem.

those that dwell on the earth. This phrase has a good ethical sense in the genuine portions of this section, as xxxvii. 2, xl. 6, 7, xlviii. 5. So Rev. xiv. 6. In the Interpolations it has a bad sense in liv. 9, lv. 1, lx. 5, lxv. 6, 12, lxvi. 1, lxvii. 8, and doubtful or merely geographical elsewhere, never good. In the Rev. it always has the bad sense except in xiv. 6.

XXXVIII. The time of requital is coming. When righteousness appears, and the light of the Lord of Spirits shines on the face of the righteous and elect, where will the sinners and deniers dwell ?

1. **the congregation of the righteous.** Peculiar to the Parables, and explained by xxxviii. 3, liii. 6, lxii. 8. Cf. Ps. i. 5, cxlix. 1, Pss. Sol. xvii. 18.

driven from the face of the earth. Cf. Ps. i. 4, and 1 En. i. 1, xxxviii. 3, xli. 2, xlv. 2, 6, xlv. 8, xlviii. 9, 10, liii. 2.

2. **the Righteous One** *mß.* *a-m* read 'righteousness' i. e. šēdēq for šādēq cf. liii. 6. For other titles of the Messiah cf. xxxix. 6, xl. 5, xlv. 3, xlix. 2, 4, li. 3, 5, lii. 6, 9, lv. 4, lxi. 5, 8, 10.

works *q* prefixes 'hope and'.

hang upon the Lord of Spirits. Cf. Judith viii. 24.

denied the Lord of Spirits, a frequent charge against the sinners : in fact their chief offence. Cf. xli. 2, xlv. 2, xlv. 7, xlviii. 10, lxiii. 7. Cf. Jude 4. They deny too the heavenly world xlv. 1, the Messiah, xlviii. 10, the spirit of God lxvii. 10, the righteous judgement, lx. 6, while the righteous believe in the name of the Lord xliii. 4. The phrase is borrowed by the Interpolations, lxvii. 8, 10.

denied 'outraged' *q*.

It had been good, &c., cf. Matt. xxvi. 24.

3. **the secrets of the righteous revealed.** The blessings in store for them are still hidden, lviii. 5, as also the Messiah, lxii. 7.

and the sinners *q*. Other MSS. omit 'and' and so make 'the sinners, &c.' the apodosis.

4. The supremacy and oppression of the earth's great ones are drawing speedily to a close. This is the Parables' constant theme, xlv. 4—8, xlviii. 8—10, liii. 5, lxii. 1—12, lxiii ; borrowed too by the Interpolations lxvii. 8—13. It distinguishes xxxvii—lxx from xci—civ.

From that time. MSS. prefix 'and', i. e. waw introducing the apodosis.

BOOK OF ENOCH 38. 4—39. 6b

And they shall not be able to behold the face of the holy,
For the Lord of Spirits **has caused His light to appear**
On the face of the holy, righteous, and elect.

- 5 Then shall the kings and the mighty perish
And be given into the hands of the righteous and holy.
6 And thenceforward none shall seek for themselves mercy from the Lord of Spirits
For their life is at an end.

XXXIX. *The Abode of the Righteous and of the Elect One: the Praises of the Blessed.*

- 39 ¹ [And it †shall come to pass in those days that elect and holy children †will descend from the
² high heaven, and their seed† will become one with the children of men. And in those days Enoch
received books of zeal and wrath, and books of disquiet and expulsion.]
And mercy shall not be accorded to them, saith the Lord of Spirits.
3 And in those days a whirlwind carried me off from the earth,
And set me down at the end of the heavens.
4 And there I saw another vision, the dwelling-places of the holy,
And the resting-places of the righteous.
5 Here mine eyes saw their dwellings with His righteous angels,
And their resting-places with the holy.
And they petitioned and interceded and prayed for the children of men,
And righteousness flowed before them as water,
And mercy like dew upon the earth:
Thus it is amongst them for ever and ever.
6a And in that place mine eyes saw the Elect One of righteousness and of faith,
7a And I saw his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits.
6b And righteousness shall prevail in his days,
And the righteous and elect shall be without number before Him for ever and ever.

- the holy and righteous and elect**, xlviii. 1.
has caused . . . to appear. MSS. read 'is seen' but *a*, *d* have 'the Lord of Spirits' in the nom. and *q* has 'His light' in the acc.
His light, transfigures His saints. Light is the blessing of the kingdom. See v. 7, i. 8, xlv. 4, xxxviii. 2, l. 1, lviii. 3, xxxviii. 4, lviii. 3-6.
The idea is still further developed in xci-cviii, e.g. xcii. 4, civ. 2, cviii. 11, 12, 13.
5. **Then q**. 'and then' other MSS.
the kings and the mighty a. 'the mighty kings' *t*²*β*. Cf. lxii. 1, 3, 6, 9, lxiii. 1, 2, 12, lxvii. 8, 12. They are the Jewish native rulers and the Sadducees, for they have denied the Lord and His Anointed (xlvi. 10), and a heavenly world (xlv. 1), they have persecuted the houses of His congregations and the faithful. Only xlv. 7 seems to point to heathen rulers 'their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands,' but this may refer only to the heathen or Sadducean attitude of the Maccabean princes (cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8, viii. 14, xvii. 17), e.g. John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus, and above all Alexander Jannaeus.
perish and > q.
given into the hands of the righteous. Cf. xlviii. 9, also xli. 2, lxii. 11. This seems to imply that the judgement is not catastrophic.
righteous and holy. xlviii. 1, 4, 7, li. 2 (lxv. 12). In the former passages it is used of members of the kingdom.
6. The time for mercy is past, l. 5.
thenceforward. *q* reads 'there'.
for themselves a, cov, b.
XXXIX, 1, 2^a, Interpolated. It seems to be a fragment of the older Book of Enoch such as we find in vi-xxxvi. The tenses should be past and not future.
elect and holy children, &c. *q* reads 'holy and elect'. Cf. cvi. 13. For 'elect' cf. 1 Tim. v. 21.
2. **Enoch received**, i.e. did not write himself.
zeal and wrath 'wrath and zeal' *q*.
3. A real translation here, like Elijah's, and no dream as in xiv. 8, 9.
4. **dwelling-places**, or 'dwellings' or 'abiding places'. See xxxix. 7, 8, xli. 2; 2 En. lxix. 2; John xiv. 2, a vision of the future Messianic kingdom under the protection of the Lord of Spirits. The unities of time and place are curiously neglected.
5. **His righteous angels a**. 'the angels' *β*.
water and dew = abundance. Cf. xlix. 1, Amos v. 24.
6-7. The text is slightly out of order.
6. **that place a-m**. 'those days' *m*, *t*²*β*.
the Elect One a-q, 'the place of the elect' *q*, *β-ax*.
the Elect One of righteousness and of faith. See xlv. 3 (note).
7^a. **his gm**. 'their' *qtu*, *β*.
6^b. **his days a**. 'their days' *t*²*β*.

BOOK OF ENOCH 39. 7b—40. 9

- 7b And all the righteous and elect before Him shall be †strong† as fiery lights,
And their mouth shall be full of blessing,
And their lips extol the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And righteousness before Him shall never fail,
[And uprightness shall never fail before Him.]
8 There I wished to dwell,
And my spirit longed for that dwelling-place :
And there heretofore hath been my portion,
For so has it been established concerning me before the Lord of Spirits.
9 In those days I praised and extolled the name of the Lord of Spirits with blessings and praises,
because He hath destined me for blessing and glory according to the good pleasure of the Lord of
10 Spirits. For a long time my eyes regarded that place, and I blessed Him and praised Him, saying :
11 'Blessed is He, and may He be blessed from the beginning and for evermore. And before Him
there is no ceasing. He knows before the world was created what is for ever and what will be from
12 generation unto generation. Those who sleep not bless Thee : they stand before Thy glory and bless,
praise, and extol, saying : "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits : He filleth the earth with
13 spirits." ' And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not : they stand before Him and bless and say :
14 'Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever and ever.' And my face was changed ;
for I could no longer behold.

XL—XLI. 2. *The Four Archangels.*

- 40 1 And after that I saw thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, I saw a multitude
2 beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits. And on the four sides of the
Lord of Spirits I saw four presences, different from those that sleep not, and I learnt their names :
for the angel that went with me made known to me their names, and showed me all the hidden things.
3 And I heard the voices of those four presences as they uttered praises before the Lord of glory.
4 5 The first voice blesses the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever. And the second voice I heard blessing
6 the Elect One and the elect ones who hang upon the Lord of Spirits. And the third voice I heard
pray and intercede for those who dwell on the earth and supplicate in the name of the Lord of Spirits.
7 And I heard the fourth voice fending off the Satans and forbidding them to come before the Lord
8 of Spirits to accuse them who dwell on the earth. After that I asked the angel of peace who went
with me, who showed me everything that is hidden : 'Who are these four presences which I have
9 seen and whose words I have heard and written down ? ' And he said to me : 'This first is Michael,
the merciful and long-suffering : and the second, who is set over all the diseases and all the wounds

7b. be †strong† *a-m*=חזק which may be corrupt for יורד= 'shine'. *mt*²*β-a* read 'be beautiful'.
fiery lights = stars, cf. Dan. xii. 3.

[and uprightness, &c.], a dittography.

8. Enoch predestined to a place in the kingdom. Cf. lxxi. 14-17, xc. 31 ; Dan. xii. 1.
and there *q, n*. Other MSS. 'there'.

9. As in xxxvii. 4 we have the free grace of God brought forward, though in that passage 'according to my insight' occurs as well.

12. Those who sleep not. Cf. xxxix. 13, xl. 2, lxi. 12 (and Interpolations lxxi. 7).

Lord of Spirits. 'Lord of Hosts' in the Trisagion, Isa. vi. 3.

13. all + 'the wakeful ones' *q*.

14. Cf. Ascensio Isaiae vii. 25. Here Enoch is 'blinded by excess of light.'
for *a*. 'till' *t*²*β-e*.

XL. 1. thousands, &c., Dan. vii. 10. (Interpolations lx. 1, lxxi. 8).

2. The angels of the presence come from Isa. lxiii. 9. This list is taken over by the Interpolations, lxxi. 9. For the chiefs' names contrast ix. 1, xx.

those that sleep not *a-m*, 'those that stand' *t*²*β*.

the angel that went with me. Cf. xliii. 3, &c., and 'the angel of peace' xl. 8, &c.

4. Michael 'who is like God?' in *v*. 9, is 'the merciful'.

5. Raphael is the 'healer' in *v*. 9. (Cf. Tobit iii. 17, xii. 14.)

the Elect One, Isa. xlii. 1. Used only in the Parables (see xlv. 3) and Luke ix. 35, xxiii. 35.

and the elect ones, 'of the elect ones' *q*.

6. Gabriel here intercedes, but in *v*. 9 is set over the powers.

pray and intercede . . . supplicate. These verbs are in the plural in all MSS. but *z*.

7. Phanuel is set over the repentance and hope of the inheritors of eternal life (*v*. 9), and here restrains the Satans. These are ruled by a chief, Satan (liii. 3) to whom the Watchers became subject and so fell (liv. 6). They had access into heaven, xl. 7 (cf. Job i. 6). They tempted to evil (lxix. 4, 6), they accused (xl. 7), they punished, liii. 3, lvi. 1, lxii. 11, lxiii. 1. (Interpolations lxvi. 1.)

The Talmud confuses the Satans and the fallen angels, as does lxix. N.T. Demonology resembles that of Enoch.

8. angel of peace. Cf. xl. 2, Test. xii Patr. Dan vi. 5, also Asher vi. 6.

hidden + 'I said unto him' *abcdex*.

9. Michael *a*, 'the holy Michael' *β*.

BOOK OF ENOCH 40. 9—41. 8

of the children of men, is Raphael : and the third, who is set over all the powers, is Gabriel : and the fourth, who is set over the repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life, is named Phanuel.'
 10 And these are the four angels of the Lord of Spirits and the four voices I heard in those days.
 41 1 And after that I saw all the secrets of the heavens, and how the kingdom is divided, and how the
 2 actions of men are weighed in the balance. And there I saw the mansions of the elect and the mansions of the holy, and mine eyes saw there all the sinners being driven from thence which deny the name of the Lord of Spirits, and being dragged off : and they could not abide because of the punishment which proceeds from the Lord of Spirits.

XLI. 3-9. *Astronomical Secrets.*

3 And there mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightning and of the thunder, and the secrets of the winds, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and dew, and there
 4 I saw from whence they proceed in that place and from whence they saturate the dusty earth. And there I saw closed chambers out of which the winds are divided, the chamber of the hail and winds, the chamber of the mist, and of the clouds, and the cloud thereof hovers over the earth from the
 5 beginning of the world. And I saw the chambers of the sun and moon, whence they proceed and whither they come again, and their glorious return, and how one is superior to the other, and their stately orbit, and how they do not leave their orbit, and they add nothing to their orbit and they take nothing from it, and they keep faith with each other, in accordance with the oath by which they
 6 are bound together. And first the sun goes forth and traverses his path according to the commandment of the Lord of Spirits, and mighty is His name for ever and ever. And after that I saw the hidden
 7 and the visible path of the moon, and she accomplishes the course of her path in that place by day and by night—the one holding a position opposite to the other before the Lord of Spirits.
 And they give thanks and praise and rest not ;
 For unto them is their thanksgiving rest.
 8 For the sun changes oft for a blessing or a curse,
 And the course of the path of the moon is light to the righteous
 And darkness to the sinners in the name of the Lord,
 Who made a separation between the light and the darkness,
 And divided the spirits of men,
 And strengthened the spirits of the righteous,
 In the name of His righteousness.

Gabriel α , 'the holy Gabriel' β .
 repentance unto hope α - q and many β MSS. 'repentance unto repentance' q , 'repentance and hope' $abcex$.
 For our text cf. Acts xi. 18 ; 2 Cor. vii. 10.
 is named α , 'is' β .
 10. Lord of Spirits α , 'Most High God' β .
 XLI. 1. What kingdom can this be? Is it the Messianic Kingdom, or the kingdom of this world, or a division (into seven parts) of heaven?
 actions of men are weighed. Cf. lxi. 8 ; Job xxxi. 6 ; Prov. xvi. 2 ; Ps. lxii. 9 ; Dan. v. 27. The Talmud materializes this conception.
 2. and ¹⁵ q . > α - q , β .
 driven thence, xxxviii. 1.
 deny, &c., xxxviii. 2.
 3-8. This section is alien to the context. It may, however, belong to the Parables. Cf. Job, &c. It belongs certainly in character and detail to xliii. 1, 2, xlv, lix, lxix. 13-25. See xliii.
 3. Lightning and thunder are often treated of. Cf. xvii. 3.
 secrets of the winds. On the wind's functions cf. xviii. 1-5, xxxiv-xxxvi, lxxvi.
 dusty earth gt^1u , 'dust of the earth' $mt^2\beta$.
 4. And there $mq\beta$, 'there' gu .
 the chamber, &c. Based on Job xxxviii. 22.
 and winds. > 'and' β - hov_1b .
 and of the clouds > gu^2 .
 5. for the sun and moon see further lxxii. 5.
 the oath. Sun, moon, and stars seem conscious ; they are subject only to God, xli. 6 ; they praise and rest not, xli. 7. Cf. lxix. 24, xliii. 1, 2.
 by which they are bound together. So k alone, probably a fortunate conjecture.
 6. traverses, 'returns' qc .
 7. hidden . . . path of the moon, i. e. when the moon is invisible. See lxxiii-lxxiv.
 before + 'the glory of' mt^2u .
 8. Note the doctrine of predestination.
 the sun $ap\gamma$, 'the shining sun' $mt^2\beta$ - py .

BOOK OF ENOCH 41. 9—45. 2

- 9 For no angel hinders and no power is able to hinder; for He appoints a judge for them all and He judges them all before Him.

XLII. *The Dwelling-places of Wisdom and of Unrighteousness.*

- 42** ¹ Wisdom found no place where she might dwell;
Then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens.
² Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children of men,
And found no dwelling-place:
Wisdom returned to her place,
And took her seat among the angels.
³ And unrighteousness went forth from her chambers:
Whom she sought not she found,
And dwelt with them,
As rain in a desert
And dew on a thirsty land.

XLIII—XLIV. *Astronomical Secrets.*

- 43** ¹ And I saw other lightnings and the stars of heaven, and I saw how He called them all by their
² names and they hearkened unto Him. And I saw how they are weighed in a righteous balance
according to their proportions of light: (I saw) the width of their spaces and the day of their appear-
ing, and how their revolution produces lightning: and (I saw) their revolution according to the
³ number of the angels, and (how) they keep faith with each other. And I asked the angel who went
⁴ with me who showed me what was hidden: 'What are these?' And he said to me: 'The Lord
of Spirits hath showed thee their parabolic meaning (lit. 'their parable'): these are the names
of the holy who dwell on the earth and believe in the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.'
44 Also another phenomenon I saw in regard to the lightnings: how some of the stars arise and
become lightnings and cannot part with their new form.

XLV—LVII. *The Second Parable.*

XLV. *The Lot of the Apostates: the New Heaven and the New Earth.*

- 45** ¹ And this is the second Parable concerning those who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy
ones and the Lord of Spirits.
² And into the heaven they shall not ascend,
And on the earth they shall not come:
Such shall be the lot of the sinners
⁹. The judge appointed is the Messiah. Read this verse directly after xli. 2. Cf. Acts xvii. 31.
no angel hinders and no power *mq^tu* β-γ. 'neither angel nor power' *gt¹y*.
He appoints. So *g* only.
a judge *a* only has the acc. The rest of the MSS. read 'the judge sees them all'.
XLII. A fragment out of connexion with its present context. Where it should come, I do not know.
¹. ². A favourite theme—the praise of wisdom. She dwelt in heaven, lxxxiv. 3; Job xxviii. 12–14, 20–4; Baruch
iii. 29; Sirach xxiv. 4: came down among men, Prov. i. 20, viii. ix. 1–10: no place was found for her, i En. xciv. 5.
She will return in Messianic times, v. 8, xlviii. 1, xlix. 1, 3, xci. 10; 2 Bar. xlv. 14; 4 Ezra viii. 52.
². **went forth** *a*, 'came' *abcex*.
³. The wicked refused Wisdom when she came; they welcomed Unrighteousness when she sought them not.
XLIII, XLIV. This passage shows the interest felt by the wise in Israel in ethical and cosmic questions at
once. Cf. Job, Sirach, and Wisdom. But these sections on natural phenomena frequently disturb the context
in this work.
XLIII. ¹. **by their names.** Ps. cxlvii. 4; Isa. xl. 26.
². **weighed, &c.** Cf. xli. 5.
how their revolution produces lightning *gq¹(nu)*. 'and revolution: how one flash of lightning produces
another' *l²β*.
³. Cf. xlv. 2.
³, ⁴. The stars represent the holy: cf. Dan. viii. 10. See too civ. 2; Dan. xii. 3; Matt. xiii. 43. For the stars as
angels cf. Job xxxviii. 7; Deut. iv. 19.
⁴. **holy** *a*, 'righteous' *β*.
believe. Cf. 'faith' in xxxix. 6, lviii. 5, lxi. 4, 11, and 'denial' xxxviii. 2.
XLIV. Shooting stars. Cf. xliii. 2.
XLV. ¹. The Second Parable begins.
deny the name of the dwelling, i. e. the Sadducees. Cf. xxxviii. 2, and note.
and the Lord *a*, 'and of the Lord' *β*.
². **and** *1^o a-l*. > *l, β*.
The transformed earth (*v*. 5) will be for the righteous only.

BOOK OF ENOCH 45. 2—46. 3

- Who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Who are thus preserved for the day of suffering and tribulation.
- 3 On that day Mine Elect One shall sit on the throne of glory
And shall try their works,
And their places of rest shall be innumerable.
And their souls shall grow strong within them when they see Mine elect ones,
And those who have called upon My glorious name :
- 4 Then will I cause Mine Elect One to dwell among them.
And I will transform the heaven and make it an eternal blessing and light :
- 5 And I will transform the earth and make it a blessing :
And I will cause Mine elect ones to dwell upon it :
But the sinners and evil-doers shall not set foot thereon.
- 6 For I have provided and satisfied with peace My righteous ones
And have caused them to dwell before Me :
But for the sinners there is judgement impending with Me,
So that I shall destroy them from the face of the earth.

XLVI. *The Head of Days and the Son of Man.*

- 46 1 And there I saw One who had a head of days,
And His head was white like wool,
And with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man,
And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.
- 2 And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things, concerning that
- 3 Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, (and) why he went with the Head of Days? And he answered and said unto me :
- This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,
With whom dwelleth righteousness,
And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden,
Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,

denied the name . . . of the Lord of Spirits. See xxxviii. 2 (note).
day of suffering and tribulation. Also called 'that great day', liv. 6, 'day of judgement and consummation', x. 12, 'of destruction', xcvi. 10, 'of darkness', xciv. 9. See my Commentary further *in loc.*

The phrase refers to (1) the Deluge in x. 4, 5, 12^b, liv. 5, 7-10, xci. 5, xciii. 4, (2) final world-judgement at the beginning of the Messianic Kingdom, x. 6, 12^c, xvi. 1, xix. 1, xxii. 4, 11, xxv. 4, xlv. 2, liv. 6, lv. 4, xc. 20-7. (3) Judgement of the sword by the righteous, also at the Messianic Kingdom's beginning, l. 2, xc. 19, xci. 12, xcv. 7, xcvi. 1, xcvi. 12. (4) Final world judgement at its close, xciv. 9, xcvi. 10, c. 4, ciii. 8, civ. 5. In xlviii. 8-10 (2) and (3) seem to be combined, and in xcix. 9, 15 (3) and (4).

3. Mine Elect One, *a-m*. 'the Elect One', *mt²β*. See xl. 5.
throne of glory. Cf. lv. 4, lxii. 3, 5. Also lxi. 8, lxii. 2, lxix. 27, 39 (as judge). The throne is that of the Head of Days, xlvii. 3, li. 3.

try. The translator read יבחר for יבחן or if the original was in Aramaic he followed the wrong meaning of יבחר.

And their places of rest, &c. This comes better in *v*. 5 or 6.

souls, *a*, 'spirits' *β*. See xxii.

elect ones, *a-m*. 'Elect One' *m*, *abcfhoxy*¹.

glorious *a*. 'holy and glorious' *t²β*.

4. Elect One, *mt, β-c*. 'elect ones', *gguncy*².

4, 5. After the judgement the Messianic Kingdom is set up in a transformed heaven (xlv. 4, li. 4) and earth (xli. 2, xlv. 5), with angels and men as members xxxix. 4 (note). Isa. lxi. 17 and lxvi. 22, have the idea, but without the logical consequence of a blessed immortality, as in 1 Enoch, 2 Bar. xxxii. 6, lvii. 2; 4 Ezra vii. 75.

6. destroy them . . earth. Cf. lxix. 27.

XLVI. 1. Here and in the following chapters Dan. vii. has been drawn upon. The title, 'Head of Days' i.e. 'The Everlasting', occurs in xlv. 2, xlvii. 3, xlviii. 2, and in the Interpolations lv. 1, lx. 2, lxxi. 10-14, but not so appropriately.

2. the angel. The MSS. wrongly read 'one of the angels'. See note on xl. 2.

that Son of Man. Cf. xlv. 4, xlviii. 2, lxii. 9, 14, lxiii. 11, lxix. 26, 27, lxx. 1, lxxi. 1, in all of which passages the demonstrative occurs; it is missing only in lxii. 7. But, 'that' and 'this' in our translator are usually renderings of the Greek article, and so here. Thus in Enoch this title is the distinct designation of the personal Messiah, and the Greek equivalent must have been *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* and not *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*.

3. The Messiah in the Parables is (1) Judge of the world, (2) Revealer of all things, (3) Champion and Ruler of the righteous. As (1) Judge he has righteousness xxxviii. 2, xxxix. 6, liii. 6, and here. Cf. Ps. xlv. 4-7, lxxii; Isa. xi. 3-5, wisdom (xlix. 1, 3, li. 3), and power (xlix. 3, lxii. 6). As (2) Revealer He will bring to light the invisible worlds of righteousness and sin, xlv. 3, xlix. 2, 4, and raise the dead, li. 1, lxi. 5, and judge all, li. 2, lv. 4, lxi. 8, lxii. 2, 3, lxix. 27. As (3) Champion he upholds, vindicates, and rewards the righteous, xxxix. 7, xlviii. 4, 7, li. 5, liii. 6, lxii. 7, 8, 14, 15.

who hath righteousness. Cf. Isa. ix. 6-7, xi. 3 seqq.; Jer. xxiii. 5; Zech. ix. 9; Pss. Sol. xvii. 25 seqq.

hath chosen him. Hence he is called the Elect one, xxxviii. 2, xl. 4.

BOOK OF ENOCH 46. 3—47. 2

- And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits in uprightness for ever.
- 4 And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen
Shall †raise up† the kings and the mighty from their seats,
[And the strong from their thrones]
And shall loosen the reins of the strong,
And break the teeth of the sinners.
- 5 [And he shall put down the kings from their thrones and kingdoms]
Because they do not extol and praise Him,
Nor humbly acknowledge whence the kingdom was bestowed upon them.
- 6 And he shall put down the countenance of the strong,
And shall fill them with shame.
And darkness shall be their dwelling,
And worms shall be their bed,
And they shall have no hope of rising from their beds,
Because they do not extol the name of the Lord of Spirits.
- 7 And these are they who †judge† the stars of heaven,
[And raise their hands against the Most High],
†And tread upon the earth and dwell upon it†.
And all their deeds manifest unrighteousness,
And their power rests upon their riches,
And their faith is in the gods which they have made with their hands,
And they deny the name of the Lord of Spirits,
- 8 And they persecute the houses of His congregations,
And the faithful who hang upon the name of the Lord of Spirits.
- XLVII. *The Prayer of the Righteous for Vengeance and their Joy at its coming.*
- 47 1 And in those days shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous,
And the blood of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of Spirits.
- 2 In those days the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens
Shall unite with one voice
And supplicate and pray [and praise,
And give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits]
On behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed,
And that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits,
That judgement may be done unto them,
And that they may not have to suffer for ever.
- hath the pre-eminence, *aefh¹k*.** 'hath surpassed everything' *t²3-efh¹k*.
- 4, 6. Cf. O.T. e.g. Isa. xiv. 9, 11; Ps. iii. 7, lviii. 6; Lam. iii. 16.
4. †raise up†. Read 'put down' as in the dittograph in *v*. 5.
- mighty from their seats.** Cf. Luke i. 52 (a quotation?). *v*. 5 is a dittograph of this.
- break the teeth, &c.** Cf. Ps. iii. 7.
5. **whence the kingdom.** Cf. Wisdom vi. 23; Rom. xiii. 1.
6. **worms . . their bed.** Hardly refers to Antiochus Epiphanes' death in 2 Macc. ix. 5, 9, but to burial in general cf. Isa. lxvi. 24. Acts xii. 23 has a strangely similar connexion of thought to 'because they do not extol'.
7. This verse is an echo of Dan. viii. 10. We may reconstruct it thus:
'And these are they who cast down the stars of heaven
And tread to the earth those who dwell upon it.'
- We require a distich here, and the title 'Most High' does not occur elsewhere in the Parables.
- †judge† = ירינו corrupt perhaps for ירירי 'cast down'.
- the stars, here = the righteous, as in Dan. viii. 10.**
- tread.** Cf. 'stamped upon them' in Dan. viii. 10. So read 'to the earth'.
- and dwell upon it** possibly = יושבו בה corrupt for יושביה.
- manifest *a-q*.** > *q₁b*. 'and manifest' *p²abcox*.
- unrighteousness + 'their ('and all their' *gm*) works are unrighteousness'** all MSS. except *qu, en₁b*.
- their power rests upon their riches.** Cf. Ps. xlix. 6, lii. 7; En. xciv. 8 (note).
- their faith, &c.** A strong expression for the idolatrous tendencies of the Sadducean court. See xxxviii. 5 (note).
8. **persecute *gt*,** 'are driven forth' *mgu, β*.
- the houses *gm¹u*,** 'from the houses' *q, t²β*. Cf. liii. 6.
- XLVII. 1. The judgement follows the dethronement of the mighty.
- the righteous.** Here in the plural, but in the next line in the singular (collective).
- the blood, &c.** Alex. Jannaeus was the first to shed the blood of the righteous, 95 B.C. See xxxviii. 5 (note).
2. On the angels' intercession. See xv. 2 (note).
- the prayer of the righteous.** Cf. Rev. vi. 10; En. xcvi. 5 (note).

BOOK OF ENOCH 47. 3—48. 7

- 3 In those days I saw the Head of Days when He seated himself upon the throne of His glory,
And the books of the living were opened before Him:
And all His host which is in heaven above and His counsellors stood before Him,
4 And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy;
Because the number of the righteous had been offered,
And the prayer of the righteous had been heard,
And the blood of the righteous been required before the Lord of Spirits.

XLVIII. *The Fount of Righteousness: the Son of Man—the Stay of the Righteous: Judgement of the Kings and the Mighty.*

- 48 1 And in that place I saw the fountain of righteousness
Which was inexhaustible:
And around it were many fountains of wisdom:
And all the thirsty drank of them,
And were filled with wisdom,
And their dwellings were with the righteous and holy and elect.
2 And at that hour that Son of Man was named
In the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
And his name before the Head of Days.
3 Yea, before the sun and the signs were created,
Before the stars of the heaven were made,
His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.
4 He shall be a staff to the righteous whereon to stay themselves and not fall,
And he shall be the light of the Gentiles,
And the hope of those who are troubled of heart.
5 All who dwell on earth shall fall down and worship before him,
And will praise and bless and celebrate with song the Lord of Spirits.
6 And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before Him,
Before the creation of the world and for evermore.
7 And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him to the holy and righteous;
For he hath preserved the lot of the righteous,

3. **books of the living.** In O.T. these are the registers of actual Israelite citizens, with a right to the *temporal* blessings of the chosen people. Cf. Exod. xxxii. 32, &c.; Ps. lxix. 28; Isa. iv. 3; also Jubilees xxx. 20, 22. In Dan. xii. 1, they refer to an immortality of blessedness. Cf. N.T. Phil. iv. 3; Rev. iii. 5, xiii. 8, &c., and the idea in Luke x. 20; Heb. xii. 23. Cf. too Enoch ciii. 4, 'the memorial of the righteous.'

There were also books recording good and evil deeds. Ps. lvi. 8; Mal. iii. 16; Jubilees xxx. 22; also Dan. vii. 10; Rev. xx. 12; Asc. Isa. ix. 22, and in Enoch evil deeds only (as Isa. lxxv. 6), lxxxi. 4, lxxxix. 61–77, xc. 17, 20, xcvi. 7, 8, civ. 7; also 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.

Further there were the heavenly tablets of God's plans. Cf. Exod. xxv. 9, 40; Dan. x. 21. Also in Enoch lxxxi. 1, 2, xciii. 1–3, ciii. 2, 3, cvi. 19, cvii. 1, cviii. 7 ('books of the holy ones' as ciii. 2). See my Commentary *in loc.*

4. **the number of the righteous had been offered.** Cf. 2 Bar. xxiii. 5; 4 Ezra iv. 36; Rev. vi. 10, 11.

the righteous *m.* Other MSS. read 'righteousness'.

been offered, a late sense of קרב misrendered 'drawn nigh' here.

XLVIII. 1. **And *qt,β.* > *gmu.***

fountains of wisdom. Cf. xlii. 1, 2 (note). Cf. Isa. lv. 1.

2. **at that hour,** i. e. when Enoch was beholding these visions.

The Parables assert the actual pre-existence of the Son of Man. See *vv.* 3 and 6, xlvi. 1, 2, xlix. 2, lxii. 7. Cf.

4 Ezra xii. 32, xiii. 26.

3. **the signs,** of the Zodiac, מַזְלֵי, Job xxxviii. 32. See also viii. 3, lxii. 13, 19.

4. **righteous + 'and to the holy' *β.***

whereon to stay themselves. Cf. lxi. 3.

the light of the Gentiles. Isa. xlii. 6, xlix. 6. He will become their light through his future coming and character being made known to them.

troubled of heart. Cf. Isa. lxi. 1, 2.

5. **All shall fall down,** even his deniers, lxii. 6, 9, lxiii. xc. 37. Cf. Ps. lxxii. 9, 11; Phil. ii. 10.

praise and bless *a, ∞ q,β.*

the Lord *a-m,* 'the name of the Lord', *m,β.*

6. **and *q,β.* > *a-q.***

hidden. 4 Ezra xiii. 52.

before Him. *q* reads after 'for evermore'.

7. **revealed,** through O.T. prophecy. Cf. lxii. 7.

holy and righteous ∞ *tu, l.*

preserved the lot, &c., i. e. guard their future inheritance.

BOOK OF ENOCH 48. 7—49. 4

- Because they have hated and despised this world of unrighteousness,
And have hated all its works and ways in the name of the Lord of Spirits :
For in his name they are saved,
And according to his good pleasure hath it been in regard to their life.
- 8 In these days downcast in countenance shall the kings of the earth have become,
And the strong who possess the land because of the works of their hands,
For on the day of their anguish and affliction they shall not (be able to) save themselves.
- 9 And I will give them over into the hands of Mine elect :
As straw in the fire so shall they burn before the face of the holy :
As lead in the water shall they sink before the face of the righteous,
And no trace of them shall any more be found.
- 10 And on the day of their affliction there shall be rest on the earth,
And before them they shall fall and not rise again :
And there shall be no one to take them with his hands and raise them :
For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed.
The name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.

XLIX. *The Power and Wisdom of the Elect One.*

- 49 1 For wisdom is poured out like water,
And glory faileth not before him for evermore.
- 2 For he is mighty in all the secrets of righteousness,
And unrighteousness shall disappear as a shadow,
And have no continuance ;
Because the Elect One standeth before the Lord of Spirits,
And his glory is for ever and ever,
And his might unto all generations.
- 3 And in him dwells the spirit of wisdom,
And the spirit which gives insight,
And the spirit of understanding and of might,
And the spirit of those who have fallen asleep in righteousness.
- 4 And he shall judge the secret things,
And none shall be able to utter a lying word before him ;
For he is the Elect One before the Lord of Spirits according to His good pleasure.

hated and despised this world, &c. Cf. cviii. 8-10 ; Gal. i. 4.
in his name they are saved. Cf. 1 Cor. vi. 11 ; Acts iv. 12.
according to his good pleasure . . . life *g* : 'his good pleasure hath been for their life' *owy₁b* : 'he is the avenger of their life' *mtu,β-owy₁b* : *g* is corrupt : *g* = bafaqādū : *mtu* = faqādē.
8. day of their anguish. See xlv. 2 (note).
9. into the hands. Cf. xxxviii. 5 (note).
As straw . . . as lead. Cf. Exod. xv. 7, 10.
Gehenna is here visible to the righteous, cf. xxvii. 2, 3, xc. 26, 27 ; 4 Ezra vi. 1, but not so in En. lxii. 12, 13 ; Rev. xx. 14 ; or in the last clause here—'no trace'. Really the Parables transform the conception of Gehenna, and the spectacle is only temporary in this verse.
before the face of the righteous *α*, 'before . . . holy' *β*.
10. rest. Cf. liii. 7.
And before them (> 'and' *q*) *α*, 'and before him' *β*.
fall and not rise again. Ps. xxxvi. 12.
the Lord . . . and His Anointed. Ps. ii. 2. In O.T. Messiah is not an exact technical term, but is used of the Davidic kings, and even Cyrus (Isa. xlv. 1). It is first found in the later sense in the Parables here, xlviii. 10, lii. 4 : then in Pss. Sol. xvii. 36, xviii. 6, 8 ; 4 Ezra vii. 29, xii. 32 ; 2 Bar. xxix. 3, &c.

XLIX. The Messiah's acts follow from his attributes. Cf. Isa. xi.

1. wisdom. Cf. Isa. xi. 9.
2. Cf. xlv. 2 (note).
disappear as a shadow, &c. Job xiv. 2.
continuance, lit. 'standing-ground'.
glory . . . for ever. Cf. Isa. ix. 6, 7 ; Mic. v. 2.
3. which gives *gqtu*. 'Of Him who gives' *m,β*.
the spirit of those, &c. He perfectly realizes the eschatological hopes of those who in the past were faithful.
4. Cf. v. 2, xliii. 3 (note).
a lying word. Cf. lxii. 3, lxvii. 9.
Elect One. Cf. xlviii. 6.

BOOK OF ENOCH 50. 1—51. 3

L. *The Glorification and Victory of the Righteous: the Repentance of the Gentiles.*

- 50** 1 And in those days a change shall take place for the holy and elect,
And the light of days shall abide upon them,
And glory and honour shall turn to the holy,
2 On the day of affliction on which evil shall have been treasured up against the sinners.
And the righteous shall be victorious in the name of the Lord of Spirits:
And He will cause the others to witness (this)
That they may repent
And forgo the works of their hands,
3 They shall have no honour through the name of the Lord of Spirits,
Yet through His name shall they be saved,
And the Lord of Spirits will have compassion on them,
For His compassion is great.
4 And He is righteous also in His judgement,
And in the presence of His glory unrighteousness also shall not maintain itself:
At His judgement the unrepentant shall perish before Him.
5 And from henceforth I will have no mercy on them, saith the Lord of Spirits.

LI. *The Resurrection of the Dead, and the Separation by the Judge of the Righteous and the Wicked.*

- 51** 1 And in those days shall the earth also give back that which has been entrusted to it,
And Sheol also shall give back that which it has received,
And hell shall give back that which it owes.
5a For in those days the Elect One shall arise,
2 And he shall choose the righteous and holy from among them:
For the day has drawn nigh that they should be saved.
3 And the Elect One shall in those days sit on My throne,

L. Interpolated or at least containing incongruous details due to literary reminiscence. As in lxxxiii-xc and xci-civ the judgement of the sword precedes the Messianic kingdom which comes gradually together with the conversion of the heathen, and the final judgement follows. But in xxxvii-lxx the Son of Man suddenly appears and begins his reign with the resurrection and final judgement, with no place of repentance or time for conversion; cf. lxii, lxiii.

1. A gradual change from the night of oppression to the light of glory and honour; cf. lviii. 5, 6.

holy and elect; cf. lxii. 8.

2. For the period of the sword; cf. xc. 19, 34, xci. 12.

On the day *a*: β prefixes 'and'.

day of affliction; cf. xlviii. 10, xlv. 2 (note).

on which *gmt.* > *qu*, β .

evil *g* wrongly in acc.

shall have been *gg*, 'shall be' β -*fy*, 'is' *ut*².

repent. Cf. the Gentiles' conversion in xc. 30-4, xci. 14.

3. They are saved without honour.

through the name of *a*, 'before' *l*² β .

4, 5. The final judgement. The unrepentant perish. Cf. lx. 5, 25; also 4 Ezra vii. 33-4; 2 Bar. lxxxv. 12.

LI. 1. There are three Jewish doctrines of the resurrection. (1) All Israelites are to rise. Dan. xii. 2; 1 En. i-xxxvi (except xxii. 13), xxxvii-lxx, lxxxiii-xc; Ps. lxxv (title) in LXX; 2 Macc. vii. 9, &c.; 2 Bar. l-li. 6. (2) All righteous Israelites, Isa. xxv. 8, xxvi. 19; Ps. xvi. 10, 11, xvii. 15, xlix. 15, lxxxiii. 24-7; Job xiv. 13-15, xix. 26-7; 1 En. xci-civ; Pss. Sol. iii. 16, xiii. 9, xiv. 7, xv. 15; 2 Bar. xxx; Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 1. 3; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14. This is the received Talmudic view. (3) All mankind are to rise, 4 Ezra vii. 32, 37; Test. 12 Patr. Benj. x. 6-8.

Some Jews believed the soul was immortal, but the body would not rise. Wisdom of Sol. iii. 1, &c., iv. 7, v. 16, viii. 20 (compared with ix. 15, xv. 8); Jubilees xxiii. 30.

the earth also . . . received. So *g* save that it substitutes a gloss 'those who are treasured up in it'. Cf.

4 Ezra vii. 32. *tu* are defective: 'Sheol shall give back that which has been entrusted to it, that which it has received.' β conflates *g* and *tu*.

The earth gives up the body just as Sheol and Abaddon give up the soul. They are both reunited at the Resurrection that they may be judged together, according to Sanh. 91^a.

Sheol and hell here = the intermediate state. See lxiii. 10 (note).

hell=destruction or Abaddon, Job xxvi. 6; Rev. ix. 10. Here the body rises, cf. lxii. 15, i-xxxvi, lxxxiii-xc. Also

2 Macc. vii. 9 seqq.; 2 Bar. xxx, l-li. 6; 4 Ezra vii. 32, 37. In xci-civ the soul and spirit rise. Cf. Pss. Sol. iii. 16, &c. 2-5. These verses are out of order. The 'he' in *v.* 2 refers to the Elect One in *v.* 3 or *v.* 5. If we bring 5^a before 2 we get five stanzas of three lines each, and the first four begin with 'in those days'.

2. **choose**. Cf. Matt. xxv. 32.

the day has drawn nigh, &c. Cf. Luke xxi. 28.

3. Cf. xlviii. 1, xlix. 3, lxi. 7, 11, also xlii. 2 (note).

the Elect One *gmu*, β , 'Mine Elect One' *ql*¹.

My throne *a*, 'His throne' *l*² β .

BOOK OF ENOCH 51. 3—52. 8

And his mouth shall **pour** forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel:
For the Lord of Spirits hath given (them) to him and hath glorified him.

4 And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams,
And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk,
And the faces of [all] the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy.

5^b And the earth shall rejoice,
^c And the righteous shall dwell upon it,
^d And the elect shall walk thereon.

LII. *The Seven Metal Mountains and the Elect One.*

52¹ And after those days in that place where I had seen all the visions of that which is hidden—for
2 I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me towards the west—There mine eyes saw
all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and
a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead.
3 And I asked the angel who went with me, saying, 'What things are these which I have seen in
4 secret?' And he said unto me: 'All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion
of His Anointed that he may be potent and mighty on the earth.'
5 And that angel of peace answered, saying unto me: 'Wait a little, and there shall be revealed unto
thee all the secret things which surround the Lord of Spirits.'
6 And these mountains which thine eyes have seen,
The mountain of iron, and the mountain of copper, and the mountain of silver,
And the mountain of gold, and the mountain of soft metal, and the mountain of lead,
All these shall be in the presence of the Elect One
As wax before the fire,
And like the water which streams down from above [upon those mountains],
And they shall become powerless before his feet.
7 And it shall come to pass in those days that none shall be saved,
Either by gold or by silver,
And none be able to escape.
8 And there shall be no iron for war,
Nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate.
Bronze shall be of no service,
And tin [shall be of no service and] shall not be esteemed,
And lead shall not be desired.

his . . . counsel. Emended. q, β = 'all the secrets of wisdom shall go forth from the counsel of his mouth'.
 $a-g$ put 'all the secrets' in the acc. and gu insert 'and' after 'wisdom'.

4. mountains leap. Cf. Ps. cxiv. 4, 6; and for the whole verse cf. Test. 12 Patr. Levi xviii. 5.

angels . . . joy. Cf. Luke xv. 10. We can translate either 'the angels . . . as to their faces' or 'the angels—their faces'.

[all] Omit, and read 'ĕllû for kuĕllû, as often.

5. Cf. Ps. xxxvii. 3, 9, 11, 29, 34.

walk q , 'go' mtu , 'go and walk' β (and g over an erasure).

LII. The mountains, and the metals symbolize the future kingdoms of the world. In Dan. ii. 31–45 the metals have this meaning, but the mountain is the Messianic kingdom.

This chapter, however, seems to contain two independent documents. In verses 1–4 the mountains serve to exalt the Messiah's dominion, in 5–9 they are destroyed before his presence. Again, verse 4 and verse 5 give two independent answers to verse 3. Of the two sources suggested by Beer for the Parables, verses 3–4 thus belong to the Son of Man source, verses 5–9 the Elect One source. Verses 1–2 are common to both sources.

1. in that place, i.e. in heaven, xxxix. 3.

2. lead. We expect seven mountains here. Five are given in lxvii. 4, and tin is added in lii. 8. Cf. Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vi. 22 for the gates of the seven metals in the mysteries of Mithra.

4. These world powers show the Messiah's might by melting before him, as metals before the fire.

5. that angel. Here 'that' = Greek article.

a little + 'and thou shalt see' β .

surround the Lord of Spirits $a-m$: 'the Lord of Spirits has established' $m, t^2 \beta$.

6–9. No metal will avail as ransom or weapon.

6. wax before the fire, Ps. xcvi. 5; 1 En. i. 6; Mic. i. 3, 4, where also 'water' and 'streams down'.

streams down + 'upon those mountains' MSS.

7. Zeph. i. 18; cf. Isa. xlii. 17.

8. Cf. Hos. ii. 18.

nor shall one clothe oneself with a breastplate (or 'coat of mail'). So q , but u, β = 'garment for a coat of mail' (or 'breastplate'). In $a-u$ there is a dittograph.

[shall be . . . and]. A dittograph.

and shall not be esteemed $> q$.

BOOK OF ENOCH 52. 9—54. 6

- 9 And all these things shall be [denied and] destroyed from the surface of the earth,
When the Elect One shall appear before the face of the Lord of Spirits.'

LIII—LIV. 6. *The Valley of Judgement: the Angels of Punishment: the Communities of the Elect One.*

- 53 1 There mine eyes saw a deep valley with open mouths, and all who dwell on the earth and sea and islands shall bring to him gifts and presents and tokens of homage, but that deep valley shall not become full.
2 And their hands commit lawless deeds,
And the sinners devour all whom they lawlessly oppress:
Yet the sinners shall be destroyed before the face of the Lord of Spirits,
And they shall be banished from off the face of His earth,
And they shall perish for ever and ever.
3 For I saw all the angels of punishment abiding (there) and preparing all the instruments of Satan.
4 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me: 'For whom are they preparing these instruments?'
5 And he said unto me: 'They prepare these for the kings and the mighty of this earth, that they may thereby be destroyed.'
6 And after this the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of his congregation to appear: henceforth they shall be no more hindered in the name of the Lord of Spirits.
7 And these mountains shall not stand as the earth before his righteousness,
But the hills shall be as a fountain of water,
And the righteous shall have rest from the oppression of sinners.'
- 54 1 And I looked and turned to another part of the earth, and saw there a deep valley with burning
2 fire. And they brought the kings and the mighty, and began to cast them into this deep valley.
3 And there mine eyes saw how they made these their instruments, iron chains of immeasurable weight.
4 And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'For whom are these chains being prepared?' And he said unto me: 'These are being prepared for the hosts of Azâzêl, so that they may take them and cast them into the abyss of complete condemnation, and they shall cover their jaws with rough stones as the Lord of Spirits commanded.'
6 And Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, and Phanuel shall take hold of them on that great day, and cast them on that day into the burning furnace, that the Lord of Spirits may take vengeance

be [denied] and destroyed. Two alternative renderings, cf. יִכָּרֶרֶת.

LIII. The valley of Jehoshaphat, where God was to assemble and judge the Gentiles, Joel iii. 2, 12.

In Joel Theodotion renders τὴν χώραν τῆς κρίσεως and the Targ. Jon. 'plain of the decision of judgement'. The Midrash Mishle 68^a holds that God will judge the whole world in this valley. Though usually identified with the Kidron, the valley originally had no locality assigned to it. See *Encyc. Bib.* ii. 2353.

1. **there** *a-g*, 'and there' *qβ*.

deep valley with open mouths *mqtu,β-n*. 'open and deep-mouthed valley' *g*.
not become full. This seems inexplicable.

1, 2. The presents and homage of the mighty ones avail not, as they are sinners and oppressors, and therefore torments await them.

2. **whom they lawlessly oppress.** I emend jêšâmêwû 'produce' into jêšâmawû 'oppress', cf. *v.* 7.
shall perish. All MSS. insert a negative.

3. **angels of punishment.** See xl. 7 (note), also cf. liv. 3-5.
abiding *mqt(gu)*. Other MSS. 'going'.

5. **these** *> qu, nx*.

prepare *β*. *> a*.

this earth: 'this' = Greek article.

6. **house of his congregation.** See xxxviii. 1 (note) = synagogue. Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 8.

7. Cf. lii. 6, and Isa. lxiv. 3; Zech. iv. 7. There is a return to the figurative language of lii, where the mountains = the kingdoms of the earth.

his righteousness *a-g*. 'His face' *q, t²β-n*.

LIV. The writer passes from the valley of judgement and the fetters still in making to the valley of Gehenna where the kings are cast. The fallen angels and the kings are mentioned together as in Isa. xxiv. 21, 22.

1. **a deep valley,** Gehenna. See xlviii. 9 (note), and cf. lvi. 3, 4. This valley of Hinnom lay to the south of Jerusalem.

3-5. The first judgement of the Watchers, cf. x-xvi. The 'abyss' here is only the preliminary place of punishment, cf. x. 5, 12.

4. **chains,** 'chains of ('and' *qt*) instruments' *mqt,β-dn*.

5. **and they shall cover.** *q* reads 'to cover'.

6. Their second judgement.

on that great day. See xlv. 2 (note).

Note that in the Parables the guilt of the Watchers lay in becoming subject to Satan. Cf. xl. 7; Jubilees x. 8 seqq.

and *δ° > q, abcde*.

cast them *tu,β*. *> gmq*.

furnace *a-g*, 'fire' *q, y*, 'furnace of fire' *β-y*. Cf. x. 6, xviii. 11, xxi. 7-10, xc. 24, 25. Not Gehenna.

BOOK OF ENOCH 54. 6—56. 4

on them for their unrighteousness in becoming subject to Satan and leading astray those who dwell on the earth.'

LIV. 7.—LV. 2. *Noachic Fragment on the first World Judgement.*

- 7 And in those days shall punishment come from the Lord of Spirits, and He will open all the chambers of waters which are above the heavens, and of the fountains which are beneath the earth. 8 And all the waters shall be joined with the waters: that which is above the heavens is the masculine, 9 and the water which is beneath the earth is the feminine. And they shall destroy all who dwell 10 on the earth and those who dwell under the ends of the heaven. And **when** they have recognized their unrighteousness which they have wrought on the earth, then **by** these shall they perish.'
- 55 1 And after that the Head of Days repented and said: 'In vain have I destroyed all who dwell 2 on the earth.' And He swore by His great name: 'Henceforth I will not do so to all who dwell on the earth, and I will set a sign in the heaven: and this shall be a pledge of good faith between Me and them for ever, so long as heaven is above the earth. And this is in accordance with My command.

LV. 3.—LVI. 4. *Final Judgement of Azazel, the Watchers and their children.*

- 3 When I have desired to take hold of them by the hand of the angels on the day of tribulation and pain **because of** this, I will cause My chastisement and My wrath to abide upon them, saith 4 God, the Lord of Spirits. Ye† mighty kings† who dwell on the earth, ye shall have to behold Mine Elect One, how he sits on the throne of glory and judges Azâzêl, and all his associates, and all his hosts in the name of the Lord of Spirits.'
- 56 1 And I saw there the hosts of the angels of punishment going, and they held scourges and chains 2 of iron and bronze. And I asked the angel of peace who went with me, saying: 'To whom are 3 these who hold the scourges going?' And he said unto me: 'To their elect and beloved ones, that they may be cast into the chasm of the abyss of the valley. 4 And then that valley shall be filled with their elect and beloved, And the days of their lives shall be at an end, And the days of their leading astray shall not thenceforward be reckoned.

LIV. 7—LV. 2. Interpolated. A digression on the first world-judgement—the Deluge and so a Noachic fragment. Cf. xxxix. 1, 2^a, liv. 7—lv. 2, lx, lxx—lxix. 25. These all (1) disturb the context; (2) claim to be by Noah lx. 7—11, 24, 25, lxxv—lxxviii. 1; (3) misunderstand the Parables, e.g. combine lii. 1, 2 with liv. 1; (4) give a definite date, lx. 1; (5) in lxxviii. 2—5 contradict liv. 4—6, lv. 3, 4; (6) confuse the Satans and the fallen angels, lxix, and make Semjaza the leader, not Azazel; (7) misuse borrowed technical terms and phrases, lx. 11, 24, lxxvii. 8, 10: also liv. 9, lv. 1, lx. 10, lxxvi. 1; (8) use the Samaritan chronology, not that of the LXX, see lxx. 2 (note).

Jubilees x. 13, xxi. 10 mention a Book of Noah, whence these passages were interpolated to supply Enoch's silence about the Flood.

7. **above the heavens.** All MSS. but 1^b wrongly add 'and in addition to the fountains which are beneath the heavens'.

8. In primitive Babylonian cosmology water = the primitive element or the original male and female elements.

9. **all who dwell**, &c. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).

10. **And** > *q*.

when, emended: 'inasmuch as' *tu,ew*. 'on this account' *gmqt^aβ-ew*. The translator misread קִי (Heb.) or ܐܪܝ (Aramaic). Yet 'on this account' may be right, but requires 'shall recognize'.

LV. 1. **the Head of Days**, inappropriately introduced by interpolator.

repented. Cf. Gen. viii. 21.

2. **so** *q,t^aβ*. > *gm^at^au,x*.

this is in accordance with My command *gt*, 'this is My command' *m*, 'this command is according to My desire' *q*, 'after this according to My command' *ut^aβ*.

3. resumes liv. 6.

day of tribulation and pain. See xlv. 2 (note).

because of this. Text = 'before this'.

I will cause . . . to abide *a-qu*, 'shall abide' *q,β-d*.

chastisement . . . wrath *a, ∞ β*.

4. The kings have to witness Azazel's judgement, and thence infer their own. Perhaps we should read 'Ye kings and mighty'.

of glory *a-q*, 'of My glory' *qβ*.

LVI. 1—4. The Watchers and the demons are now judged. The demons, or 'beloved' (x. 12, xiv. 6), at last fill the valley. See liii. 1.

1. **they held** *gq,β*. > *mtu*.

scourges and *g*. > *qt,β*: *mu* read 'and'.

2. **these who** *gt^a*, 'these' *mqt^au*, 'who' *β-n*.

the scourges *g*. > *a-gβ*.

3. **chasm of** > *q*.

4. **and** 1^o > *q*.

reckoned, i. e. continued.

BOOK OF ENOCH 56. 5—57. 3

LVI. 5–8. *Last Struggle of the Heathen Powers against Israel.*

- 5 And in those days the angels shall return
And hurl themselves to the east upon the Parthians and Medes :
They shall stir up the kings, so that a spirit of unrest shall come upon them,
And they shall rouse them from their thrones,
That they may break forth as lions from their lairs,
And as hungry wolves among their flocks.
- 6 And they shall go up and tread under foot the land of His elect ones,
[And the land of His elect ones shall be before them a threshing-floor and a highway :]
- 7 But the city of my righteous shall be a hindrance to their horses.
And they shall begin to fight among themselves,
And their right hand shall be strong against themselves,
And a man shall not know his brother,
Nor a son his father or his mother,
Till there be no number of the corpses through their slaughter,
And their punishment be not in vain.
- 8 In those days Sheol shall open its jaws,
And they shall be swallowed up therein,
And their destruction shall be at an end ;
Sheol shall devour the sinners in the presence of the elect.'

LVII. *The Return from the Dispersion.*

- 57¹ And it came to pass after this that I saw another host of wagons, and men riding thereon, and
2 coming on the winds from the east, and from the west to the south. And the noise of their wagons
was heard, and when this turmoil took place the holy ones from heaven remarked it, and the pillars
of the earth were moved from their place, and the sound thereof was heard from the one end of heaven
3 to the other, in one day. And they shall all fall down and worship the Lord of Spirits. And this
is the end of the second Parable.

5–LVII. 3^a. Another section from the 'Elect One' source (see p. 169) which depicts the last struggle of the heathen powers against the Messianic kingdom set up in Jerusalem, and would suit lxxxiii–xc or xci–civ, but not xxxvii–lxix, where we have a superhuman Messiah with universal dominion, legions of angels, and the immediate presence of the Almighty, destroying all his enemies with the breath of his mouth. Not only is there a break in the context here, but the Parables deal only in general terms and avoid names and clear indications of date. Not Jerusalem, as here, but a new heaven and earth will be the seat of the kingdom. The date seems clear. The Syrians ceased to be formidable after 100 B.C. : while the Romans are not referred to here. Thus the Elect One Source, if this section belongs to it, may be fixed as written between 100–64 B.C.

5. The Gentiles are stirred up, not by God directly as in Ezek. xxxviii. 14–17, but by angels, as in Dan. x. 13 seqq.
return *gm'q*, 'assemble' *m²tu,β*.
6. His elect ones ¹⁰ *gqt*. 'their elect ones' *mu,β-e*.
[And . . . highway]. The construction is against the insertion of these words.
threshing-floor. Cf. Isa. xxi. 10.
7. The attack fails, Zech. xii. 2, 3 ; the invaders disagree, Ezek. xxxviii. 21 ; Zech. xiv. 13 ; Hag. ii. 22, and destroy one another. Cf. c. 1–3.
But *tuβ*. > *gmq*.
his brother *a*, 'his neighbour and his brother' *β*.
no number . . . slaughter. *q* reads 'for their number through their death and chastisement shall be corpses and it shall not be in vain'. In fact only a scribe in *z* inserts a negative. Possibly then we should restore 'till the number of the corpses be more than myriads', supposing ממותם corrupt for מרביות.
8. in *a-q*, 'and in' *q,β*.
Sheol shall open its jaws. Cf. Num. xvi. 31–3 ; Isa. v. 14. See lxiii. 10.
shall be at an end *g*. > *z,β*, 'shall not end' *q*, 'has sunk down' *m*, 'has been destroyed' *u*.
LVII. Dispersed Israel returns from east and west. Cf. Isa. xxvii. 13, xliii. 5, 6, xlix. 12, 22, 23.
1. on the winds. Perhaps read 'like the winds'.
from the west. 'to the west' *q*.
2. was heard *gq,β*, 'was' *mtu*.
the pillars . . . moved. Cf. Hag. ii. 6, 7 ; Joel iii. 16.
one end . . . other *a-q*, 'the end of the earth to the end of the heaven' *β*.

BOOK OF ENOCH 58. 1—60. 1

LVIII—LXXI. The Third Parable.

LVIII. *The Blessedness of the Saints.*

- 58¹ And I began to speak the third Parable concerning the righteous and elect.
² Blessed are ye, ye righteous and elect,
 For glorious shall be your lot.
³ And the righteous shall be in the light of the sun,
 And the elect in the light of eternal life :
 The days of their life shall be unending,
 And the days of the holy without number.
⁴ And they shall seek the light and find righteousness with the Lord of Spirits :
 There shall be peace to the righteous in the name of the Eternal Lord.
⁵ And after this it shall be said to the holy in heaven
 That they should seek out the secrets of righteousness, the heritage of faith :
 For it has become bright as the sun upon earth,
 And the darkness is past.
⁶ And there shall be a light that never endeth,
 And to a limit (lit. 'number') of days they shall not come,
 For the darkness shall first have been destroyed,
 [And the light established before the Lord of Spirits]
 And the light of uprightness established for ever before the Lord of Spirits.

LIX. *The Lights and the Thunder.*

- 59¹ [In those days mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightnings, and of the lights, and the judgements they execute (lit. 'their judgement') : and they lighten for a blessing or a curse as the Lord of
² Spirits willeth. And there I saw the secrets of the thunder, and how when it resounds above in the heaven, the sound thereof is heard, and he caused me to see the judgements executed on the earth, whether they be for well-being and blessing, or for a curse according to the word of the Lord of Spirits.
³ And after that all the secrets of the lights and lightnings were shown to me, and they lighten for blessing and for satisfying.]

Book of Noah—a Fragment.

LX. *Quaking of the Heaven : Behemoth and Leviathan : the Elements.*

- 60¹ In the year 500, in the seventh month, on the fourteenth day of the month in the life of †Enoch†. In that Parable I saw how a mighty quaking made the heaven of heavens to quake, and the host of the Most High, and the angels, a thousand thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand, were

LVIII. The third Parable begins. Much seems to have been lost, to make room for the Noachic fragments. As it stands, it embraces lviii, lxi-lxiv, lxix. 26-9. The main theme is the final judgement by the Son of Man, especially over the great ones, and the ensuing bliss of the righteous.

2. **your lot**, preserved for them by the Messiah xlviii. 7.

3. **light of the sun**. See xxxviii. 4 (note), and verse 4 here.

eternal life. See xxxvii. 4 (note). Cf. Dan. xii. 2 ; Pss. Sol. iii. 16.

4. **the Eternal Lord** or 'Lord of the ages'. See lxxi. 10. Cf. i. 3, xii. 3, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2.

5. **secrets of righteousness**, i. e. their hidden recompense, as in xxxviii. 3, and xlviii. 7. They must still 'seek', and so their life is progressive.

heritage of faith. Cf. xxxix. 6, lxi. 4, 11.

6. **never endeth**, emended for MSS. 'cannot be numbered'.

[**And . . . Spirits**]. Dittograph of following line.

LIX. An intrusion of the same class as xli. 3-8, xliii, xliv, probably from a Noah-Apocalypse.

1. Cf. Job xxxvi. 31, xxxvii. 5, 13, xxxviii. 24-7, for their ethical ends.

In *a*, 'and in' *β*.

of the lights *a, ev*, 'the lights' *β-ev*.

a blessing or a curse. Cf. xli. 8 ; Job xxxvi. 31.

2. Cf. lx. 13-15.

he caused *a-u*, 'they caused' *abdoxx, a, b*.

judgements. Text has read *οικηματα* for *κριματα*.

on the earth. All MSS. but *u* add 'and the voice of the thunder'.

3. Job xxxviii. 24-7.

LX. One of the Noachic fragments. See liv. 7 (note), also notes on lx. 1, 2, 6, 10, 11, &c.

1. **the year 500**. This date is drawn from Gen. v. 32, and is a date in the life of Noah, not of Enoch ; so for 'Enoch' read 'Noah'.

in the seventh month, &c., the eve of the Feast of Tabernacles according to the Levitical Law.

In that Parable, unsuitable to the words 'I saw', and so no doubt inserted by the interpolator. Read 'in that vision'.

host of the Most High, &c. Cf. i. 6, 7, 9, for the theophany, also for the host xl. 1, lxxi. 8, 13.

BOOK OF ENOCH 60. 2-10

- 2 disquieted with a great disquiet. And the Head of Days sat on the throne of His glory, and the angels
and the righteous stood around Him.
- 3 And a great trembling seized me,
And fear took hold of me,
And my loins gave way,
And dissolved were my reins,
And I fell upon my face.
- 4 And Michael sent another angel from among the holy ones and he raised me up, and when he had
raised me up my spirit returned; for I had not been able to endure the look of this host, and the
5 commotion and the quaking of the heaven. And Michael said unto me: 'Why art thou disquieted
with such a vision? Until this day lasted the day of His mercy; and He hath been merciful and
6 long-suffering towards those who dwell on the earth. And when the day, and the power, and the
punishment, and the judgement come, which the Lord of Spirits hath prepared for those who worship
not the righteous law, and for those who deny the righteous judgement, and for those who take
His name in vain—that day is prepared, for the elect a covenant, but for sinners an inquisition.
- 25 When the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon them, it shall rest in order that the
punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not come, in vain, and it shall slay the children with their
mothers and the children with their fathers. Afterwards the judgement shall take place according
to His mercy and His patience.'
- 7 And on that day were two monsters parted, a female monster named Leviathan, to dwell in the
8 abysses of the ocean over the fountains of the waters. But the male is named Behemoth, who
occupied with his breast a waste wilderness named †Dûidâin†, on the east of the garden where the
elect and righteous dwell, where my grandfather was taken up, the seventh from Adam, the first
9 man whom the Lord of Spirits created. And I besought the other angel that he should show me
the might of those monsters, how they were parted on one day and cast, the one into the abysses
10 of the sea, and the other unto the dry land of the wilderness. And he said to me: 'Thou son of
man, herein thou dost seek to know what is hidden.'

2. **Head of Days.** See xlv. 1 (note); liv. 7 (note).
the righteous could hardly have been before God's throne before the Deluge, as few if any righteous had as yet died.
3. Cf. xiv. 14, 24.
loins gave way. Ps. lxix. 23; Isa. xlv. 1.
dissolved. All MSS. but *u, dy* add 'and'. Hence *β* supplies an extra verb 'melted' to 'reins.'
4. Cf. Dan. v. 6, viii. 17, x. 9, 10. Michael as chief archangel (xl. 4, 9) sends 'the angel of peace' (*v.* 24).
5. **Michael** *a.* 'the holy Michael' *β.*
merciful and long-suffering. Cf. lx. 25, l. 3, 5, lxi. 13.
6. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 37. The Deluge has here features belonging properly to the Messianic judgement of the Parables.
Lord of Spirits. See xxxviii. 2 (note).
worship not. Only *u* has the negative. If we omit it, we might restore 'corrupt' instead of 'worship'.
law. Text = 'judgement'. Heb. **לשפט** has both meanings.
25. **punishment . . . rest.** Cf. lxii. 12.
Afterwards . . . according to His mercy, i.e. after the Deluge. Cf. Gen. viii. 21, 22; En. lx. 5 (note).
There is a dittograph preceding this verse 'in order that the punishment of the Lord of Spirits may not be (*bcx*: 'may not come' *e*; all other MSS. omit negative and verb) in vain and may slay the children with their mothers and the children with their fathers'. Before the last sentence 'Afterwards, &c.' all MSS. insert another dittograph 'when the punishment of the Lord of Spirits shall rest upon these'.
- 7-10. A fragment dealing with Creation myths.
7. This strange fancy about Behemoth and Leviathan occurs first in Job xl, xli, but Jewish expounders find it also in Gen. i. 21; Ps. l. 10; Isa. xxvii. 1. See 4 Ezra vi. 49-52; 2 Bar. xxix. 4, where these monsters are to be the food of the righteous in the Messianic age. See too Weber, *Jud. Theol.* 202, 389, 402.
that day, i.e. Creation.
fountains of the waters. Cf. Gen. vii. 11; Job xxxviii. 16; En. lxxxix. 7.
8. †Dûidâin† *u*, Dûnadâin *g*, 'Dûndâin' *t*, Dëndâin *m, β-eh*, Dêin (?) *h*. Cf. 'land of Nod' Gen. iv. 16. See *Jewish Encyc.* viii. 39.
the garden. See xxxii. 3 (note). Whether the earthly or the heavenly garden, it is empty in xxxii. 3-6, and the righteous dead are in the West xxii; it is the abode of the righteous and elect in Enoch's and Noah's times, lxi. 12, lx. 8, 23: of the earliest fathers in Enoch's time, lxx. 2-4; of Enoch and Elijah in Elijah's time, lxxxix. 52; of Enoch in lxxv. 2 (see note), and here. This passage (lx. 8) and the LXX are the oldest witnesses for the translation of Enoch into Paradise. Cf. Latin version of Sir. xlv. 16, Ethiopic of Gen. v. 24. See Weber, *L.d.T.* 251.
- seventh from Adam.** Cf. xciii. 3; Jude 14; Jubilees vii. 39.
- 7-9, 24. Both 4 Ezra vi. 49-52 and 2 Bar. xxix. 4 seem to have drawn on our text.
9. **the other angel,** see *vv.* 4 and 11. For the answer see *v.* 24. *g, β-n* read 'that' for 'the'.
10. **Thou son of man,** = Noah. Cf. Ezekiel's use of the phrase, and contrast the use in the Parables xlv. 1-3 (note).

BOOK OF ENOCH 60. 11—61. 1

11 And the other angel who went with me and showed me what was hidden told me what is first and last in the heaven in the height, and beneath the earth in the depth, and at the ends of the 12 heaven, and on the foundation of the heaven. And the chambers of the winds, and how the winds are divided, and how they are weighed, and (how) the portals of the winds are reckoned, each according to the power of the wind, and the power of the lights of the moon, and according to the power that is fitting: and the divisions of the stars according to their names, and how all the divisions 13 are divided. And the thunders according to the places where they fall, and all the divisions that are made among the lightnings that it may lighten, and their host that they may at once obey. 14 For the thunder has †places of rest† (which) are assigned (to it) while it is waiting for its peal; and the thunder and lightning are inseparable, and although not one and undivided, they both go together 15 through the spirit and separate not. For when the lightning lightens, the thunder utters its voice, and the spirit enforces a pause during the peal, and divides equally between them; for the treasury of their peals is like the sand, and each one of them as it peals is held in with a bridle, and turned back by the power of the spirit, and pushed forward according to the many quarters of the earth. 16 And the spirit of the sea is masculine and strong, and according to the might of his strength he draws it back with a rein, and in like manner it is driven forward and disperses amid all the mountains 17 of the earth. And the spirit of the hoar-frost is his own angel, and the spirit of the hail is a good 18 angel. And the spirit of the snow has forsaken his chambers on account of his strength—There is a 19 special spirit therein, and that which ascends from it is like smoke, and its name is frost. And the spirit of the mist is not united with them in their chambers, but it has a special chamber; for its course is †glorious† both in light and in darkness, and in winter and in summer, and in its chamber is an angel. 20 And the spirit of the dew has its dwelling at the ends of the heaven, and is connected with the chambers of the rain, and its course is in winter and summer: and its clouds and the clouds of the 21 mist are connected, and the one gives to the other. And when the spirit of the rain goes forth from its chamber, the angels come and open the chamber and lead it out, and when it is diffused over the whole earth it unites with the water on the earth. And whensoever it unites with the water on 22 the earth . . . For the waters are for those who dwell on the earth; for they are nourishment for the earth from the Most High who is in heaven: therefore there is a measure for the rain, 23 and the angels take it in charge. And these things I saw towards the Garden of the Righteous. 24 And the angel of peace who was with me said to me: ‘These two monsters, prepared conformably to the greatness of God, shall feed . . .

LXI. *Angels go off to measure Paradise: the Judgement of the Righteous by the Elect One: the Praise of the Elect One and of God.*

61 1 And I saw in those days how long cords were given to those angels, and they took to themselves wings and flew, and they went towards the north.

- 11–13. A long account about physical secrets. The answer to *v.* 9 comes in *v.* 24 and is given by the angel of peace.
 11. **the other angel**, &c. Borrowed from xlv. 2. Cf. xliii. 3.
 12. The powers of nature are personified or regarded as conscious intelligences. Cf. Jubilees ii. 2 ‘angels of the spirit of fire’, &c.; Rev. vii. 1, 2, xiv. 18, xix. 17; Asc. Isa. iv. 18.
chambers. All MSS. but *g* read ‘in the chambers’.
how they are weighed. Cf. xliii. 2, Job. xxviii. 25.
portals. So Flemming emends.
lights of the moon. Its various phases.
 13. Cf. Job xxxvii. 1–5.
 16. The ebb and flow of the sea, which is also supposed to supply the springs in the mountains
 17. **a good angel**. Hail often hurts, but yet is not in charge of a demon.
 19. Unlike the previous phenomena, mist appears in all seasons, and by night and by day.
is glorious. Text may = נברך. If so, it should have been rendered ‘is oppressive’.
in its chamber is an angel *tu*, ‘its chamber is an angel’ *gmq*, ‘in its chamber is light and its angel’ *β*.
 20. The dew dwells at the ends of the heaven. Cf. xxxiv. 1, 2; xxxvi. 1 and lxxv. 5.
 21. The rain is so important for the well-being of man (Job xxxvii. 12, 13) that its spirit is not independent, but subordinated to the angels. Cf. Job xxviii. 26, xxxviii. 25–8.
 and ¹⁰ > *gq*.
And whensoever . . . on the earth *a-g* (*u* omits ‘with the water on the earth’).
 22. for *mt, β-doyb*. > *u. q, doy, b* read ‘from the place of’. *g* = a corruption of *mt*.
 23. **the Garden**. See *v.* 8 (note). Note that the seas and the Garden adjoin as in lxxvii. 3, 4.
 24. goes back to *v.* 9. The angel of peace is out of place here. See *vv.* 4, 9, 11.
 LXI. 1. The true text of the Parables is resumed, but the opening verses are difficult.
those angels. The reference may be lost. *q* reads ‘the two angels’.
wings, only assigned to angels in the latest books of the O. T. cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 16.
towards the north, perhaps Paradise. See xxxii. 3 (note); lxx. 3.

BOOK OF ENOCH 61. 2-10

- 2 And I asked the angel, saying unto him : 'Why have those (angels) taken these cords and gone off?' And he said unto me : 'They have gone to measure.'
- 3 And the angel who went with me said unto me :
'These shall bring the measures of the righteous,
And the ropes of the righteous to the righteous,
That they may stay themselves on the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.
- 4 The elect shall begin to dwell with the elect,
And those are the measures which shall be given to faith
And which shall strengthen righteousness.
- 5 And these measures shall reveal all the secrets of the depths of the earth,
And those who have been destroyed by the desert,
And those who have been devoured by the beasts,
And those who have been devoured by the fish of the sea,
That they may return and stay themselves
On the day of the Elect One ;
For none shall be destroyed before the Lord of Spirits,
And none can be destroyed.
- 6 And all who dwell above in the heaven received a command and power and one voice and one light like unto fire.
- 7 And that One (with) their first words they blessed,
And extolled and lauded with wisdom,
And they were wise in utterance and in the spirit of life.
- 8 And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory.
And he shall judge all the works of the holy above in the heaven,
And in the balance shall their deeds be weighed.
- 9 And when he shall lift up his countenance
To judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the Lord of Spirits,
And their path according to the way of the righteous judgement of the Lord of Spirits,
Then shall they all with one voice speak and bless,
And glorify and extol and sanctify the name of the Lord of Spirits.
- 10 And He will summon all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God,

- . the angel of peace, in the Elect One sections.
- the cords *a.* 'the long cords' *β.*
- have gone > *mud.* to measure (*q*)*tuβ.* 'to begin' *gm.*
- 3-5. The measures and ropes seem to represent the nature of the ideal community of the righteous living and departed, and the union and communion of such with one another and with the Lord of Spirits.
- 3-4. Belong to Son of Man source, as 'the angel who went with me' interprets.
- 3. to the righteous *gqtu, n.* > *m, β-n.*
- stay themselves on. Cf. *xlvi.* 4, *lxi.* 5.
- 4. righteousness *a.* *β* prefixes 'the voice of'.
- 5. The righteous alone rise here; in *li.* 1, 2 all Israel.
- devoured ¹⁰. *q* omits next nine words through *hmt.*
- by the beasts *tu.* 'by the treasures' *gm.* *β-n* reads 'and by the beasts' after 'of the sea', omitting 'and . . devoured'.
- 6. all who dwell above in the heaven, i.e. the angels as in *vv.* 8, 10, 12, ix. 3, *xlvi.* 2.
- one voice. Cf. 2 Bar. xxx. 2 'in one assemblage of one thought'.
- 7. that One = the Lord of Spirits, or else the Elect One, *v.* 5. Or better, for *la* read *ba* and render 'with their first words they blessed'.
- 8. See *xl.* 3 (note): cf. *Ps.* cx. 1.
- glory *a.* 'His glory' *β.*
- the holy, i.e. the angels. Cf. *lxi.* 6. But *q* reads 'the righteous'.
- shall their deeds be weighed *mqu, β.* 'they ('he' *t, abcdefhkl*) shall weigh their deeds' *g.* See *xli.* 1 (note).
- 9. ways, 'cause' *z.*
- the word of the name, or 'command of the name'.
- Lord of Spirits ²⁰ *a.* 'Most High God' *β.*
- sanctify *a, n.* 'praise' *β-n.*
- 10. He will summon. Or if *jesêw'č* is a misrendering of *βοῦσται*, render 'the host . . . shall cry out'.
- Cherubin, Seraphin, and Ophannin. Cf. *xiv.* 11, 18, *xx.* 7, *lxxi.* 7. The Cherubim were primarily symbolic figures, the means of revealing or concealing God's presence, but here = an order of angels. Cf. *Rev.* v. 6; 2 *En.* xix. 6, *xx.* 1. The Seraphim served in His immediate presence. They are not classed together in O.T. The Ophannim (i.e. wheels) come from *Ezek.* i. 15. The Talmud classes them with Cherubim and Seraphim, Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 168, 205.

BOOK OF ENOCH 61. 10—62. 5

the Cherubin, Seraphin and Ophannin, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of prin-
cipalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth (and) over the water On that day
shall raise one voice, and bless and glorify and exalt in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom,
and in the spirit of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgement and of peace,
and in the spirit of goodness, and shall all say with one voice: "Blessed is He, and may the name
of the Lord of Spirits be blessed for ever and ever."

12 All who sleep not above in heaven shall bless Him :
All the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless Him,
And all the elect who dwell in the garden of life :

And every spirit of light who is able to bless, and glorify, and extol, and hallow Thy blessed name,
And all flesh shall beyond measure glorify and bless Thy name for ever and ever.

13 For great is the mercy of the Lord of Spirits, and He is long-suffering,
And all His works and all that He has created
He has revealed to the righteous and elect
In the name of the Lord of Spirits.'

LXII. *Judgement of the Kings and the Mighty : Blessedness of the Righteous.*

62 1 And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those who dwell
on the earth, and said :

'Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognize the Elect One.'

2 And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of His glory,
And the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him,
And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners,
And all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face.

3 And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty,
And the exalted and those who hold the earth,
And they shall see and recognize
How he sits on the throne of his glory,
And righteousness is judged before him,
And no lying word is spoken before him.

4 Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail,
[And she has pain in bringing forth]
When her child enters the mouth of the womb,
And she has pain in bringing forth.

5 And one portion of them shall look on the other,
And they shall be terrified,

angels of power and . . . of principalities. Cf. Rom. viii. 38; Eph. i. 21; Col. i. 16; Test. 12 Patr. Levi iii. 8.
the other powers on the earth, i. e. the lower angel-powers over nature.

11. The seven virtues of the praising angels. Cf. xlix. 3.
glorify + 'and praise' β .

exalt > *g*.

in the spirit of patience *il₁a*. 'in patience' other MSS.

Blessed is He, &c. Cf. xxxix. 10; and Rev. iv. 9, 11, v. 13.

12. who sleep not. See i. 5 (note).

the holy ones *a*, *bwxy*: 'His holy ones' β -*bwxy*.

garden of life. See lx. 8 (note). The LXX chronology is followed here as in all the Parables. Cf. liv. 7 (note).

spirit of light, i. e. good spirit, human or angelic. Cf. cviii. 11; Luke xvi. 8.

blessed *a*. 'holy' β .

13. mercy. See lx. 5 (note).

LXII. A long account of the judgement, esp. of the kings and mighty. Short accounts occur in xlvi. 4-8,
xlviii. 8-10, liii-liv. 3. They behold the Messiah with anguish, and pray for mercy, but are carried off to torment.
The righteous are glorified.

1. the kings, &c. See xxxviii. 5.

lift up your horns. Cf. Ps. lxxv. 4.

2. seated him. So Dillmann emends for MSS. 'sat'. Cf. Isa. xi. 4.

word of his mouth. The judgement is forensic.

all the sinners, cf. lxix. 27 (note).

from before *a*. 'and from before' β .

3. righteousness *a*. 'the righteous in righteousness' β -*no*, *b*, 'the righteous' *no*, *b*.

no lying word. xlix. 4.

4. Cf. Isa. xlii. 8, xxi. 3, xxvi. 17.

[and . . . forth] dittograph of line 4.

5. one portion, &c. Isa. xlii. 8. Cf. Wisdom v. 1 seqq.

BOOK OF ENOCH 62. 5-15

- And they shall be downcast of countenance,
And pain shall seize them,
When they see that Son of Man
Sitting on the throne of his glory.
- 6 And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him
who rules over all, who was hidden.
- 7 For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden,
And the Most High preserved him in the presence of His might,
And revealed him to the elect.
- 8 And the congregation of the elect and holy shall be sown,
And all the elect shall stand before him on that day.
- 9 And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted and those who rule the earth
Shall fall down before him on their faces,
And worship and set their hope upon that Son of Man,
And petition him and supplicate for mercy at his hands.
- 10 Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them
That they shall hastily go forth from His presence,
And their faces shall be filled with shame,
And the darkness grow deeper on their faces.
- 11 And **He will deliver** them to the angels for punishment,
To execute vengeance on them because they have oppressed His children and His elect
- 12 And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and for His elect :
They shall rejoice over them,
Because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth upon them,
And His sword is drunk with their blood.
- 13 And the righteous and elect shall be saved on that day,
And they shall never thenceforward see the face of the sinners and unrighteous.
- 14 And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them,
And with that Son of Man shall they eat
And lie down and rise up for ever and ever.
- 15 And the righteous and elect shall have risen from the earth,
And ceased to be of downcast countenance.
- And they shall have been clothed with garments of glory,

- Son of Man** *a-m*, 'Son of the woman' *m, 2*. See xlv. 2 (note).
Sitting on the throne of his glory. Cf. Matt. xxv. 31.
6. **the kings and the mighty** *a-u*. 'the mighty Kings' *u, 3*.
rules over all. Dan. vii. 14.
who was hidden, or 'that was hidden', i. e. the unseen universe.
6, 7. **hidden**. Cf. xlviii. 6, 7. Revealed by the Lord of Spirits to the elect, who thus became a congregation,
the plant of righteousness of x. 16.
7. **from the beginning**. So *mgt, 3-1a*.
8. **congregation**. Cf. xxxviii. 1 (note).
elect and holy *a*, 'holy and elect' *3*.
10. **shame, and darkness**. Cf. xlv. 6; 4 Ezra vii. 55. **grow deeper** *gt, 3-f*. Cf. Nah. ii. 10.
11. **He will deliver them to**, &c. So Flemming emends. *m3* read 'the angels of punishment shall take
them in charge'.
angels for punishment. See xl. 7 (note). Cf. liii. 3—liv. 2.
12. **spectacle**. See xlviii. 9 (note).
sword, used figuratively as in lxiii. 11.
drunk. Cf. Isa. xxxiv. 6.
13. **saved**, cf. xlviii. 7.
14. God Himself (Isa. lx. 19, 20; Zeph. iii. 15-17) and the Messiah (xxxix. 6, 7, xlv. 4) will dwell with the
righteous and elect for ever.
eat: 'abide and eat' *3-n*.
eat and lie down. Zeph. iii. 13.
15, 16. **garments of glory . . . of life**. Cf. 2 Cor. v. 3, 4; Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18, iv. 4, vi. 11, vii. 9, 13, 14; 4 Ezra
ii. 39, 45; Herm. Sim. viii. 2, also 1 En. cviii. 12.
15. **of glory** *a, in*. 'of life' *3-in*.

BOOK OF ENOCH. 62. 16—63. 9

- 16 And these shall be the garments of life from the Lord of Spirits :
And your garments shall not grow old,
Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of Spirits.

LXIII. *The unavailing Repentance of the Kings and the Mighty.*

- 63¹ In those days shall the mighty and the kings who possess the earth implore (Him) to grant them
a little respite from His angels of punishment to whom they were delivered, that they might fall
2 down and worship before the Lord of Spirits, and confess their sins before Him. And they shall
bless and glorify the Lord of Spirits, and say :
'Blessed is the Lord of Spirits and the Lord of kings,
And the Lord of the mighty and the Lord of the rich,
And the Lord of glory and the Lord of wisdom,
3 And splendid in every secret thing is Thy power from generation to generation,
And Thy glory for ever and ever :

Deep are all Thy secrets and innumerable,
And Thy righteousness is beyond reckoning.
4 We have now learnt that we should glorify
And bless the Lord of kings and Him who is king over all kings.'
5 And they shall say :
'Would that we had rest to glorify and give thanks
And confess our faith before His glory !
6 And now we long for a little rest but find it not :
We follow hard upon and obtain (it) not :

And light has vanished from before us,
And darkness is our dwelling-place for ever and ever :
7 For we have not believed before Him
Nor glorified the name of the Lord of Spirits, [nor glorified our Lord]

But our hope was in the sceptre of our kingdom,
And in our glory.
8 And in the day of our suffering and tribulation He saves us not,
And we find no respite for confession

That our Lord is true in all His works, and in His judgements and His justice,
And His judgements have no respect of persons.
9 And we pass away from before His face on account of our works,
And all our sins are reckoned up in righteousness.'

garments of life $q\beta$, $a-q$ prefix 'your garments'.
from $a-t^1$, t^2 , 'with' β .
not grow old; cf. Deut. viii. 4, xxix. 5.

LXIII. A last despairing appeal by the kings and mighty. They justify God's judgement. Cf. Wisdom v. 3-8.

1. the mighty and the kings a , 'kings' $ae hknvw$, 'mighty kings' $bcd filopxy_1 a_1 b$.

His angels $a-tu \beta$, 'the angels' t, q^2 .

2. They confess what before they denied, xlv. 5.

3. Cf. xlix. 2.

splendid . . . power $a-mu$, 'every secret thing is lighted up and Thy power' β .

5. glorify and give thanks $a-q$. 'glorify Him and thank Him' q, β (+ 'and bless Him' β).

6. And now q, β . 'now' $a-q$.

follow hard upon $gt^1 b$. $> u, i$. 'are driven away' $mq, t^2 \beta-i_1 a_1 b$.

obtain, &c.: q reads 'obtain not light; it has', &c.

darkness is our dwelling-place. Cf. xlv. 6.

7. believed or 'confessed'.

of spirits gq, efv . 'of lords' m . 'of kings' $tu, \beta-efv$.

[our Lord] a , 'the Lord in all His work' β .

sceptre $gm, io_1 a_1 b$. 'throne' tu, fv . 'sceptre of the throne' $q, dhkln$.

8. No place of repentance when the final judgement has come.

our Lord is true, &c. Cf. Jub. iv. 21.

BOOK OF ENOCH 63. 10—65. 6

- 10 Now they shall say unto themselves: 'Our souls are full of unrighteous gain, but it does not prevent us from descending from the midst thereof into the †burden† of Sheol.'
- 11 And after that their faces shall be filled with darkness
And shame before that Son of Man,
And they shall be driven from his presence,
And the sword shall abide before his face in their midst.
- 12 Thus spake the Lord of Spirits: 'This is the ordinance and judgement with respect to the mighty and the kings and the exalted and those who possess the earth before the Lord of Spirits.'

LXIV. *Vision of the fallen Angels in the Place of Punishment.*

- 64 1, 2 And other forms I saw hidden in that place. I heard the voice of the angel saying: 'These are the angels who descended to the earth, and revealed what was hidden to the children of men and seduced the children of men into committing sin.'

LXV. *Enoch foretells to Noah the Deluge and his own Preservation.*

- 65 1, 2 And in those days Noah saw the earth that it had sunk down and its destruction was nigh. And he arose from thence and went to the ends of the earth, and cried aloud to his grandfather Enoch: 3 and Noah said three times with an embittered voice: 'Hear me, hear me, hear me.' And I said unto him: 'Tell me what it is that is falling out on the earth that the earth is in such evil plight 4 and shaken, lest perchance I shall perish with it?' And thereupon there was a great commotion 5 on the earth, and a voice was heard from heaven, and I fell on my face. And Enoch my grandfather came and stood by me, and said unto me: 'Why hast thou cried unto me with a bitter cry and weeping? 6 And a command has gone forth from the presence of the Lord concerning those who dwell on the earth that their ruin is accomplished because they have learnt all the secrets of the angels, and all the violence of the Satans, and all their powers—the most secret ones—and all the power of those

10. Riches avail not to save them. Cf. lii. 7, liii. 1, 2; Ps. xlix. 7–12.
unrighteous gain. Cf. Luke xvi. 9, 11; Sir. v. 8.
from the midst thereof *gqu.* 'from the flame thereof' *mt*, *β-b*.
into the †burden†. Possibly *βάρυ* = 'stronghold' was misread as *βάρος*, 'burden'. Or we might read 'into the burden of the flame of Sheol'.
Sheol. See my Commentary for a full discussion of this word's history. (1) The oldest view occurs in e.g. Job xxx. 23; Num. xvi. 30. It is the place appointed for all living, is beneath the earth, and is the land of destruction, forgetfulness, and silence. The individual does exist, but without joy or contact with God or man. Good and bad fare alike, but the family, and national and social distinctions of the world above are reproduced. Cf. the Homeric Hades. (2) In the second century B.C. the doctrine of future retribution and the Resurrection altered the conception to that of a place of reward, and also that of an intermediate state (cf. li. 1). (3) Owing to the Resurrection being limited to the righteous, Sheol came to mean hell, or Gehenna, as the preliminary or permanent abode of wicked souls (lxiii. 10, xcix. 11). See Charles, *The Doctrine of a Future Life*,—*passim*.
11. Bousset suggests that this verse is an interpolation. It resembles lxii. 10.
darkness and shame. Cf. xlvi. 6, lxii. 10.
12. **Thus** *a-g*, 'as' *g*, 'and thus' *β*.
LXIV. A digression on the fallen angels, judged in the second Parable, liv. 3, &c., lv. 3, 4. It is out of the context here, as 'that place' in *v*. 1 cannot be Sheol referred to in lxiii. 10.
2. **I heard**, 'and I heard' *m*, *vx*.
angel, 'angels' *m*.
descended + 'from heaven' *t*, *β*.
LXV—LXIX. 25. Professedly part of a Noah Apocalypse (see liv. 7), giving here three accounts (1) lxv. 1–lxvii. 3, the coming Flood and Noah's escape; (2) lxvii. 4–lxix. 1, the fallen angels' punishment, and that of the kings and the mighty; (3) lxix. 2–25, the angels' fall and the secrets they disclosed.
LXV. 1. Note that the vision is Noah's. It opens with a sinking of the earth here as with a quaking of the heavens in lx. 1.
and *g,β*. > *a-g*.
Noah. 'I Noah' *t*, and so in first person for verses 1 and 2.
2. **the ends of the earth**, i.e. where the entrance to heaven is. Cf. cvi. 8.
grandfather, really great-grandfather. Cf. lx. 8.
3. **I said** *a, v*: 'he said' *t²β-iv*.
4. **a voice**, the command of verse 6.
6–10^a. Text out of order. Clearer if verses 9–10^a followed at once on verse 5.
6. **those who dwell on the earth**, borrowed from the Parables. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).
have learnt all the secrets, &c. Cf. vii, viii, lxix.
all their powers—the most secret ones *gt*, 'their secret powers' *β-an*, 'the powers of their most secret secrets' *m*. 'their powers' *qu*.

BOOK OF ENOCH 65. 6-67. 4

who practise sorcery, and the power of witchcraft, and the power of those who make molten images
7 for the whole earth: And how silver is produced from the dust of the earth, and how soft metal
8 originates in the earth. For lead and tin are not produced from the earth like the first: it is a fountain
9 that produces them, and an angel stands therein, and that angel is pre-eminent.' And after that my
grandfather Enoch took hold of me by my hand and raised me up, and said unto me: 'Go, for I have
10 asked the Lord of Spirits as touching this commotion on the earth. And He said unto me: "Because
of their unrighteousness their judgement has been determined upon and shall not be **withheld** by
Me for ever. Because of the **sorceries** which they have searched out and learnt, the earth and those
11 who dwell upon it shall be destroyed." And these—they have no **place of repentance** for ever,
because they have shown them what was hidden, and they are the damned; but as for thee, my
son, the Lord of Spirits knows that thou art pure, and guiltless of this reproach concerning the secrets.
12 And He has destined thy name to be among the holy,
And will preserve thee amongst those who dwell on the earth,
And has destined thy righteous seed both for kingship and for great honours,
And from thy seed shall proceed a fountain of the righteous and holy without number for ever.'

LXVI. *The Angels of the Waters bidden to hold them in Check.*

66 1 And after that he showed me the angels of punishment who are prepared to come and let loose
all the powers of the waters which are beneath in the earth in order to bring judgement and destruc-
2 tion on all who [abide and] dwell on the earth. And the Lord of Spirits gave commandment to
the angels who were going forth, that they should not cause **the waters** to rise but should hold them
3 in check; for those angels were over the powers of the waters. And I went away from the presence
of Enoch.

LXVII. *God's Promise to Noah: Places of Punishment of the Angels and of the Kings.*

67 1 And in those days the word of God came unto me, and He said unto me: 'Noah, thy lot has come
2 up before Me, a lot without blame, a lot of love and uprightness. And now the angels are making
a wooden (building), and when they have completed that task I will place My hand upon it and
3 preserve it, and there shall come forth from it the seed of life, and a change shall set in so that the
earth will not remain without inhabitant. And I will make fast thy seed before me for ever and ever,
and I will spread abroad those who dwell with thee: it shall not be **unfruitful** on the face of the earth,
but it shall be blessed and multiply on the earth in the name of the Lord.'
4 And He will imprison those angels, who have shown unrighteousness, in that burning valley

the power of witchcraft. Cf. vii. 1, viii. 3. The Deluge is due to the corruption wrought through the angels.
8. from the earth > q. Other MSS. = *celer est, praecurrit*.
is pre-eminent. So *t*. Other MSS. = *celer est, praecurrit*.
9. my hand *gq*. 'his hand' *mtu*, β .
10. withheld. Text = 'reckoned', i. e. יחשב corrupt for יחשף in Hebrew, or יתמנע for יתמנע in Aramaic.
sorceries. So Halévy חרשים for חרשים = 'months' in text. This emendation is possible in Aramaic as well as
Hebrew. Or ירחיא might be corrupt in Aramaic for סהריא = 'secrets'.
11. place of repentance. Text = 'return'. In Hebrew תשובה and in Aramaic תיובא mean both 'repentance' and
'return'.
12. Noah is to found a new and righteous generation.
thy righteous seed *gmtu(q)*, 'thy seed in righteousness' β .
both for kingship *q(t)*, 'both for kings' β , 'both kings' *gmu*.
fountain. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 28; Ps. lxviii. 26.

LXVI. 1. angels of punishment. They deal solely with the second judgement in the Parables. Here they wrongly
are said to be the agents of the Deluge, and angels over the power of the waters. See xl. 7 (note). Cf. liv. 7
and lx. 16. Cf. Rev. xvi. 5.

[abide and]. A dittograph > q: *u*, *bx* omit 'and dwell'.

2. the waters. Text corruptly reads 'the hands'.

The angels are to pause that the ark may be built. Cf. Rev. vii. 1 seqq.

LXVII. 1. Cf. Gen. vi. 9.

2. In lxxxix. 1, Noah himself makes the ark.

have completed *t*. So *a-t* in a corrupt form. 'have gone' β .

3. Cf. lxv. 12.

it shall not be unfruitful. Emended. > *bdoxy₁b*. Or we might emend to 'they shall not tempt (thy seed)'.

LXVII. 4—LXIX. 1. This section deals with the fallen angels' punishment. Characteristic features of the second
judgement are here transferred to the first, and localities distinct in the parables are here confused, e.g. the burning
valley of Gehenna is placed among the metal mountains (lxvii. 4), while in liv. 1 it is in 'another part of the earth'.

4. The Deluge and the judgement of the fallen angels are mentioned together here as in x. 2, 4, but here (1) the
prison is the burning valley (= the Gehenna of liv, though there it is a furnace of fire that receives the angels), and
(2) this is the preliminary prison, not the final.

BOOK OF ENOCH 67. 4—68. 2

which my grandfather Enoch had formerly shown to me in the west among the mountains of gold
5 and silver and iron and soft metal and tin. And I saw that valley in which there was a great con-
6 vulsion and a convulsion of the waters. And when all this took place, from that fiery molten metal
and from the convulsion thereof in that place, there was produced a smell of sulphur, and it was
connected with those waters, and that valley of the angels who had led astray (mankind) burned
7 beneath that land. And through its valleys proceed streams of fire, where these angels are punished
who had led astray those who dwell upon the earth.

8 But those waters shall in those days serve for the kings and the mighty and the exalted, and those
who dwell on the earth, for the healing of the body, but for the punishment of the spirit; now their
spirit is full of lust, that they may be punished in their body, for they have denied the Lord of Spirits
9 and see their punishment daily, and yet believe not in His name. And in proportion as the burning
of their bodies becomes severe, a corresponding change shall take place in their spirit for ever and ever;
10 for before the Lord of Spirits none shall utter an idle word. For the judgement shall come upon them,
11 because they believe in the lust of their body and deny the Spirit of the Lord. And those same
waters will undergo a change in those days; for when those angels are punished in these waters,
these water-springs shall change their temperature, and when the angels ascend, this water of the
12 springs shall change and become cold. And I heard Michael answering and saying: 'This judge-
ment wherewith the angels are judged is a testimony for the kings and the mighty who possess the
13 earth.' Because these waters of judgement minister to the healing of the body of the **kings** and the
lust of their body; therefore they will not see and will not believe that those waters will change
and become a fire which burns for ever.

LXVIII. *Michael and Raphael astonished at the Severity of the Judgement.*

68 1 And after that my grandfather Enoch gave me the teaching of all the secrets in the book in the
Parables which had been given to him, and he put them together for me in the words of the book
2 of the Parables. And on that day Michael answered Raphael and said: 'The power of the spirit
transports and **makes me to tremble** because of the severity of the judgement of the secrets, the
judgement of the angels: who can endure the severe judgement which has been executed, and before

in the west, borrowed from lii. 1. It increases the geographical confusion.

5, 6. Features of the Deluge, and volcanic disturbances are combined, the latter connected with the angels' punishment.

6. **burned beneath that land**. A subterranean fire was believed to exist under the Gehenna valley. Cf. xxvii. 1 (note). Cf. too the fate of Sodom.

8. The hot springs result from the meeting of the water and fire underground by which the angels were punished. Herod the Great resorted to such a spring, Callirhoe to the east of the Dead Sea, Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 6. 5. Cf. the hot springs of Machaerus, Joseph. *Bell. Iud.* vii. 6. 3.

in those days—those of the writer.

healing of the body *gm, bx*. 'healing of the soul and body' *qtu, β-bx*.

punishment of the spirit i. e. in the final judgement.

punished in their body. At present the sin of their spirit entails suffering on the body only, which is healed by the waters, but in Gehenna spirit and body alike will suffer.

denied the Lord of Spirits. Cf. xxxviii. 2 (note), liv. 7 (note).

see their punishment daily, i. e. can read their future torments in the present ones of the angels.

9. The kings will repent under torment, but without avail.

an idle word. Cf. xlix. 4 (note).

10. **deny the Spirit of the Lord**. This phrase is unique in Enoch.

11. With the angel's departure the waters cool. Cf. Origen, *c. Celsum* v. 52.

in these waters *a*, 'in those days' *β-v*.

12. **Michael** *a*, 'the holy Michael' *β*.

13. The waters heal now, and their healing virtue blinds the kings to the fire below which is reserved for their future torment. Cf. *v*. 8.

kings. Text='angels' i. e. מַלְאָכִים for מַלְכִים.

lust *m*, 'desire' *gqtu*, 'death' *β-y*.

LXVIII. 1. Note that the Parables already exist as a complete work in the hands of the redactor, who confesses to combining them with the Noah fragments. The meaning of this chapter is far from clear.

words of the book. 'book of the words' *g*.

2. This dialogue of Michael and Raphael sets forth the severity of the judgement over the fallen angels, or rather the Satans.

The power of the spirit. A strange phrase. Halévy suggests that 'power' here = ִי in the sense of 'punishment'.

makes me to tremble. Text='provokes me' = יִאֲרִיזֵנִי.

because of *a-g*, 'and because of' *g, β*.

judgement of the secrets. Perhaps the penalty for the secrets divulged by the Satans.

of the angels *gβ*. > *a-g*.

executed + 'and abides' *β*.

BOOK OF ENOCH 68. 3—69. 11

3 which they melt away?'. And Michael answered again, and said to Raphael: 'Who is he whose heart is not softened concerning it, and whose reins are not troubled by this word of judgement
4 (that) has gone forth upon them because of those who have thus led them out?' And it came to pass when he stood before the Lord of Spirits, Michael said thus to Raphael: 'I will not take their part under the eye of the Lord; for the Lord of Spirits has been angry with them because they do
5 as if they were the Lord. Therefore all that is hidden shall come upon them for ever and ever; for neither angel nor man shall have his portion (in it), but alone they have received their judgement for ever and ever.'

LXIX. *The Names and Functions of the (fallen Angels and) Satans: the secret Oath.*

69 1 And after this judgement they shall terrify and **make** them to **tremble** because they have shown this to those who dwell on the earth.
2 And behold the names of those angels [and these are their names: the first of them is Samjâzâ, the second Artâqîfâ, and the third Armên, the fourth Kôkabêl, the fifth †Tûrâêl†, the sixth Rûmjâl, the seventh Dânjâl, the eighth †Nêqâêl†, the ninth Barâqêl, the tenth Azâzêl, the eleventh Armârôs, the twelfth Batarjâl, the thirteenth †Busasêjal†, the fourteenth Hanânêl, the fifteenth †Tûrêl†, and the sixteenth Simâpêsiêl, the seventeenth Jetrêl, the eighteenth Tûmâêl, the nineteenth Tûrêl, 3 the twentieth †Rûmâêl†, the twenty-first †Azâzêl†. And these are the chiefs of their angels and their names, and their chief ones over hundreds and over fifties and over tens].
4 The name of the first Jeqôn: that is, the one who led astray [all] the sons of **God**, and brought them
5 down to the earth, and led them astray through the daughters of men. And the second was named Asbeêl: he imparted to the holy sons of **God** evil counsel, and led them astray so that they defiled
6 their bodies with the daughters of men. And the third was named Gâdreêl: he it is who showed the children of men all the blows of death, and he led astray Eve, and showed [the weapons of death to the sons of men] the shield and the coat of mail, and the sword for battle, and all the weapons
7 of death to the children of men. And from his hand they have proceeded against those who dwell
8 on the earth from that day and for evermore. And the fourth was named Pênêmûe: he taught the
9 children of men the bitter and the sweet, and he taught them all the secrets of their wisdom. And he instructed mankind in writing with ink and paper, and thereby many sinned from eternity to
10 eternity and until this day. For men were not created for such a purpose, to give confirmation
11 to their good faith with pen and ink. For men were created exactly like the angels, to the intent that they should continue pure and righteous, and death, which destroys everything, could not have taken hold of them, but through this their knowledge they are perishing, and through this power

3. **Michael** *a.* 'the holy Michael' *β.* So too in *v.* 4.
answered + 'me' *gqu.*
is not softened *β.* 'is not convicted' *a.*
word of judgement (that) has gone forth *gq.* 'word: judgement &c.' *mtu, β.*
because of those who have thus led them out, i. e. the Satans who seduced these angels.
4. do as if they were the Lord. Cf. Isa. xiv. 11–13.
5. all that is hidden *a.* 'the hidden judgement' *β.*
neither angel nor man suffers their torments, but these fallen angels alone.

LXIX. 1. **make them to tremble.** Text = 'irritate them' = יִרְיִחוּן which has both meanings.
2, 3. I have bracketed 3 and most of 2 as an intrusion. These angels are those who fell in the days of Jared, but in *v.* 4 seqq. we have Satans. So perhaps read in 2 'behold the names of those Satans,' and go on to 4.
2. The thirteenth is superfluous and not in *vi.* 7, where see note.
4. In the Parables the Satans and the fallen angels are distinguished. The latter fell in the days of Jared in i–xxxvi, and xci–civ. Here, however, the functions of the two are confused. Azazel causes all sin in i–xxxvi (x. 8), and Semjaza in *vi.* 3, ix. 7.
Jeqôn *a-u,* Jeqûn *β,* i. e. 'inciter'.
the sons of God. Cf. Job xxxviii. 7. Emended for text 'the sons of the angels', i. e. אֱלֹהִיָּא was misread as מַלְאֲכֵיָּא.
t, bcd, &c., add 'holy', which may go with 'sons' or 'angels'.
5. Asbeêl 'deserter from God' or (Schmidt) 'thought of God'.
6. Gâdreêl, a Satan, as he led astray Eve. In *viii.* 1 it is Azazel that makes weapons of war. In Aramaic Gadreel = 'God is my helper' עֲדֵרֵיָּאֵל.
[the weapons . . . men] dittograph from end of verse.
8. Pênêmûe. Cf. פְּנִימִי 'the inside'.
9–10. The art of writing is a proof of the degeneracy of the human race. Word of mouth should be sufficient pledge for the righteous.
11. Man was originally righteous and immortal. Cf. Wisdom, i. 13, 14; ii. 23, 24. Cf. Talmud, Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 215, 216, 222, 248. He lost his uprightness and immortality through the devil's envy, Wisdom ii. 24; the evil knowledge introduced by the Satans or angels, 1 En. lxix. 11; his own evil act, 1 En. xcvi. 4.
pure and righteous *a-g,* 'pure and holy' *g,* 'righteous and pure' *β.*

BOOK OF ENOCH 69. 11-25

- 12 †it is consuming me†. And the fifth was named Kâsdejâ : this is he who showed the children of men all the wicked smittings of spirits and demons, and the smittings of the embryo in the womb, that it may pass away, and [the smittings of the soul] the bites of the serpent, and the smittings
13 which befall through the noontide heat, the son of the serpent named Tabâ'ët. And this is the †task† of Kâsbeël, the chief of the oath which he showed to the holy ones when he dwelt high
14 above in glory, and its name is Bîqâ. This (angel) requested Michael to show him the hidden name, that he might enunciate it in the oath, so that those might quake before that name and oath who
15 revealed all that was in secret to the children of men. And this is the power of this oath, for it is powerful and strong, and he placed this oath Akâe in the hand of Michael.
16 And these are the secrets of this oath . . .
And they are strong through his oath :
And the heaven was suspended before the world was created,
And for ever.
17 And through it the earth was founded upon the water,
And from the secret recesses of the mountains come beautiful waters,
From the creation of the world and unto eternity.
18 And through that oath the sea was created,
And †as its foundation† He set for it the sand against the time of (its) anger,
And it dare not pass beyond it from the creation of the world unto eternity.
19 And through that oath are the depths made fast,
And abide and stir not from their place from eternity to eternity.
20 And through that oath the sun and moon complete their course,
And deviate not from their ordinance from eternity to eternity.
21 And through that oath the stars complete their course,
And He calls them by their names,
And they answer Him from eternity to eternity.
22 [And in like manner the spirits of the water, and of the winds, and of all zephyrs, and (their) paths
23 from all the quarters of the winds. And there are preserved the voices of the thunder and the light of the lightnings : and there are preserved the chambers of the hail and the chambers of the hoar-
24 frost, and the chambers of the mist, and the chambers of the rain and the dew. And all these believe and give thanks before the Lord of Spirits, and glorify (Him) with all their power, and their food is in every act of thanksgiving : they thank and glorify and extol the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.]
25 And this oath is mighty over them,
And through it [they are preserved and] their paths are preserved,
And their course is not destroyed.

†it is consuming me†. Perhaps read 'they are being consumed'.

12. Cf. Ps. xci. 5, 6, and Rosenmüller's *Scholia* on these verses.

Tabâ'ët, unknown name. Schmidt, *O.T. and Semitic Studies*, p. 341, conjecturally restores the lost clause of 12 and all 13.

13. task = ענין emended from text = 'number' = סנין. I cannot interpret this verse.

14. this α , 'and this' β .

show him α - g , 'show them' β .

the hidden name that + 'they might enunciate that (+ 'evil and' m) hidden name' mu : + 'they might see that hidden name and' β .

16. heaven was suspended. Cf. Job xxvi. 7.

17. earth . . . water. Cf. Ps. xxiv. 2, cxxxvi. 6.

from . . . mountains . . . waters. Cf. Ps. civ. 10, 13.

beautiful waters α - u , $\alpha e f h i k p$. 'beautiful ($>u, l y_1 \alpha$) waters for the living' $u, b c l x y_1 \alpha$.

18. †as its foundation† seemingly corrupt for 'to limit it'.

the sand. Cf. Jer. v. 22 ; Job xxvi. 10 ; Ps. civ. 9.

19. depths made fast. Cf. Prov. viii. 28.

20. to eternity g, β . $> \alpha$ - g .

21. calls them by their names. Cf. xliii. 1 (note).

22-24. An interpolation.

22. quarters. So I render with Flemming, otherwise 'bands'.

23. the voices of the thunder α . β prefixes 'chambers of'.

chambers of the hail. Cf. lx. 11, 19-21. This verse seems to be an interpolation within an interpolation.

24. Cf. xli. 7.

25. Resumes the 'oath' of verses 14-21.

BOOK OF ENOCH 69. 26—71. 1

Close of the Third Parable.

- 26 And there was great joy amongst them,
And they blessed and glorified and extolled
Because the name of that Son of Man had been revealed unto them.
- 27 And he sat on the throne of his glory,
And the sum of judgement was given unto the Son of Man,
And he caused the sinners to pass away and be destroyed from off the face of the earth,
And those who have led the world astray.
- 28 With chains shall they be bound,
And in their assemblage-place of destruction shall they be imprisoned,
And all their works vanish from the face of the earth.
- 29 And from henceforth there shall be nothing corruptible ;
For that Son of Man has appeared,
And has seated himself on the throne of his glory,
And all evil shall pass away before his face,
And the word of that Son of Man shall go forth
And be strong before the Lord of Spirits.
This is the third Parable of Enoch.

LXX. *The final Translation of Enoch.*

- 70 1 And it came to pass after this that his name during his lifetime was raised aloft to that Son of
2 Man and to the Lord of Spirits from amongst those who dwell on the earth. And he was raised aloft
3 on the chariots of the spirit and his name vanished among them. And from that day I was no
longer numbered amongst them : and he set me between the two winds, between the North and the
4 West, where the angels took the cords to measure for me the place for the elect and righteous. And
there I saw the first fathers and the righteous who from the beginning dwell in that place.

LXXI. *Two earlier Visions of Enoch.*

- 71 1 And it came to pass after this that my spirit was translated
And it ascended into the heavens :
And I saw the holy sons of God.

26–29. These verses form the conclusion of the third Parable ; we have returned to its main theme.

26. **the name of that Son of Man had been revealed.** Cf. Rev. ii. 17, iii. 12. See also 1 En. xlviii. 7, lxii. 7.

27. **on the throne of his glory.** See xlv. 3 (note).

the sum, i. e. all judgement. Cf. John v. 22, 27. For 'sum' cf. שִׁמָּה in Ps. cxxxix. 17.

the sinners, esp. the mighty ones in the Parables, though in general also, cf. xxxviii. 1, 2, 3, xli. 2, xlv. 2, 5, 6,

[l. 2] liii. 2, 7, lxii. 2, 13.

and be destroyed > q.

from off the face of the earth. Cf. xxxviii. 1 (note).

28. Cf. liii–lvi.

29. Summarizes, e. g. xlix.

the word of t, bcehl²nx: 'they shall say to' a-t df, &c.

LXX. The writer awkwardly makes Enoch describe his own translation. Otherwise this chapter is in keeping with the Parables.

1. **Son of Man.** Note the actual pre-existence of the Son of Man here. Cf. xlviii. 2 (note), and xlv. 2 (note)

and to the Lord gqt, 'to the Lord' mu, β.

those who dwell, &c. Cf. xxxvii. 5 (note).

2. **he was raised.** 'his name was raised' t.

chariots. Cf. 2 Kings ii. 11. For Enoch's translation cf. lxxxvii. 3, 4, lxxxix. 52.

his name mqt. 'the name' gu, β. **his name,** i. e. his person.

3. **numbered gqt, i.** 'dragged' m, β–i.

between the North and the West. See xviii. 6 (note), xxiv. 1–3 (notes), lx. 8 (note) and lxvii. 4.

the cords. Cf. lxi. 1 seqq.

4. Paradise already contains his righteous forefathers. Cf. lxi. 12.

LXXI. Seems to belong to the Parables. There are two visions in this chapter : (1) verses 1–4. Enoch is translated in spirit to the heavens, has a vision of God, and is shown by Michael the secrets of the spiritual and physical worlds. (2) verses 5–17. Again Enoch is translated in spirit to the heaven of heavens and has a vision of God's house, without Michael's guidance. Both visions should come before lxx, which describes the translation of 'his name', i. e. his final translation.

1–4. The first vision.

1. **translated :** 'hidden' E, as always. See xii. 1 (note).

holy sons of God. Text has 'sons of the holy angels'. See lxix. 4 (note), 5, cvi. 5. The expression 'sons of Elohim' in Gen. vi. is the source of this phrase.

BOOK OF ENOCH 71. I-11

They were stepping on flames of fire :
Their garments were white [and their raiment],
And their faces shone like snow.

- 2 And I saw two streams of fire,
 And the light of that fire shone like hyacinth,
 And I fell on my face before the Lord of Spirits.
- 3 And the angel Michael [one of the archangels] seized me by my right hand,
 And lifted me up and led me forth into all the secrets,
 And he showed me all the secrets of righteousness.
- 4 And he showed me all the secrets of the ends of the heaven,
 And all the chambers of all the stars, and all the luminaries,
 Whence they proceed before the face of the holy ones.
- 5 And he translated my spirit into the heaven of heavens,
 And I saw there as it were a structure built of crystals,
 And between those crystals tongues of living fire.
- 6 And my spirit saw the girdle which girt that house of fire,
 And on its four sides were streams full of living fire,
 And they girt that house.
- 7 And round about were Seraphin, Cherubin, and Ophannin :
 And these are they who sleep not
 And guard the throne of His glory.
- 8 And I saw angels who could not be counted,
 A thousand thousands, and ten thousand times ten thousand,
 Encircling that house.
 And Michael, and Raphael, and Gabriel, and Phanuel,
 And the holy angels who are above the heavens,
 Go in and out of that house.
- 9 And they came forth from that house,
 And Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel,
 And many holy angels without number.
- 10 And with them the Head of Days,
 His head white and pure as wool,
 And His raiment indescribable.
- 11 And I fell on my face,
 And my whole body became relaxed,
 And my spirit was transfigured ;

[**and their raiment**] a duplicate rendering.

2. **streams of fire.** Cf. xiv. 19; Dan. vii. 10, also *vv.* 1, 5, 6 here.

3. **and he showed.** All MSS. but *u* prefix 'and he showed me all (>β) the secrets of mercy'. As 'mercy' is an alternative rendering for 'righteousness', this is a dittography.

4. Physical secrets here as in xli. 3-8, xliii, xlv occur in contexts of an entirely ethical character.

5-17. The second vision.

5, 6. Cf. xiv. 9-17.

5. **he translated my spirit** *a.* 'a spirit translated him' β.
there. MSS. add a gloss 'in the midst of that light'.

6. **the girdle** *a-g.* 'a girdle' *g₁^ρ.*

7. Cf. lxi. 10, 12, also xxxix. 13, xl. 2.

and ^{3°} *a.* >β.

8. **a thousand**, &c. Cf. xiv. 22, xl. 1.

Michael, &c. See xl. 4-7.

go in and out, not so in xiv. 23.

9. **and** ^{2°} *a-t.* >*t.* β.

10. **Head of Days.** See xlv. 1 (note); Dan. vii. 9.

11. **and I fell . . . relaxed.** Cf. lx. 3.

spirit was transfigured. Contrast xxxix. 14; and cf. Asc. Isa. vii. 25.

BOOK OF ENOCH 71. 11—72. 3

And I cried with a loud voice,
... with the spirit of power,
And blessed and glorified and extolled.

12 And these blessings which went forth out of my mouth were well pleasing before that Head of
13 Days. And that Head of Days came with Michael and Gabriel, Raphael and Phanuel, thousands
and ten thousands of angels without number.

[Lost passage wherein the Son of Man was described as accompanying the Head of Days, and Enoch
asked one of the angels (as in xlvi. 3) concerning the Son of Man as to who he was.]

14 And he (i.e. the angel) came to me and greeted me with His voice, and said unto me :

‘ **This is** the Son of Man who **is** born unto righteousness,
And righteousness abides over **him**,
And the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes **him** not.’

15 And he said unto me :

‘ He proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come ;
For from hence has proceeded peace since the creation of the world,
And so shall it be unto thee for ever and for ever and ever.

16 And all shall walk in **his** ways since righteousness never forsaketh **him** :

With **him** will be their dwelling-places, and with **him** their heritage,
And they shall not be separated from **him** for ever and ever and ever.

17 And so there shall be length of days with that Son of Man,
And the righteous shall have peace and an upright way
In the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever.’

SECTION III.

CHAPTERS LXXII-LXXXII. THE BOOK OF THE HEAVENLY LUMINARIES.

LXXII. *The Sun.*

72 1 The book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven, the relations of each, according to their
classes, their dominion and their seasons, according to their names and places of origin, and according
to their months, which Uriel, the holy angel, who was with me, who is their guide, showed me ; and he
showed me all their laws exactly as they are, and how it is with regard to all the years of the world
2 and unto eternity, till the new creation is accomplished which dureth till eternity. And this is the
first law of the luminaries : the luminary the Sun has its rising in the eastern portals of the heaven,
3 and its setting in the western portals of the heaven. And I saw six portals in which the sun rises, and

spirit of power. Cf. lxi. 11. Some words seem lost before this phrase.

14-16. Owing to the loss of a reference to the Son of Man, some scribe has altered third to second persons in 14, 16,
but not in 17, or 15.

14. Cf. xlvi. 3.

he *gmt.* > *u.* ‘that angel’ *gβ.*

This is ... **is** restored for text ‘Thou art ... art’.

unto *gtu, abef,* &c. ‘in’ *mq, deh,* &c.

righteousness. See xlvi. 3 (note) for this attribute of the Son of Man.

him restored for ‘thee’. So in *v.* 16 *passim*.

15. **proclaims unto thee peace.** Cf. Mic. iii. 5 ; Zech. ix. 10 ; Isa. lvii. 7.

the world to come—the Messianic kingdom. Earliest use of the phrase. See Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 120 seqq.

16. **all**+ ‘shall be and’ *β-al₁b.*

dwelling-places. Cf. xxxix. 4, 7.

17. **length of days** : i.e. an eternity ; contrast *v.* 9, x. 17, xxv. 6.

an upright way *m.* ‘his upright way’ *β.* *gtu* support *m.* + ‘to the righteous’ all MSS.

Note on 14-17. I do not hold, as Bousset, *Rel. des Jud.* 348, Dalman, *Worte Jesu* 200, that our text elevates
Enoch to the dignity of the Messiah. Bousset quotes 2 En. xxii. 6, lxvii. 2 ; Targ. Jon. on Gen. v. 24 ; Ps. Clem. *Hom.*
xviii. 13 ; *Recog.* ii. 47.

LXXII. 1. **dominion.** Cf. lxxv. 3, lxxxii. 8-20.

names. Cf. lxxviii. 1, 2.

origin i.e. rising.

the new creation. Cf. xlv. 4, xci. 15, 16 ; Isa. lkv. 17, lxvi. 22 ; 2 Pet. iii. 3, 13 ; Rev. xxi. 1 ; also the Yasts xiii.
57-58 (*S.B.E.* xxiii. 194).

2. Here begins an account of the sun in its progress through the signs of the zodiac, and the resultant increase and
decrease of the days and nights.

portals. See Babylonian *Creation Epos* v. 9 ; *K.A.T.*³ 619, 630. Cf. xxxiii-xxxvi for portals of winds and stars.
In lxxii-lxxxii, sun, moon, and stars pass through the same portals, but in xxxiii-xxxvi the stars’ portals are small, while
in lxxii. 6 one of the sun’s portals is called ‘great’.

BOOK OF ENOCH 72. 3-22

six portals in which the sun sets : and the moon rises and sets in these portals, and the leaders of the stars and those whom they lead : six in the east and six in the west, and all following each other in accurately corresponding order : also many windows to the right and left of these portals. And first there goes forth the great luminary, named the Sun, and his circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and he is quite filled with illuminating and heating fire. The chariot on which he ascends, the wind drives, and the sun goes down from the heaven and returns through the north in order to reach the east, and is so guided that he comes to the appropriate (lit. 'that') portal and shines in the face of the heaven. In this way he rises in the first month in the great portal, which is the fourth [those six portals in the east]. And in that fourth portal from which the sun rises in the first month are twelve window-openings, from which proceed a flame when they are opened in their season. When the sun rises in the heaven, he comes forth through that fourth portal thirty mornings in succession, and sets accurately in the fourth portal in the west of the heaven. And during this period the day becomes daily longer and the night nightly shorter to the thirtieth morning. On that day the day is longer than the night by a ninth part, and the day amounts exactly to ten parts and the night to eight parts. And the sun rises from that fourth portal, and sets in the fourth and returns to the fifth portal of the east thirty mornings, and rises from it and sets in the fifth portal. And then the day becomes longer by †two† parts and amounts to eleven parts, and the night becomes shorter and amounts to seven parts. And it returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises and sets in the sixth portal one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign. On that day the day becomes longer than the night, and the day becomes double the night, and the day becomes twelve parts, and the night is shortened and becomes six parts. And the sun mounts up to make the day shorter and the night longer, and the sun returns to the east and enters into the sixth portal, and rises from it and sets thirty mornings. And when thirty mornings are accomplished, the day decreases by exactly one part, and becomes eleven parts, and the night seven. And the sun goes forth from that sixth portal in the west, and goes to the east and rises in the fifth portal for thirty mornings, and sets in the west again in the fifth western portal. On that day the day decreases by †two† parts, and amounts to ten parts and the night to eight parts. And the sun goes forth from that fifth portal and sets in the fifth portal of the west, and rises in the fourth portal for one-and-thirty mornings on account of its sign, and sets in the west. On that day the day is equalized with the night, [and becomes of equal length], and the night amounts to nine parts and the day to nine parts. And the sun rises from that portal and sets in the west, and returns to the east and rises thirty mornings in the third portal and sets in the west in the third portal. And on that day the night becomes longer than the day, and night becomes longer than night, and day shorter than

leaders of the stars. See lxxv. 1 (note).

windows. Cf. v. 7, lxxv. 7.

right and left=south and north.

4. Cf. xli. 5-7.

circumference, a disk or a sphere. Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxviii. 3, also xviii. 4, lxxiii. 4.

5. The chariot. Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxv. 3, 8; driven by the wind xviii. 4, lxxviii. 2.

returns through the north. Cf. xli. 5.

is so guided, possibly by an angel. The sun is not, as the heavenly bodies are in i-xxxvi, semi-conscious.

6. the first month, of the Hebrews, i.e. Abib (Exod. xiii. 4), the time of the spring equinox. It began the ecclesiastical year and corresponds to our April.

6, 7. the great portal, so distinguished from the twelve window-openings of each portal (lxxii. 3, lxxv. 7), with their heat-giving flames.

8. The author replaces the heathen signs of the zodiac by portals, cf. the 'chamber' of Ps. xix. 5. Though well aware of a solar year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, he reckons it as consisting of 364 days, or 52 sabbaths of days. Thus he has eight months of 30 days, and four of 31 days each, the extra day in the latter being 'on account of the sign', i.e. that of the equinoxes or solstices. Cf. lxxii. 13, 19. The division into eighteen parts of the day suits northern Asia at a latitude of 49° .

10. on $a-t$, 'and on' t , β .

a ninth part, i.e. of the whole day, gqu . $>mt$, β . All MSS. wrongly insert 'twice as much' after 'longer'.

exactly a . $>\beta$.

11. in the fourth + 'portal' $q, \beta-bcdx_1a$.

12. and 1^0 . $>bcdlopxy_1a_1b$.

†two†. Read 'one'.

13. it returns a . 'the sun returns' β .

portal 1^0 . $>a-t$.

its sign, i.e. the summer solstice here, cf. v. 19, lxxv. 3, lxxviii. 7.

14. on $a-q$. 'and on' $q^2 \beta$.

15. mounts up, to start on his return journey to the first portal.

18. †two†. Read 'one'.

19. its sign + 'in the fourth portal ($>u$) in the east' a

20. [and . . . length], a duplicate rendering.

22. and night becomes longer than night, $a-m$. 'till the thirtieth morning' β .

day till the thirtieth morning, and the night amounts exactly to ten parts and the day to eight
 23 parts. And the sun rises from that third portal and sets in the third portal in the west and returns
 to the east, and for thirty mornings rises in the second portal in the east, and in like manner sets
 24 in the second portal in the west of the heaven. And on that day the night amounts to eleven
 25 parts and the day to seven parts. And the sun rises on that day from that second portal and sets
 in the west in the second portal, and returns to the east into the first portal for one-and-thirty
 26 mornings, and sets in the first portal in the west of the heaven. And on that day the night becomes
 longer and amounts to the double of the day: and the night amounts exactly to twelve parts and
 27 the day to six. And the sun has (therewith) traversed the divisions of his orbit and turns again
 on those divisions of his orbit, and enters that portal thirty mornings and sets also in the west
 28 opposite to it. And on that night has the night decreased in length by a †ninth† part, and the night
 29 has become eleven parts and the day seven parts. And the sun has returned and entered into the
 second portal in the east, and returns on those his divisions of his orbit for thirty mornings, rising
 30 and setting. And on that day the night decreases in length, and the night amounts to ten parts
 31 and the day to eight. And on that day the sun rises from that portal, and sets in the west, and returns
 to the east, and rises in the third portal for one-and-thirty mornings, and sets in the west of the heaven.
 32 On that day the night decreases and amounts to nine parts, and the day to nine parts, and the night
 33 is equal to the day and the year is exactly as to its days three hundred and sixty-four. And the length
 of the day and of the night, and the shortness of the day and of the night arise—through the course
 34 of the sun these distinctions are made (lit. 'they are separated'). So it comes that its course becomes
 35 daily longer, and its course nightly shorter. And this is the law and the course of the sun, and his
 return as often as he returns sixty times and rises, i.e. the great luminary which is named the sun,
 36 for ever and ever. And that which (thus) rises is the great luminary, and is so named according to
 37 its appearance, according as the Lord commanded. As he rises, so he sets and decreases not, and
 rests not, but runs day and night, and his light is sevenfold brighter than that of the moon; but
 as regards size they are both equal.

LXXIII. *The Moon and its Phases.*

73 1 And after this law I saw another law dealing with the smaller luminary, which is named the Moon.
 2 And her circumference is like the circumference of the heaven, and her chariot in which she rides
 3 is driven by the wind, and light is given to her in (definite) measure. And her rising and setting
 change every month: and her days are like the days of the sun, and when her light is uniform
 4 (i.e. full) it amounts to the seventh part of the light of the sun. And thus she rises. And her first
 phase in the east comes forth on the thirtieth morning: and on that day she becomes visible, and
 constitutes for you the first phase of the moon on the thirtieth day together with the sun in the
 5 portal where the sun rises. And the one half of her goes forth by a seventh part, and her whole

morning, *a-q, efn.* >*q.* 'day' *abcd*, &c.
 25. into the first portal *β-a*, 'in it on the first day (?)' *gq*, 'in the sixth portal' *m*, 'on that day' *tu*.
 27. that portal *m, β*, 'all the portals' *a-m*.
 28. on that night, *gq, f.* 'on that day' *mt, β-f*.
 a †ninth† part *gqu.* >*m.* 'one part' *t, β-a*, 'ninth' should be 'eighteenth', as in 16. Or for 'decreased in length'
 we might emend to 'grown shorter than the day'.
 31. that portal *a-t*. 'that second portal' *t, β*.
 35. he returns *a-m*. 'he returns, he returns' *m, β*.
 sixty times, i.e. two months in each portal, one month on his northward and one month on his southward
 journey. The author disregards for the time being the extra day in the first, third, fourth, and sixth portals.
 luminary *a*. 'eternal luminary' *β*.
 37. as he rises, so he sets *g*, 'so he rises and (+ 'so' *qt*) he sets' *mqt*, 'and so he sets' *u*, 'and so he rises and
 sets' *β-anx*.
 day and night + 'in his chariot' *t², β*.
 sevenfold brighter. Cf. lxxiii. 2, lxxviii. 4. Also cf. Isa. xxx. 26.
 as regards size . . . equal. So Lucretius believed, *De Rer. Nat.* v. 564-91.

LXXIII. This chapter and LXXIV treat of the moon's course.
 2. the heaven *a-m, bcdilo*, 'the sun' *m, aefhknpw*.
 3. her rising and setting, i.e. the place of her rising and setting.
 4. her first phase lit. 'her beginning', i.e. the new moon in the popular sense, on the first day of her visible
 reappearance.
 thirtieth morning, of the solar month.
 5-8. The author's scheme is hard to follow. Apparently the lunar month amounts to 30 days and 29 days
 alternately, and is divided into two parts. During the first part the moon waxes from new moon to full moon in 14
 days when the month is 29 days, and in 15 when the month is 30 days. During the second part it always wanes in
 15 days. Again the moon is divided into fourteen parts, i.e. each half surface into seven parts, and the waxing of the

BOOK OF ENOCH 73. 5—74. 12

circumference is empty, without light, with the exception of one-seventh part of it, (and) the fourteenth part of her light. And when she receives one-seventh part of the half of her light, her light amounts to one-seventh part and the half thereof. And she sets with the sun, and when the sun rises the moon rises with him and receives the half of one part of light, and in that night in the beginning of her morning [in the commencement of the lunar day] the moon sets with the sun, and is invisible that night with the fourteen parts and the half of one of them. And she rises on that day with exactly a seventh part, and comes forth and recedes from the rising of the sun, and in her remaining days she becomes bright in the (remaining) thirteen parts.

LXXIV. *The Lunar Year.*

74 ¹ And I saw another course, a law for her, (and) how according to that law she performs her monthly ² revolution. And all these Uriel, the holy angel who is the leader of them all, showed to me, and their positions, and I wrote down their positions as he showed them to me, and I wrote down their months ³ as they were, and the appearance of their lights till fifteen days were accomplished. In single seventh parts she accomplishes all her light in the east, and in single seventh parts accomplishes all her ⁴ darkness in the west. And in certain months she alters her settings, and in certain months she pursues ⁵ her own peculiar course. In two months the moon sets with the sun : in those two middle portals the ⁶ third and the fourth. She goes forth for seven days, and turns about and returns again through the portal where the sun rises, and accomplishes all her light : and she recedes from the sun, and in eight ⁷ days enters the sixth portal from which the sun goes forth. And when the sun goes forth from the fourth portal she goes forth seven days, until she goes forth from the fifth and turns back again in ⁸ seven days into the fourth portal and accomplishes all her light : and she recedes and enters into the first portal in eight days. And she returns again in seven days into the fourth portal from which the ^{9, 10} sun goes forth. Thus I saw their position—how the moons rose and the sun set in those days. And if five years are added together the sun has an overplus of thirty days, and all the days which accrue ¹¹ to it for one of those five years, when they are full, amount to 364 days. And the overplus of the sun and of the stars amounts to six days : in 5 years 6 days every year come to 30 days : and the ¹² moon falls behind the sun and stars to the number of 30 days. And **the sun** and the stars bring in all

moon is due to the successive lighting up of each fourteenth part. Verses 5, 6 suppose the period from new to full moon to be 14 days, verse 7 supposes it to be 15 days.

5. **goes forth**, MSS. read $\text{r}\dot{\text{h}}\dot{\text{u}}\text{q} = \text{r}\dot{\text{h}}\dot{\text{u}}\text{q}$, which is used of the sun's rising or appearing. It in turn may render $\text{r}\dot{\text{h}}\dot{\text{u}}\text{q}$, which is used of the rising of the sun and stars. Flemming proposes to emend the text to $\text{r}\dot{\text{h}}\dot{\text{u}}\text{q} = \text{'visible'}$.

one-seventh part $\text{g}\dot{\text{q}}\text{t}\text{u}$, *abc*, &c. Other MSS. corrupt.

(and) **the fourteenth part** $\text{g}\dot{\text{q}}\text{u}$. 'of the fourteenth part' $\text{m}\dot{\text{t}}, \beta$. + 'of half 'g, needlessly, as the fractions are fractions of half in this verse and the next.

6. **one-seventh part** $\text{g}\dot{\text{m}}\text{q}\text{u}$, *d*. 'the thirteenth part' t, L . 'the fourteenth part' $\beta\text{-d}\text{k}\text{l}\text{o}$. Apparently $\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{4}$ of $\frac{1}{2} = \frac{2}{4}$ of the whole moon are lighted the first day when there are only 14 days to the full moon.

7. **half of one part of light**, i. e. one twenty-eighth. When the waxing takes 15 days, the moon only receives one twenty-eighth part, and so is practically invisible, the first morning : on the second day she attains to one-fourteenth, and becomes visible.

fourteen gu , *abc*, &c. 'thirteen' $\text{m}\dot{\text{q}}\text{t}, \text{i}\dot{\text{L}}, \text{b}$.

8. **thirteen** a, n . 'fourteen' $\beta\text{-n}$.

LXXIV. This chapter deals with the moon's waxing and waning, her monthly change of position with regard to the signs and the sun, and the difference between lunar and solar years.

2. **of them all**, i. e. the moon's phases.

fifteen days, i. e. between conjunction and full moon.

3. Cf. lxxiii and lxxviii.

and in single seventh . . . darkness $\text{>}\text{a}, \text{an}$.

4. **peculiar course**, independent of the sun.

5, 6. During two months the moon sets with the sun as new moon and as full moon. When the sun is in Aries and Libra the new moon and the full moon are in the third and fourth portals. In verse 6 the moon goes forth as it waxes from the third portal to the first in 7 days, turns about and returns to the portal where the sun rises, i. e. the third, in 7 or 8 days, and there becomes full moon, and proceeds thence through the fourth and fifth to the sixth portal, where she arrives after 8 days. Thence she returns to the third portal in 7 days.

6. **and accomplishes**. 'and in that accomplishes' t^2, β .

9. **how the moons rose and the sun set** a-g . 'according to the order of their moons the sun rising and setting' g, β .

10, 11. The difference between the lunar and the solar year. The lunar year has 354 days (see lxxviii. 15). The solar year has 12 months of 30 days, or 360, and also 4 intercalary days in the equinoxes and solstices, in all 364 days (lxxiv. 10, 12). In verses 10^a and 11 these intercalary days are neglected, and so the solar year has only 360 days, or 6 days more than the lunar.

11. **the moon** $\text{t}^2\beta$: a has transposed the word to the next sentence, as subject to 'bring in'.

12. Accuracy of the solar and sidereal time-division. Jubilees vi. 32-6 protests against the use of the lunar year.

and the sun. So $\text{g}\dot{\text{m}}\text{t}$ except that they prefix 'from' before 'the sun', $\text{>}\text{q}\text{u}, \beta$.

and the stars u , 'and from the stars' $\text{g}\dot{\text{m}}\text{t}, \text{>}\text{t}^2, \beta$. Here all MSS. add 'and ($\text{>}\text{n}$) the moon', following the lead of a .

the years exactly, so that they do not advance or delay their position by a single day unto eternity;
 13 but **complete** the years with perfect justice in 364 days. In 3 years there are 1,092 days, and in
 14 5 years 1,820 days, so that in 8 years there are 2,912 days. For the moon alone the days amount
 in 3 years to 1,062 days, and in 5 years she falls 50 days behind: [i.e. to the sum (of 1,770) there is
 15 to be added (1,000 and) 62 days.] And in 5 years there are 1,770 days, so that for the moon the days
 16 in 8 years amount to 2,832 days. [For in 8 years she falls behind to the amount of 80 days], all the
 17 days she falls behind in 8 years are 80. And the year is accurately completed in conformity with their
 world-stations and the stations of the sun, which rise from the portals through which it (the sun)
 rises and sets 30 days.

75 1 And the leaders of the heads of the thousands, who are placed over the whole creation and over
 all the stars, have also to do with the four intercalary days, being inseparable from their office,
 according to the reckoning of the year, and these render service on the four days which are not
 2 reckoned in the reckoning of the year. And owing to them men go wrong therein, for those luminaries
 truly render service on the world-stations, one in the first portal, one in the third portal of the
 heaven, one in the fourth portal, and one in the sixth portal, and the exactness of the year is accom-
 3 plished through its separate three hundred and sixty-four stations. For the signs and the times
 and the years and the days the angel Uriel showed to me, whom the Lord of glory hath set for ever
 over all the luminaries of the heaven, in the heaven and in the world, that they should rule on the
 face of the heaven and be seen on the earth, and be leaders for the day and the night, i.e. the sun,
 moon, and stars, and all the ministering creatures which make their revolution in all the chariots
 4 of the heaven. In like manner twelve doors Uriel showed me, open in the circumference of the sun's
 chariot in the heaven, through which the rays of the sun break forth: and from them is warmth
 5 diffused over the earth, when they are opened at their appointed seasons. [And for the winds and
 6 the spirit of the dew† when they are opened, standing open in the heavens at the ends.] As for the
 twelve portals in the heaven, at the ends of the earth, out of which go forth the sun, moon, and stars,
 7 and all the works of heaven in the east and in the west, There are many windows open to the left
 and right of them, and one window at its (appointed) season produces warmth, corresponding
 (as these do) to those doors from which the stars come forth according as He has commanded them,
 8 and wherein they set corresponding to their number. And I saw chariots in the heaven, running
 9 in the world, above those portals in which revolve the stars that never set. And one is larger than
 all the rest, and it is that that makes its course through the entire world.

but **complete** = ἀλλὰ τελοῦσιν, corrupted into ἀλλάττουσιν, whence the Ethiopic text.

13–16. Merely seem to assert that the solar year of 364 days exceeds the lunar of 354 by 10 days. But why should
 eight years be referred to? The author seems to have in mind the eight-year cycle or octaetris, which, however, allowed
 for 365½ days in the solar year. See special Introduction to lxxii–lxxxii, p. 150 in my new Commentary.

14. The totals for 3 and 5 years are added together to give the total for 8 years. (1062 + 1770 = 2832.)

The brackets indicate a marginal gloss.

(1000 and) found only in the margin of c.

16. [] a doublet.

17. their world-stations *a-m*, 'their stations' *m, β*.

LXXV. The intercalary days, the stars, and the sun.

1. The four intercalary days are under charge of the highest stars, the leaders of the heads of ten thousands. See
 lxxxii. 11, 12.

and 1° *q, β*. >*a-q*.

their office *m*. 'its (>*q*) office' *a-m*. 'their position' *l²β*.

the reckoning 1° *a: β* prefixes 'all'.

are not reckoned. The popular reckoning was 360 days to the year. Cf. lxxxii. 5.

2. Men reckon wrongly, by omitting these intercalary days, lxxxii. 4–6.
 the exactness of the year *q*: 'in exactness the world' *g*: 'the exactness of the world' *mtu, β*. In Ethiopic 'ām
 = 'year', and 'ālam = 'world'.

is accomplished *gm, β*: 'accomplishes' *qtu* (taking 'the exactness' as object).

3. These days are, however, real. Uriel showed them to Enoch. Cf. lxxii. 1.

signs, i. e. of the Zodiac, lxxii. 13, 19.

Lord of glory *a-q*: 'Lord of Spirits' *q*: 'Eternal Lord of glory' *β-l*. See lxxxiv. 2 (note). Cf. 'the great Lord,
 the King of glory', lxxxi. 3.

chariots of the heaven. Cf. lxxii. 5; *q* reads 'troops of the heaven'.

4. The variation in the sun's heat is explained by the twelve openings in the disk of the sun.

doors Uriel showed me, open (*m)tu, afhikn*: 'open' *g*: 'doors and Uriel showed me' *q*.

5. An intrusion. The first clause is unintelligible, the second 'when they' &c. seems to be a dittograph of the last
 clause in 4 and the first in 5.

opened *a-q*. + 'in the seasons' *l²β*.

6, 7. Adjoining each one of the sun's twelve portals are twelve windows open to the left and right of them. Cf.
 lxxii. 3, 7. These diffuse warmth over the earth, one being open at a time, and all differing in heating power.

6. This verse begins in *a* with a dittograph 'when they are opened' from *v*. 4. *β* inserts 'I saw', thus altering
 'twelve portals' from a *nominativus pendens* into the acc. But Enoch had been viewing them since lxxii.

8. above + 'and below' *bcd*, &c.

9. one is larger. Perhaps the Great Bear.

LXXVI. *The Twelve Winds and their Portals.*

- 76** ¹ And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve portals open to all the **quarters** (of the heaven), from
² which the winds go forth and blow over the earth. Three of them are open on the face (i.e. the east)
of the heavens, and three in the west, and three on the right (i.e. the south) of the heaven, and
³ three on the left (i.e. the north). And the three first are those of the east, and three are of †the
⁴ north, and three [after those on the left] of the south†, and three of the west. Through four of these
come winds of blessing and prosperity, and from those eight come hurtful winds: when they are
sent, they bring destruction on all the earth and on the water upon it, and on all who dwell thereon,
and on everything which is in the water and on the land.
⁵ And the first wind from those portals, called the east wind, comes forth through the first portal
which is in the east, inclining towards the south: from it come forth desolation, drought, heat,
⁶ and destruction. And through the second portal in the middle comes what is fitting, and from
it there come rain and fruitfulness and prosperity and dew; and through the third portal which
lies toward the north come cold and drought.
⁷ And after these come forth the south winds through three portals: through the first portal of
⁸ them inclining to the east comes forth a hot wind. And through the middle portal next to it there
⁹ come forth fragrant smells, and dew and rain, and prosperity and health. And through the third
portal lying to the west come forth dew and rain, locusts and desolation.
¹⁰ And after these the north winds: from the seventh portal in the east come dew and rain, locusts
¹¹ and desolation. And from the middle portal come in a direct direction health and rain and dew
and prosperity; and through the third portal in the west come cloud and hoar-frost, and snow and
rain, and dew and locusts.
¹² And after these [four] are the west winds: through the first portal adjoining the north come forth
¹³ dew and hoar-frost, and cold and snow and frost. And from the middle portal come forth dew and
rain, and prosperity and blessing; and through the last portal which adjoins the south come forth
¹⁴ drought and desolation, and burning and destruction. And the twelve portals of the four **quarters**
of the heaven are therewith completed, and all their laws and all their plagues and all their bene-
factions have I shown to thee, my son Methuselah.

LXXVII. *The Four Quarters of the World: the Seven Mountains, the Seven Rivers, &c.*

- 77** ¹ And the first **quarter** is called the east, because it is the first: and the second, the south, because
the Most High will **descend** there, yea, there in quite a special sense will He who is blessed for ever
² **descend**. And the west **quarter** is named the diminished, because there all the luminaries of the
³ heaven wane and go down. And the fourth **quarter**, named the north, is divided into three parts:

LXXVI. A detailed account of the twelve portals of the winds and the nature of the winds which issue therefrom.
Cf. xxxiii–xxxvi.

1. the **quarters**. The text wrongly renders רוח as 'wind'. See lxxvii. 1 (note).
2. **right . . . left**, cf. lxxii. 3.
3. **and** ¹⁰ >gmt. The words 'north' and 'south' are in the wrong order.
4. Through the four portals come beneficial winds, i.e. the middle of the three in each quarter. For the hurtful winds cf. Rev. vii. 1 seqq.
- 5–6. Winds from the east, i.e. ESE., E., ENE.
6. **what is fitting** or 'advantageous' or 'right'. Text=rēt'ē; cf. rēt'ēt in v. 11 rendered 'in a direct direction'.
- 7–9. Winds from the south, i.e. SES., S., SWS.
7. **through the first** qu: gmt, β prefix 'the first'.
- 10–11. NEN., N., NWN. winds.
10. **north winds**: MSS. adds a gloss 'which is named the sea and which came forth'.
- in the east** + 'towards the south' gtu: + 'which inclines towards the south' m, β-o₁a.
11. **in a direct direction**. Read perhaps 'what is fitting'. See v. 6 (note).
- health and rain and dew** a. β puts 'health' last.
- in the west**: MSS. add 'which inclines to the north'.
- 12–13. WNW., W., WSW. winds.
12. **dew** + 'and rain' β.
14. **quarters**, MSS. read 'portals' corruptly.
- all** ²⁰ >qu.
- all** ³⁰ >q, β-fhi.
- my son Methuselah**. Cf. lxxxii. 1.

LXXVII. 1–3. The four quarters, and the meaning of their names. They are each explained from the Hebrew. The East קדם is first or foremost קדמי. The South דרומ is where the Most High descends דרד. Cf. xxv. 3. The West אחרון (not existing in Aramaic). The North צפון is divided into three parts: one for men, one for waters (צפה an overflowing), and clouds and darkness (נצח to conceal), while one contains Paradise (נצח to reserve).

1. **quarter**. Here and in verses 2, 3 the text='wind' i.e. רוח as in Ezek. xlii. 20.

BOOK OF ENOCH 77. 3—78. 9

the first of them is for the dwelling of men : and the second contains seas of water, and the abysses and forests and rivers, and darkness and clouds ; and the third part contains the garden of righteousness.

4 I saw seven high mountains, higher than all the mountains which are on the earth : and thence
5 comes forth hoar-frost, and days, seasons, and years pass away. I saw seven rivers on the earth
larger than all the rivers : one of them coming from the †west† pours its waters into the Great Sea.
6 And these two come from the north to the sea and pour their waters into the Erythraean Sea in the
7 east. And the remaining four come forth on the side of the north to their own sea, (two of them to)
the Erythraean Sea, and two into the Great Sea and discharge themselves there [and some say :
8 into the desert]. Seven great islands I saw in the sea and in the mainland : two in the mainland
and five in the Great Sea.

LXXVIII. *The Sun and Moon : the Waxing and Waning of the Moon.*

78 1, 2 And the names of the sun are the following : the first Orjârês, and the second Tômâs. And the
moon has four names : the first name is Asônjâ, the second Eblâ, the third Benâsê, and the fourth
3 Erâe. These are the two great luminaries : their circumference is like the circumference of the
4 heaven, and the size of the circumference of both is alike. In the circumference of the sun there are
seven portions of light which are added to it more than to the moon, and in definite measures it is
5 transferred till the seventh portion of the sun is exhausted. And they set and enter the portals
of the west, and make their revolution by the north, and come forth through the eastern portals
6 on the face of the heaven. And when the moon rises one-fourteenth part appears in the heaven :
7 [the light becomes full in her] : on the fourteenth day she accomplishes her light. And fifteen parts
of light are transferred to her till the fifteenth day (when) her light is accomplished, according to
the sign of the year, and she becomes fifteen parts, and the moon grows by (the addition of) fourteenth
8 parts. And in her waning (the moon) decreases on the first day to fourteen parts of her light, on
the second to thirteen parts of light, on the third to twelve, on the fourth to eleven, on the fifth to
ten, on the sixth to nine, on the seventh to eight, on the eighth to seven, on the ninth to six, on the
tenth to five, on the eleventh to four, on the twelfth to three, on the thirteenth to two, on the four-
9 tenth to the half of a seventh, and all her remaining light disappears wholly on the fifteenth. And

the garden of righteousness. See lx. 8 (note), lxx. 3 (note).

4. Note recurrence of the number seven in this book, as in Jewish writers generally. Cf. xviii. 6, xxiv. 2, xxxii. 1, lxi. 11, lxxii. 37, xci. 16, xciii. 10.

seven high mountains, not those of xviii. 6, xxiv. 2, xxxii. 1, though originally they are derived from the same source.

pass + 'and go' q, β .

5. seven β . > u .

from the †west†, seemingly the Nile. If so 'ârab (= 'west') should be a transliteration of עֲרַבָה 'desert' or 'steppe'.
the Great Sea, i.e. the Mediterranean. Cf. Num. xxxiv. 6, 7.

6. The Euphrates and the Tigris.

The Erythraean Sea, a general name for the Arabian, Persian, and Indian seas.

7. (two of them to) must be supplied.

[and some say . . .]. A gloss.

8. two in the mainland and five in the Great Sea *badfiloxy*, a, b : > 'in the mainland' *aehkn* : 'seven, and two in the Red Sea' $a-m$: 'two in the mainland and five in the Red Sea' m . For the 'five great islands' cf. Jub. viii. 29, and for the number 'seven' see *K.A.T.*³ 618.

LXXVIII, LXXIX. The relations of the sun and moon are again described as well as the waxing and waning of the moon.

LXXVIII. 1. For Halévy's interpretations of the names see my Commentary *in loc.* He connects the two names of the sun with the two seasons, cold and hot, in Palestine, and the four names of the moon with its phases.

and ¹ $a-g$, *ehl*. > q, β -*ehl*.

3. Cf. lxxii. 4, 37, lxxiii. 2.

the size of the circumference a : 'the size' β : + 'like the circumference of the heaven' $a-u$, a dittography.

4. In lxxii. 37 and lxxiii. 3 we are told that the sun's light is seven times that of the moon : in lxxiii. 2 that light is added to the moon in due measure. Here we are further told that one-seventh of the sun's light is gradually transferred to the moon, till the moon is full.

5. by the north. Cf. lxxii. 5.

6-17. The waxing and waning of the moon, the length of the months, &c.

6. See lxxiii. 5, 6 (notes) for the case of fourteen days' waxing.

[the light becomes full in her] $a-u$. A duplicate of 'accomplishes her light'. u is partly untranslatable. β reads in this verse 'and when the moon rises, she appears in the heaven, and has a fourteenth part of her light, and on the fourteenth day she accomplishes all her light'.

7. See lxxiii. 7, 8 (notes) for the fifteen days' waxing.

8. As the moon wanes, her light decreases each day by one-fourteenth part : on the fifteenth the remainder, i.e. one twenty-eighth, vanishes.

half of a seventh t, β : 'half and to a seventh' $a-t$.

BOOK OF ENOCH 78. 9—80. 1

10 in certain months the month has twenty-nine days and once twenty-eight. And Uriel showed me
another law: when light is transferred to the moon, and on which side it is transferred to her by
11 the sun. During all the period during which the moon is growing in her light, she is transferring
it to herself when opposite to the sun during fourteen days [her light is accomplished in the heaven],
12 and when she is illumined throughout, her light is accomplished full in the heaven. And on the first
13 day she is called the new moon, for on that day the light rises upon her. She becomes full moon
exactly on the day when the sun sets in the west, and from the east she rises at night, and the moon
shines the whole night through till the sun rises over against her and the moon is seen over against
14 the sun. On the side whence the light of the moon comes forth, there again she wanes till all the
light vanishes and all the days of the month are at an end, and her circumference is empty, void of
15 light. And three months she makes of thirty days, and at her time she makes three months of twenty-
nine days each, in which she accomplishes her waning in the first period of time, and in the first
16 portal for one hundred and seventy-seven days. And in the time of her going out she appears for
17 three months (of) thirty days each, and for three months she appears (of) twenty-nine each. At
night she appears like a man for twenty days each time, and by day she appears like the heaven,
and there is nothing else in her save her light.

LXXIX–LXXX. 1. *Recapitulation of several of the Laws.*

- 79 1 And now, my son, I have shown thee everything, and the law of all the stars of the heaven is
2 completed. And he showed me all the laws of these for every day, and for every season of bearing
rule, and for every year, and for its going forth, and for the order prescribed to it every month
3 and every week: And the waning of the moon which takes place in the sixth portal: for in this
4 sixth portal her light is accomplished, and after that there is the beginning of the waning: (And
the waning) which takes place in the first portal in its season, till one hundred and seventy-seven
5 days are accomplished: reckoned according to weeks, twenty-five (weeks) and two days. She falls
behind the sun and the order of the stars exactly five days in the course of one period, and when
6 this place which thou seest has been traversed. Such is the picture and sketch of every luminary
which Uriel the archangel, who is their leader, showed unto me.
- 80 1 And in those days the angel Uriel answered and said to me: 'Behold, I have shown thee every-
thing, Enoch, and I have revealed everything to thee that thou shouldst see this sun and this
moon, and the leaders of the stars of the heaven and all those who turn them, their tasks and times
and departures.

9. **twenty-nine days.** Cf. lxxiv. 10–17, lxxviii. 15–17.
once twenty-eight, a reference to the cycle of Callippus, in which the last month in seventy-six years had only
28 days. See my Commentary *in loc.*, and cf. lxxiv. 13–16 for a reference to the octaetris.
11. The moon waxes over against the sun on the side turned to the sun, i.e. the western side.
[her light . . . heaven] ^{1°} β: > 'in the heaven' α. Bracketed as a dittograph.
13. A true observation.
She becomes. γ, β prefix 'and'.
15. **and** ^{2°} α: > β.
at her time + 'when she is accomplishing her waning' *gmt*, and *qu* originally.
the first period of time, i.e. the first half-year. The author recognizes only two seasons in the year; cf. iii, iv.
As often as the moon is in the first portal during the first half-year, she is waning; cf. lxxix. 3, 4.
16. **the time of her going out**, i.e. the second half of the year.
17. **like a man**, i.e. a human face. Hence perhaps the name Asōnjā in *v.* 2 (Halévy).
LXXIX. 1. **my son** + 'Methuselah' *t, β*.
the law of all α-*u*: 'all the laws of' *u, β*.
2. **of bearing rule** α-*u*: 'for every power' β.
3. **of the waning** α: 'of the month and of the waning' β.
4. **(And the waning)**. Restored. So also Flemming and Martin.
5. **She falls behind** α-*t*: *n* prefixes 'and': *t, β* prefix 'and how'.
and the order. So emended for 'and (> *mq*) according to the order of'. Our text here identifies the solar and
sidereal systems, as in lxxiv. 12.
one period, i.e. half-year. See lxxiv. 10–17.
LXXX. An interpolation. As soon as we pass from lxxix we enter into a world of new conceptions; the whole
interest is ethical and nothing else. There is no fixity at all in natural phenomena: their laws and uniformities are
always dependent on the moral action of men. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 1–13.
1. **the angel** *gmt*: > *qu, β*.
I have shown *mq, β*: 'I will show' *gtu*.
leaders of the stars. Cf. lxxii. 3, lxxv. 2, 3.
those who turn them, probably the winds. Cf. lxxii. 5, lxxiii. 2.
and times + 'and they turn them' *gmt*.

BOOK OF ENOCH 80. 2—81. 3

LXXX. 2-8. *Perversion of Nature and the heavenly Bodies owing to the Sin of Men.*

- 2 And in the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened,
And their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields,
And all things on the earth shall alter,
And shall not appear in their time :
And the rain shall be kept back
And the heaven shall withhold (it).
3 And in those times the fruits of the earth shall be backward,
And shall not grow in their time,
And the fruits of the trees shall be withheld in their time.
4 And the moon shall alter her order,
And not appear at her time.
5 [And in those days the **sun** shall be seen and he shall journey in the **evening** †on the extremity
of the great chariot in †the west]
And shall shine more brightly than accords with the order of light.
6 And many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order (prescribed).
And these shall alter their orbits and tasks,
And not appear at the seasons prescribed to them.
7 And the whole order of the stars shall be concealed from the sinners,
And the thoughts of those on the earth shall err concerning them,
[And they shall be altered from all their ways],
Yea, they shall err and take them to be gods.
8 And evil shall be multiplied upon them,
And punishment shall come upon them
So as to destroy all.'

LXXXI. *The Heavenly Tablets and the Mission of Enoch.*

- 81 1 And he said unto me :
'Observe, Enoch, these heavenly tablets,
And read what is written thereon,
And mark every individual fact.'
2 And I observed the heavenly tablets, and read everything which was written (thereon) and understood everything, and read the book of all the deeds of mankind, and of all the children of flesh
3 that shall be upon the earth to the remotest generations. And forthwith I blessed the great Lord the King of glory for ever, in that He has made all the works of the world,

2-8. Note the tristichs.

2. Cf. Jer. iii. 3, v. 25.

shall alter β (intransitive): $a-u$ give transitive form, and t supplies 'its ways'.

withhold m, β . 'stand still' $gqtu$ (by change of a vowel point).

4. Cf. Joel ii. 10; Amos viii. 9; 4 Ezra v. 4.

5. The first two lines are corrupt and out of the context. If we remove them, verses 4-5 form a tristich relating to the moon.

the sun. Text has 'the heaven' (mq, β : 'in the heaven' gtu), i.e. שמים β שמש.

and he shall journey in the evening. Text has 'and hunger shall come', i.e. רעב 'hunger' corrupt for ערב 'evening'. For יראה 'shall be seen' we might read יורה 'shall rise' (cf. 4 Ezra v. 4), and for בקץ 'on the extremity' read מציק, 'causing distress' and make 'shall come (or 'journey')' refer to the 'chariot'. Then we have: 'And in those days the sun shall rise in the evening, || And his great chariot shall journey to the west, causing distress.' These emendations are possible in Hebrew, but not in Aramaic.

6. **chiefs of the stars.** Cf. *v.* 1 (note). The MSS. read: 'chiefs of the stars of the order shall transgress.'

transgress the order. Cf. xviii. 15, xxi. 6.

7. **shall be concealed.** Contrast lxxv. 2, and cf. lxxxii. 4-6.

those on the earth, here in the same sense as in the interpolations in the Parables. See xxxvii. 5 (note).

[And they . . . ways]. Intrusion, possibly a doublet of 6^b.

take them to be gods. Cf. xix. 1. Acts vii. 42.

8. all a : 'them all' β .

LXXXI. Also an interpolation. is a sort of mosaic, and came probably from the editor of the complete Enoch. 'Those seven holy ones' in lxxx. 5 are taken from lxxxvii. 3: 'the heavenly tablets' in lxxx. 1, 2 from xciii. 2, ciii. 2: 'the books of judgement' from lxxxix. 61, 64: while lxxx. 5, 6 refer to lxxxii. 1, 2 and xci. 1.

1. **these heavenly tablets.** See xlvii. 3 (note). $\beta-n$ prefixes 'the writing of'.

2. **the book of ml :** 'the book' gu : 'the book and all that was written therein' q, β .

3. Cf. xxii. 14 for a like doxology.

the great Lord a : 'the Lord' β .

the King of glory for ever a : 'the Eternal King of glory' $\beta-bc$.

BOOK OF ENOCH 81. 3—82. 2

And I extolled the Lord because of His patience,
And blessed Him because of the children of men.

4 And after that I said :

'Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness and goodness,
Concerning whom there is no book of unrighteousness written,
And against whom no day of judgement shall be found.'

5 And those seven holy ones brought me and placed me on the earth before the door of my house,
and said to me : 'Declare everything to thy son Methuselah, and show to all thy children that no
6 flesh is righteous in the sight of the Lord, for He is their Creator. One year we will leave thee with
thy son, till thou givest thy (last) commands, that thou mayst teach thy children and record (it)
for them, and testify to all thy children ; and in the second year they shall take thee from their midst.

7 Let thy heart be strong,
For the good shall announce righteousness to the good ;

The righteous with the righteous shall rejoice,
And shall offer congratulation to one another.

8 But the sinners shall die with the sinners,
And the apostate go down with the apostate.

9 And those who practise righteousness shall die on account of the deeds of men,
And be taken away on account of the doings of the godless.'

10 And in those days they ceased to speak to me, and I came to my people, blessing the Lord of the
world.

LXXXII. *Charge given to Enoch : the four Intercalary Days : the Stars which lead the
Seasons and the Months.*

82 1 And now, my son Methuselah, all these things I am recounting to thee and writing down for thee,
and I have revealed to thee everything, and given thee books concerning all these : so preserve,
my son Methuselah, the books from thy father's hand, and (see) that thou deliver them to the
generations of the world.

2 I have given wisdom to thee and to thy children,
[And thy children that shall be to thee],
That they may give it to their children for generations,
This wisdom (namely) that passeth their thought.

children of men *a, filioy, a₁b* : 'children of the world' *β-fhi*, &c.

4. Contrast the blessing of lxxii-lxxix and lxxxii. 4, which is for the man who knows the right reckoning of the years.
day of judgement *gmw*. 'unrighteousness' *q, t², β*. Can this mean that there is no judgement for the
righteous?

shall be found *a-m* : 'has been found' *m, t², β*.

5. **those seven holy ones**, probably the seven Watchers, cf. xx : *β* reads 'three' for 'seven'. See lxxxvii. 2, xc. 21, 22.
no flesh is righteous. Cf. Job ix. 2 ; Ps. xiv. 1.

Creator. Cf. xciv. 10.

5, 6. These verses are inserted to serve as an introduction to xci-civ.

6. **thy son** *a* : 'thy sons' *β*.

till. The MSS. add 'again', a dittograph of *ty* but read with a different pointing.

givest thy (last) commands, i.e. the idiomatic meaning of *tyy*. So *mt (g)*, *β-cde* : 'comfortest' *q* : 'growest
strong' *cde*.

8. **go down**, i.e. into Gehenna.

9. The righteous die, yet they are taken away to the abodes of the blessed. The phrase is borrowed from Isa. lvii. 1,
'The righteous is taken away out of the way of (or 'because of') the evil.' Cf. 2 Kings xxii. 20 ; Wisdom iv. 7-14. The
Hebrew word 'take away' occurs in e.g. Num. xx. 26 ; Ps. civ. 29.

10. **Lord of the world**, or 'Eternal Lord' *a-q* : 'Lord of the ages' *q, β*. Cf. i. 3, xii. 3, lviii. 4, lxxxi. 3, lxxxii. 7, lxxxiv. 2.

LXXXII. Conclusion of the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries.

1. In xxxiii. 4 Uriel writes down everything for Enoch ; but in this book, cf. lxxii. 1, lxxiv. 2, lxxv. 3, lxxix. 2-6, lxxxii. 1,
Uriel only shows the hidden things to Enoch, whereas Enoch writes them down.

deliver them to the generations of the world, i.e. to all, and not only to the far distant generations as in
i-xxxvi. See i. 2. Cf. Tert. *Du Cultu Fem.* i. 3 'Cum Enoch filio suo Matusalae nihil aliud mandaverit quam ut notitiam
eorum posteris suis traderet.'

2. **wisdom**, i.e. the revelations. Cf. xxxvii. 4, xcii. 1, xciii. 10-14.

to thee and to thy children *mqu, β* : 'to thy son' *t*. *g* is corrupt. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 5, 6. As Lamech is thus
already born, the Samaritan or Massoretic reckoning is followed.

[And thy . . .]. Interpolation.

BOOK OF ENOCH 82. 3-17

- 3 And those who understand it shall not sleep,
But shall listen with the ear that they may learn this wisdom,
And it shall please those that eat thereof better than good food.
- 4 Blessed are all the righteous, blessed are all those who walk in the way of righteousness and sin
not as the sinners, in the reckoning of all their days in which the sun traverses the heaven, entering
into and departing from the portals for thirty days with the heads of thousands of the order of the
stars, together with the four which are intercalated which divide the four portions of the year, which
5 lead them and enter with them four days. Owing to them men shall be at fault and not reckon
them in the **whole reckoning of the year**: yea, men shall be at fault, and not recognize them accur-
6 ately. For they belong to the reckoning of the year and are truly recorded (thereon) for ever, one
in the first portal and one in the third, and one in the fourth and one in the sixth, and the year
is completed in three hundred and sixty-four days.
- 7 And the account thereof is accurate and the recorded reckoning thereof exact; for the luminaries,
and months and festivals, and years and days, has Uriel shown and revealed to me, **to whom** the
8 Lord of the whole creation of the world hath **subjected** the host of heaven. And he has power
over night and day in the heaven to cause the light to give light to men—sun, moon, and stars,
9 and all the powers of the heaven which revolve in their circular chariots. And these are the orders
of the stars, which set in their places, and in their seasons and festivals and months.
- 10 And these are the names of those who lead them, who watch **that they** enter at their times,
in their orders, in their seasons, in their months, in their periods of dominion, and in their positions.
- 11 Their four leaders who divide the four parts of the year enter first; and after them the twelve leaders
of the orders who divide the months; and for the three hundred and sixty (days) there are heads over
thousands who divide the days; and for the four intercalary days there are the leaders which sunder
12 the four parts of the year. And these heads over thousands are intercalated between leader and
13 leader, each behind a station, but their leaders make the division. And these are the names of the
leaders who divide the four parts of the year which are ordained: Mîlkî'êl, Hel'emmêlêk, and Mêl'êjal,
14 and Nârêl. And the names of those who lead them: Adnâr'êl, and Ijâsûsa'êl, and 'Elômê'êl—these
three follow the leaders of the orders, and there is one that follows the three leaders of the orders
which follow those leaders of stations that divide the four parts of the year.
- 15 In the beginning of the year Melkejâl rises first and rules, who is named †Tam'âinî and sun,† and
16 all the days of his dominion whilst he bears rule are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of
the days which are to be seen on earth in the days of his dominion: sweat, and heat, and calms;
and all the trees bear fruit, and leaves are produced on all the trees, and the harvest of wheat, and the
rose-flowers, and all the flowers which come forth in the field, but the trees of the winter season
17 become withered. And these are the names of the leaders which are under them: Berka'êl, Zêlebs'êl,

3. **better than good food.** Cf. Ps. xix. 10, cxix. 103.
4. **blessed are all those** $t, \beta - y$: $> gu, y$: 'blessed (+ 'moreover' g): are all (+ 'the righteous' m) mq .
The four intercalary days introduced by four leaders. Cf. v. 11, lxxv. 1, 2.
divide $qt, \beta - no_1 b$, cf. lxxxii. 11: 'are divided' $gmu, no_1 b$.
5. Cf. lxxv. 2.
whole reckoning of the year. So with Beer I emend 'in the reckoning of the whole world'.
6. On the four intercalary days and their portals see lxxv.
the year is completed in three hundred, &c. β : 'the year of three hundred . . . is completed' $a-gmu$.
7. **to whom . . . hath subjected.** Emended from $a-g, \beta$ 'whom He hath commanded for me'.
- Lord of the whole creation of the world.** Here only; cf. lxxxiv. 2.
- 9-20. An account of the stars as promised in lxxii. 1, and declared to be given in lxxix. 1.
10. **who watch that they enter.** MSS. read 'who watch and they enter'—? a Hebrew idiom preserved.
times + 'who lead them in their places' ($>$ 'in their places' u) a .
11. The leaders of the four intercalary days, the twelve months, and the 365 days.
for $> q$.
. . . **sixty (days) there are heads** $gqu(m)$: '. . . sixty-four (days) with the heads' t, β .
12. Not clear.
a station. 'his station' q, a .
13. Milkiel is an inversion of Helemmelek. These four are over the four seasons of the year, and each has three
under him, one for every month.
14. Not clear. The latter part of the verse seems to defy explanation.
- 15-17. The period from spring to summer = 91 days is under the dominion of Melkejal or Milkiel. He is named
'the southern sun', as Goldschmidt and Beer point out 'Tam'âinî' and 'sun' should be read together, i. e. שמש תימני.
15. **of the year** $m \beta$: $> a-m$.
16. **calms** u : 'anxiety' $a-u$.
the rose-flowers, not in O.T., except in English version of Isa. xxxv. 1; Cant. ii. 1.
which come forth $a-m$: 'bloom' β : $> m$.
17. The subordinate leaders are those of the months, three to the quarter.

BOOK OF ENOCH 82. 17—83. 11

and another who is added a head of a thousand, called Hîlûjâsêph : and the days of the dominion of this (leader) are at an end.

18 The next leader after him is Hêl'emmêlêk, whom one names the shining sun, and all the days
19 of his light are ninety-one days. And these are the signs of (his) days on the earth : glowing heat
and dryness, and the trees ripen their fruits and produce all their fruits ripe and ready, and the sheep
pair and become pregnant, and all the fruits of the earth are gathered in, and everything that is
20 in the fields, and the winepress : these things take place in the days of his dominion. These are
the names, and the orders, and the leaders of those heads of thousands : Gîdâ'îjal, Kê'êl, and Hê'êl,
and the name of the head of a thousand which is added to them, Asfâ'êl : and the days of his dominion
are at an end.

SECTION IV.

CHAPTERS LXXXIII—XC. THE DREAM-VISIONS.

LXXXIII—LXXXIV. *First Dream-Vision on the Deluge.*

83 1 And now, my son Methuselah, I will show thee all my visions which I have seen, recounting
2 them before thee. Two visions I saw before I took a wife, and the one was quite unlike the other :
the first when I was learning to write: the second before I took thy mother, (when) I saw a terrible
3 vision. And regarding them I prayed to the Lord. I had laid me down in the house of my grand-
father Mahalalel, (when) I saw in a vision how the heaven collapsed and was borne off and fell to
4 the earth. And when it fell to the earth I saw how the earth was swallowed up in a great abyss,
and mountains were suspended on mountains, and hills sank down on hills, and high trees were rent
5 from their stems, and hurled down and sunk in the abyss. And thereupon a word fell into my mouth,
6 and I lifted up (my voice) to cry aloud, and said : 'The earth is destroyed.' And my grandfather
Mahalalel waked me as I lay near him, and said unto me : 'Why dost thou cry so, my son, and why
7 dost thou make such lamentation ?' And I recounted to him the whole vision which I had seen,
and he said unto me : 'A terrible thing hast thou seen, my son, and of grave moment is thy dream-
vision as to the secrets of all the sin of the earth : it must sink into the abyss and be destroyed with
8 a great destruction. And now, my son, arise and make petition to the Lord of glory, since thou
art a believer, that a remnant may remain on the earth, and that He may not destroy the whole
9 earth. My son, from heaven all this will come upon the earth, and upon the earth there will be great
10 destruction. After that I arose and prayed and implored and besought, and wrote down my prayer
11 for the generations of the world, and I will show everything to thee, my son Methuselah. And when
I had gone forth below and seen the heaven, and the sun rising in the east, and the moon setting
in the west, and a few stars, and the whole earth, and everything as†He had known†it in the beginning,

Hîlûjâsêph. Note play on חסד 'is added'.

18–20. Summer to autumn.

19. **the signs of (his) days** β. 'the days of his sign' *gmt (qu)*.

20. This verse is confused. The three names are those of the leaders of the three months. The fourth, Asfâêl, is an inversion of Hîlûjâsêph (verse 17), and belongs to the first triad. There is no account of the remaining six months. The redactor may have omitted them.

LXXXIII—LXXXIV. The first Dream-Vision deals with the Deluge or first world-judgement.

LXXXIII. 1. **my visions** *a-t*. 'visions' *t*, β.

2. Enoch took a wife at 65 (Gen. v. 21). Her name was Edna, 1 En. lxxxv. 3, cf. Jubilees iv. 19, where these Dream-Visions are referred to. Note that lxxxiii–xc are only dreams, whereas in the other sections Enoch has open intercourse with the angels, and is translated bodily. Yet on *ascetic* grounds one would expect the bodily translation before marriage, and the dream-visions after.

3. **Mahalalel**. 'Malâl'êl' in text.

5. **lifted up (my voice)** *mqu*, β–*n*. 'arose' *g*. 'began' *t*, *n*.

7. **secrets of all the sin** (*tu*) β. 'sin of all the sin' *gm*. 'sin of all' *g*.

8. **Lord of glory**. xxv. 3, 7, xxvii. 3, 5, xxxvi. 4, xl. 3, lxiii. 2, lxxv. 3.

and that He . . . earth *t*, β. > *a-t* through hmt. (?).

9. **from heaven**, i. e. ordained of God.

10. The prayer is given in lxxxiv. 2–6.

and besought *a-g*. > *g*, β.

my prayer *mt*, β. 'I prayed and' *g*. > *qu*.

11. **the whole earth** *gmq*, *cdfiloy*, *a, b*. > *t*, *abekknx*.

as †He had known† it. Read 'as I had known it,' or 'as He had made (or 'established') it'.

BOOK OF ENOCH 83. 11—84. 6

- then I blessed the Lord of judgement and extolled Him because He had made the sun to go forth from the windows of the east, †and he ascended and rose on the face of the heaven, and set out and kept traversing the path shown unto him.
- 84 1 And I lifted up my hands in righteousness and blessed the Holy and Great One, and spake with the breath of my mouth, and with the tongue of flesh, which God has made for the children of the flesh of men, that they should speak therewith, and He gave them breath and a tongue and a mouth that they should speak therewith :
- 2 ' Blessed be Thou, O Lord, King,
Great and mighty in Thy greatness,
Lord of the whole creation of the heaven,
King of kings and God of the whole world.
- And Thy power and kingship and greatness abide for ever and ever,
And throughout all generations Thy dominion ;
And all the heavens are Thy throne for ever,
And the whole earth Thy footstool for ever and ever.
- 3 For Thou hast made and Thou rulest all things,
And nothing is too hard for Thee,
Wisdom departs not **from the place of Thy throne,**
Nor turns away from Thy presence.
And Thou knowest and seest and hearest everything,
And there is nothing hidden from Thee [for Thou seest everything].
- 4 And now the angels of Thy heavens are guilty of trespass,
And upon the flesh of men abideth Thy wrath until the great day of judgement.
- 5 And now, O God and Lord and Great King,
I implore and beseech Thee to fulfil my prayer,
To leave me a posterity on earth,
And not destroy all the flesh of man,
And make the earth without inhabitant,
So that there should be an eternal destruction.
- 6 And now, my Lord, destroy from the earth the flesh which has aroused Thy wrath,
But the flesh of righteousness and uprightness establish as a plant of the eternal seed,
And hide not Thy face from the prayer of Thy servant, O Lord.'

- Lord of judgement.** Here only.
windows. Never used of the sun in i-xxxvi nor in lxxii-lxxxii, where 'portal' is the word. For 'windows' see lxxii. 3 (note).
† **and he ascended.** Read 'so that he ascended', i. e. ܐܝܬܐܠܗ for ܐܝܬܐܠܗ.
- LXXXIV. Enoch's Prayer for his Posterity.
1. **The Holy and Great One.** See i. 3 (note).
tongue of flesh. See xiv. 2.
children of the flesh of men *gmt, abefhiknx*. 'children of men' (+ 'of flesh' *q*) *qu, de*, &c.
2. Cf. ix. 4 sqq.
Lord of the whole creation of the heaven. Here only. Cf. lxxxii. 7; also lviii. 4 (note).
King of kings. ix. 4.
God of the whole world. Here only. Cf. i. 3 (note).
All the heavens are Thy throne. Isa. lxvi. 1.
3. **nothing is too hard for Thee.** Jer. xxxii. 17, 27, where the LXX render 'is hidden from thee'. The MSS. here add a dittograph 'and nothing' (or 'no').
Wisdom departs not from . . . Thy throne. Cf. Wisdom ix. 4, also Prov. viii. 30 in the LXX version ἡμῶν παρ' αὐτῶν, and Sirach i. 1.
departs not *g*. Other MSS. 'departs not from Thee.'
from the place of Thy throne, nor turns away. Text='nor turns away (*gqm* corrupt) from her life (>*qu*) (+ 'from' *mq*) Thy throne and'. So transpose 'nor turns away', and read 'from the place' ('*ëmmënbarâta*) for 'from her life' ('*ëmmanbartâ*).
[for Thou . . .] A dittograph from the line before.
4. **upon the flesh of men.** Cf. verses 1, 5; Job. xii. 10.
great day of judgement. Most MSS. read 'day of the great judgement'. See my text. See xlv. 2 (note). Here=the Deluge, but in xix. 1 the final judgement, and so always in xci-civ.
5. **Great King.** xci. 13.
6. **a plant of the eternal seed.** See x. 16 (note). Cf. lxii. 8; xciii. 2, 5, 10.

BOOK OF ENOCH 85. 1—86. 6

LXXXV–XC. *The Second Dream-Vision of Enoch : the History of the World to the Founding of the Messianic Kingdom.*

- 85** ^{1, 2} And after this I saw another dream, and I will show the whole dream to thee, my son. And Enoch lifted up (his voice) and spake to his son Methuselah : ‘ To thee, my son, will I speak : hear my words—incline thine ear to the dream-vision of thy father. Before I took thy mother Edna, I saw in a vision on my bed, and behold a bull came forth from the earth, and that bull was white ; and after it came forth a heifer, and along with this (latter) came forth two bulls, one of them black and the other red. And that black bull gored the red one and pursued him over the earth, and thereupon I could no longer see that red bull. But that black bull grew and that heifer went with him, and I saw that many oxen proceeded from him which resembled and followed him. And that cow, that first one, went from the presence of that first bull in order to seek that red one, but found him not, and lamented with a great lamentation over him and sought him. And I looked till that first bull came to her and quieted her, and from that time onward she cried no more. And after that she bore another white bull, and after him she bore many bulls and black cows.
- ⁹ And I saw in my sleep that white bull likewise grow and become a great white bull, and from him ¹⁰ proceeded many white bulls, and they resembled him. And they began to beget many white bulls, which resembled them, one following the other, (even) many.

LXXXVI. *The Fall of the Angels and the Demoralization of Mankind.*

- 86** ¹ And again I saw with mine eyes as I slept, and I saw the heaven above, and behold a star fell ² from heaven, and it arose and eat and pastured amongst those oxen. And after that I saw the large and the black oxen, and behold they all changed their stalls and pastures and their cattle, and began ³ to live with each other. And again I saw in the vision, and looked towards the heaven, and behold I saw many stars descend and cast themselves down from heaven to that first star, and they became ⁴ bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them [amongst them]. And I looked at them and saw, and behold they all let out their privy members, like horses, and began to cover the cows of the oxen, ⁵ and they all became pregnant and bare elephants, camels, and asses. And all the oxen feared them and were affrighted at them, and began to bite with their teeth and to devour, and to gore with their ⁶ horns. And they began, moreover, to devour those oxen ; and behold all the children of the earth began to tremble and quake before them and to flee from them.

LXXXV—XC. The second Dream-vision, giving a complete history of the world from Adam down to the final judgement, and the setting up of the Messianic kingdom. As in Ezekiel, men are symbolized by animals, e.g. the patriarchs by bulls, the faithful of later times by sheep. Cf. Ezek. xxxiv. 3, 6, 8. The Gentiles are symbolized by wild beasts and birds of prey, cf. Ezek. xxxix. 17 ; the fallen Watchers by stars ; unfallen angels by men. The symbolism is, however, sometimes dropped, and the same symbol may vary in meaning. In the main the narrative is based on the O.T., but some mythical elements from later Jewish exegesis are incorporated.

- LXXXV. 2. Cf. Prov. v. 1.
 3. **Edna.** Cf. lxxxiii. 2.
I saw, &c. Cf. Dan. iv. 10.
on my bed *q*, β . ‘of my bed’ *gmt.* *u* corrupt.
white is the colour symbolizing righteousness throughout this vision. Cf. lxxxv. 8, lxxxvii. 2, &c., and Isa. i. 18,
 Ps. li. 7, Rev. vii. 14.
a heifer = Eve.
two bulls. Cain, black with his sin ; Abel, red as a martyr.
 5. **that heifer** = Cain’s wife ; according to Jubilees iv. 1, his sister, by name Avan.
him ³⁰ *q*, β . ‘them’ *gmt.*
 6. Eve seeks Abel.
lamentation, i.e. **אבל**, a play on Abel, i.e. **הבל**.
over him *q*. ‘with regard to him’ *g*. ‘thereupon’ *mt*, β .
 8. **another white bull,** i.e. Seth. So *mt*, β . ‘a pair of white oxen’ *ggu*, i.e. Seth and a sister. See Jub. iv. 8, 11.
 9. Seth and his descendants are righteous.
many *gmt.* > β .
 LXXXVI. 1. **a star,** i.e. Azazel, cf. lxxxviii. 1 ; x. 4. In vi all the angels descend together, cf. Talmud (Weber, *Jüd. Theol.*, 253).
 2. **And after that** β . ‘and these’ *mq*. ‘and in the midst’ *t*. ‘and’ *u*. > *g*.
 Are the ‘large’ oxen Sethites ?
to live with each other. ‘to lament one to (‘with’ β) another’ *a-g*, β . ‘to live to one another’ *g*.
 3. Fall of the rest of the angels.
became bulls amongst those cattle and pastured with them *a*. ‘were amongst those cattle and bulls, pasturing with them’ β .
 4. **elephants, camels, and asses,** represent the three classes of giants. See vii. 2 (note).
 6. **children of the earth.** The symbolism is dropped for a moment.
from them *gm.* > other MSS.

BOOK OF ENOCH 87. 1—89. 6

LXXXVII. *The Advent of the Seven Archangels.*

- 87¹ And again I saw how they began to gore each other and to devour each other, and the earth
² began to cry aloud. And I raised mine eyes again to heaven, and I saw in the vision, and behold
there came forth from heaven beings who were like white men : and four went forth from that place
³ and three with them. And those three that had last come forth grasped me by my hand and took
me up, away from the generations of the earth, and raised me up to a lofty place, and showed me
⁴ a tower raised high above the earth, and all the hills were lower. And one said unto me : ' Remain
here till thou seest everything that befalls those elephants, camels, and asses, and the stars and the
oxen, and all of them.'

LXXXVIII. *The Punishment of the Fallen Angels by the Archangels.*

- 88¹ And I saw one of those four who had come forth first, and he seized that first star which had
fallen from the heaven, and bound it hand and foot and cast it into an abyss : now that abyss was
² narrow and deep, and horrible and dark. And one of them drew a sword, and gave it to those
elephants and camels and asses : then they began to smite each other, and the whole earth quaked
³ because of them. And as I was beholding in the vision, lo, one of those four who had come forth
stoned (them) from heaven, and gathered and took all the great stars whose privy members were
like those of horses, and bound them all hand and foot, and cast them in an abyss of the earth.

LXXXIX. 1–9. *The Deluge and the Deliverance of Noah.*

- 89¹ And one of those four went to that white bull and instructed him in a secret, without his being
terrified : he was born a bull and became a man, and built for himself a great vessel and dwelt thereon;
² and three bulls dwelt with him in that vessel and they were covered in. And again I raised mine
eyes towards heaven and saw a lofty roof, with seven water torrents thereon, and those torrents
³ flowed with much water into an enclosure. And I saw again, and behold fountains were opened
on the surface of that great enclosure, and that water began to swell and rise upon the surface,
⁴ and I saw that enclosure till all its surface was covered with water. And the water, the darkness,
and mist increased upon it ; and as I looked at the height of that water, that water had risen above
the height of that enclosure, and was streaming over that enclosure, and it stood upon the earth.
⁵ And all the cattle of that enclosure were gathered together until I saw how they sank and were
⁶ swallowed up and perished in that water. But that vessel floated on the water, while all the oxen
and elephants and camels and asses sank to the bottom with all the animals, so that I could no longer

LXXXVII. 1. The conflict of the bulls and giants.

2. The unfallen angels are symbolized by men, as men by animals.

and I saw in the vision > *qu*.

four *a*. 'one' *β*.

four . . . and three with them. See lxxxviii. 1 for the 'four'. The 'three angels' are found again in xc. 31.

For the seven archangels, cf. lxxxi. 5, xci. 21, 22, xx.

with them *m*. 'with him' *a-m*, *β*.

3, 4. This tower seems to be Paradise, and thus we have in lxxxiii–xc a conception of its locality and inhabitants quite different from any that has preceded. See lx. 8 (note).

3. all the hills were lower *t*, *β*. 'it was built all the hills' (*sic*) *a-t*.

4. one said *a-g*, *cefhik*. 'they said' *g*, *β-cefhik*.

oxen, and all of them *a-u*. 'and all the oxen' *u*, *β*.

LXXXVIII—LXXXIX. 1. Closely connected with x. 1–14, but the variations are too many to presuppose it in quite its present form. Azazel is the only leader here.

LXXXVIII. 1. Cf. x. 4–8, where Raphael binds Azazel.

2. In x. 9, 10 Gabriel performs this task.

and camels *t*, *β*. > *a-t*.

3. In x. 12–14 Michael binds and imprisons the Watchers. Semjaza is not mentioned here.

come forth . . . stoned (them) from heaven. Read 'descended' for 'stoned', or with *n* read 'hurled a sword'.

gathered and took *t*, *β* in sing., *u* reads 'gathered' in sing., *m* reads 'took' in sing.

an abyss of the earth. In x. 12 'under the hills'.

LXXXIX. 1–9. The Deluge, and Noah's deliverance.

1. Cf. x. 1–3 where Uriel visits Noah for the same end. To build the ark, Noah becomes a man.

that white bull *m*. 'those white bulls' *a-m*, *β*.

without his being terrified *gqu*, 'terrified as he was' *mt*, *β*.

three bulls—his three sons.

covered in, cf. Gen. vii. 16; 1 En. lxvii. 2.

2. seven. Cf. lxxvii. 4 (note).

3, 4. The Deluge.

3. saw²⁰ *u*. 'caused it not to be seen' *t*, *β*.

6. with all the animals, i. e. the real animals.

BOOK OF ENOCH 89. 7-24

7 see them, and they were not able to escape, (but) perished and sank into the depths. And again I saw in the vision till those water torrents were removed from that high roof, and the chasms 8 of the earth were levelled up and other abysses were opened. Then the water began to run down into these, till the earth became visible; but that vessel settled on the earth, and the darkness 9 retired and light appeared. But that white bull which had become a man came out of that vessel, and the three bulls with him, and one of those three was white like that bull, and one of them was red as blood, and one black: and that white bull departed from them.

LXXXIX. 10-27. *From the Death of Noah to the Exodus.*

10 And they began to bring forth beasts of the field and birds, so that there arose different genera: lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild boars, foxes, squirrels, swine, falcons, vultures, kites, 11 eagles, and ravens; and among them was born a white bull. And they began to bite one another; but that white bull which was born amongst them begat a wild ass and a white bull with it, and the 12 wild asses multiplied. But that bull which was born from him begat a black wild boar and a white 13 sheep; and the former begat many boars, but that sheep begat twelve sheep. And when those twelve sheep had grown, they gave up one of them to the asses, and those asses again gave up that sheep 14 to the wolves, and that sheep grew up among the wolves. And the Lord brought the eleven sheep to live with it and to pasture with it among the wolves: and they multiplied and became many 15 flocks of sheep. And the wolves began to fear them, and they oppressed them until they destroyed their little ones, and they cast their young into a river of much water: but those sheep began to 16 cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to complain unto their Lord. And a sheep which had been saved from the wolves fled and escaped to the wild asses; and I saw the sheep how they lamented and cried, and besought their Lord with all their might, till that Lord of the sheep descended 17 at the voice of the sheep from a lofty abode, and came to them and pastured them. And He called that sheep which had escaped the wolves, and spake with it concerning the wolves that it should 18 admonish them not to touch the sheep. And the sheep went to the wolves according to the word of the Lord, and another sheep met it and went with it, and the two went and entered together 19 into the assembly of those wolves, and spake with them and admonished them not to touch the sheep from henceforth. And thereupon I saw the wolves, and how they oppressed the sheep exceed- 20 ingly with all their power; and the sheep cried aloud. And the Lord came to the sheep and they began to smite those wolves: and the wolves began to make lamentation; but the sheep became 21 quiet and forthwith ceased to cry out. And I saw the sheep till they departed from amongst the wolves; but the eyes of the wolves were blinded, and those wolves departed in pursuit of the sheep 22 with all their power. And the Lord of the sheep went with them, as their leader, and all His sheep 23 followed Him: and His face was dazzling and glorious and terrible to behold. But the wolves 24 began to pursue those sheep till they reached a sea of water. And that sea was divided, and the water stood on this side and on that before their face, and their Lord led them and placed Himself between

7. **the chasms of the earth.** The writer conceives the flood as caused by a cleaving of the depths of the earth, and stayed by their closing up. Cf. Jub. vi. 26; Prayer of Manasses 3.

9. **and one black β .** > *a*.

that white bull departed, i.e. Noah died.

10. The symbolism has a new meaning forced upon it by the author. His cattle produce all kinds of four-footed beasts, and birds of prey. Nearly all of these appear later as the enemies of Israel. Cf. Ezek. xxxix. 17.

different genera. Here 'ahzâb means races of animals as well as of men.

a white bull. Abraham.

11. **A wild ass.** Ishmael. In verses 15, 16 the Arabs or Midianites are called the 'wild asses', not inaptly. Cf. Gen. xvi. 12. Isaac is the 'white bull'.

the wild asses *a*, *abd*, &c.: 'the wild ass' *cefh*.

12. **A black wild boar.** Esau. Later Jewish hatred thus associates Edom with the animal most detested. Cf. verses 42, 43, 49, 66. In 72 it is used of the Samaritans.

A white sheep. Jacob. Israel is the sheep of God's pasture, Ps. lxxiv. 1, lxxix. 13, c. 3; Jer. xxiii. 1.

13. **one of them,** i.e. Joseph.

the asses. Midianites (*v*. 11).

the wolves, the Egyptians.

16. **a sheep which had been saved,** i.e. Moses.

Lord of the sheep. The usual title in this and the following chapters.

18. **another sheep,** Aaron.

met it *a-t*. 'met that sheep' *t*, β -*d*.

went and *gmq*. > *tu*, β .

20-27. The plagues of Egypt and the Exodus.

20. **they began *a-m*:** 'He began' *m*, β .

22. **glorious and terrible to behold *gmt*:** 'terrible to behold' *qu*: 'His appearance was terrible and glorious' β -*a*.

24. **led them *u*.** Other MSS. 'leading them' (we must excise 'and' in the latter case).

BOOK OF ENOCH 89. 25-40

25 them and the wolves. And as those wolves did not yet see the sheep, they proceeded into the midst of that sea, and the wolves followed the sheep, and [those wolves] ran after them into that sea.
26 And when they saw the Lord of the sheep, they turned to flee before His face, but that sea gathered itself together, and became as it had been created, and the water swelled and rose till it covered
27 those wolves. And I saw till all the wolves who pursued those sheep perished and were drowned.

LXXXIX. 28-40. *Israel in the Desert, the Giving of the Law, the Entrance into Palestine.*

28 But the sheep escaped from that water and went forth into a wilderness, where there was no water and no grass; and they began to open their eyes and to see; and I saw the Lord of the sheep
29 pasturing them and giving them water and grass, and that sheep going and leading them. And that
30 sheep ascended to the summit of that lofty rock, and the Lord of the sheep sent it to them. And after that I saw the Lord of the sheep who stood before them, and His appearance was great and
31 terrible and majestic, and all those sheep saw Him and were afraid before His face. And they all feared and trembled because of Him, and they cried to that sheep with them [which was amongst
32 them]: 'We are not able to stand before our Lord or to behold Him.' And that sheep which led them again ascended to the summit of that rock, but the sheep began to be blinded and to wander
33 from the way which he had showed them, but that sheep wot not thereof. And the Lord of the sheep was wrathful exceedingly against them, and that sheep discovered it, and went down from the summit of the rock, and came to the sheep, and found the greatest part of them blinded and fallen
34 away. And when they saw it they feared and trembled at its presence, and desired to return to their
35 folds. And that sheep took other sheep with it, and came to those sheep which had fallen away, and began to slay them; and the sheep feared its presence, and thus that sheep brought back those
36 sheep that had fallen away, and they returned to their folds. And I saw in this vision till that sheep became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed all the sheep in that house.
37 And I saw till this sheep which had met that sheep which led them fell asleep: and I saw till all the great sheep perished and little ones arose in their place, and they came to a pasture, and
38 approached a stream of water. Then that sheep, their leader which had become a man, withdrew
39 from them and fell asleep, and all the sheep sought it and cried over it with a great crying. And I saw till they left off crying for that sheep and crossed that stream of water, and there arose the **two** sheep as leaders in the place of those which had led them and fallen asleep (lit. 'had fallen asleep and led
40 them'). And I saw till the sheep came to a goodly place, and a pleasant and glorious land, and I saw till those sheep were satisfied; and that house stood amongst them in the pleasant land.

28-40. Journeyings through the wilderness, the lawgiving on Sinai, and the occupation of Palestine.

28. **began to open their eyes**, i.e. to recover their spiritual vision and return to God. Cf. lxxxix. 32, 33, 41, 44, 54, xc. 6, 9, 10, 35.
and to see *mtu*, β . 'and they saw' *gq*.
29. Moses ascends Sinai, and returns to Israel. Exod. xix.
30. **great and a**. > β -*v*.
31. **that sheep with them** = Aaron.
with them *gmq*. 'with him' *t*, β .
[which was amongst them] *gu*. A dittograph. 'the other sheep which was among ('with' *q*) them' *mqt*, β .
32. Cf. Exod. xxiv. 12 sqq., xxxii.
again ascended, or 'returned and ascended'.
33. **fallen away** + 'from His path' β .
34. it, i.e. Moses.
return to their folds = give up their errors.
35. Exod. xxxii. 26-9.
and ³⁰ + 'after that' *t*, β .
36. Moses becomes a man to build the tabernacle. Cf. verses 1, 9.
in this vision *a-u*. 'there a vision' β .
placed . . . in that house, i.e. made the tabernacle the centre of their worship.
37. Death of Aaron and of all the generation that had gone out of Egypt.
that sheep *t*, β . So *g*, but corrupt. *mu* defective. > *q*.
led them *a*. 'led the sheep' β .
a stream, Jordan with a pasture to the east of it.
38. Moses dies. Cf. Deut. xxxiv.
39. the two sheep. Joshua and Caleb. I emend kuëllômú = 'all' to kël'êhômú = 'the two'.
40. glorious land. Palestine. Cf. Dan. xi. 16, 41.

BOOK OF ENOCH 89. 41-50

LXXXIX. 41-50. *From the Time of the Judges till the Building of the Temple.*

- 41 And sometimes their eyes were opened, and sometimes blinded, till another sheep arose and led them and brought them all back, and their eyes were opened.
- 42 And the dogs and the foxes and the wild boars began to devour those sheep till the Lord of the sheep raised up [another sheep] a ram from their midst, which led them. And that ram began to butt on either side those dogs, foxes, and wild boars till he had destroyed them †all†. And that sheep whose eyes were opened saw that ram, which was amongst the sheep, till it †forsook its glory† and began to butt those sheep, and trampled upon them, and behaved itself un-
45 seemly. And the Lord of the sheep sent the **lamb** to another **lamb** and raised it to being a ram and leader of the sheep instead of that
46 ram which had †forsaken its glory†. And it went to it and spake to it alone, and raised it to being a ram, and made it the prince and leader of the sheep; but during all these things those dogs
47 oppressed the sheep. And the first ram pursued that second ram, and that second ram arose and fled before it; and I saw till those dogs pulled
48 down the first ram. And that second ram arose and led the [little] sheep. And those sheep grew and multiplied; but all the dogs, and foxes, and wild boars feared and fled before it, and that
49 ram butted and killed the wild beasts, and those wild beasts had no longer any power among the
48b sheep and robbed them no more of ought. And that ram begat many sheep and fell asleep; and a little sheep became ram in its stead, and became prince and leader of those sheep.
- 50 And that house became great and broad, and it was built for those sheep: <and> a tower lofty and great was built on the house for the Lord of the sheep, and that house was low, but the tower

Greek fragment from Vatican MS., published by Mai, *Patrum Nova Bibliotheca*, t. ii, deciphered by Gildemeister, in *ZDMG*, 1855, pp. 621, 622.

Ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ Ἐνώχ βιβλίου χρησίς.

Καὶ οἱ κύνες ἤρξαντο κατεσθίειν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ οἱ 42
ῥες καὶ οἱ ἀλώπεκες κατήσθιον αὐτά, μέχρι οὗ ἤγειρεν
ὁ κύριος τῶν προβάτων κριὸν ἕνα ἐκ τῶν προβάτων.
Καὶ ὁ κριὸς οὗτος ἤρξατο κερατίζειν καὶ ἐπιδιώκειν ἐν 43
τοῖς κέρασιν καὶ ἐνετίνασεν εἰς τοὺς ἀλώπεκας καὶ
μετ' αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς ῥας καὶ ἀπόλεσεν ῥας πολλοὺς
καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς . . . τοὺς κύνας. Καὶ τὰ πρόβατα 44
ὧν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ ἠνοίγησαν ἐθεάσονται τὸν κριὸν τὸν ἐν
τοῖς προβάτοις, ἕως οὗ ἀφήκεν τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἤρξατο πορεύεσθαι †ἀνοδίᾳ. Καὶ ὁ κύριος τῶν προ- 45
βάτων ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄρνα τοῦτον ἐπὶ ἄρνα ἕτερον
τοῦ στήσαι αὐτὸν εἰς κριὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν προβάτων
ἀντὶ τοῦ κριοῦ τοῦ ἀφέντος τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ. Καὶ 46
ἐπορεύθη πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ σιγῇ κατὰ
μόνας καὶ ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν εἰς κριὸν καὶ εἰς ἄρχοντα καὶ
εἰς ἡγούμενον τῶν προβάτων καὶ οἱ κύνες ἐπὶ πᾶσι
τούτοις ἔθλιβον τὰ πρόβατα. [Ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις 47
γέγραπται ὅτι] ὁ κριὸς ὁ πρῶτος τὸν κριὸν τὸν δευτερον
ἐπεδίωκεν καὶ ἐφυγεν ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ· εἴτ'
ἐθεώρουν, [φησὶν], τὸν κριὸν τὸν πρῶτον ἕως οὗ
ἔπεσεν ἐμπροσθεν τῶν κυνῶν. Καὶ ὁ κριὸς ὁ δεύ- 48
τερος ἀναπηδήσας ἀφηγήσατο τῶν προβάτων. Καὶ 49
τὰ πρόβατα ἠνέξθησαν καὶ ἐπληθύνθησαν· καὶ πάντες
οἱ κύνες καὶ οἱ ἀλώπεκες ἐφυγον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφο-
βοῦντο αὐτόν.

41-50. The times of the Judges and Kings till the Temple is built.
Of 42-9 a fragment of the Greek version survives. Note the ἐξῆς in *v.* 49, and also the *φησὶν* showing quotation from some catena of excerpts from Enoch.
42. The dogs are the Philistines (46, 47). The foxes are the Ammonites (55), and the wild boars are the Edomites (12, 43, 49, 66).
till the Lord of the sheep raised up, &c. *gn.* Cf. Gk. Other MSS. give 'till another sheep, the Lord of the sheep, arose'.
43. that ram. Saul, who did not, however, destroy them all. The Greek has πολλούς. Note the Greek article = Ethiopic demonstrative 'those'.
44. That sheep whose eyes were opened, i.e. Samuel, who alone was seer when there had been no 'open' vision. Cf. i. 2; 1 Sam. iii. 1, 21. The Greek has 'sheep' in the plural.
till. MSS. have ὥς corrupt for ἕως. See Gk.
its glory†, 'his way' Gk. For דרך restore יי דרך 'the way of the Lord'.
45, 46. David anointed king. Both Samuel and David (until king) are lambs, as Solomon previous to coronation is a little sheep (*v.* 48b).
45. lamb Gk. 'sheep' Eth. MSS.
that ram Gk. 'that ram, sheep' *al.* 'that sheep' other MSS.
46. during Eth. 'in addition to' Gk., i.e. another sense of ἐπὶ (Dative not Gen.).
48. led the sheep. So Gk., but Eth. MSS. give 'led the little sheep', pointlessly.
48b. And that ram begat . . . leader of those sheep, should follow *v.* 49, which suits best the reign of David. Gk. omits, as it ended with *v.* 49.
50. That house = Jerusalem. So Test. Levi x. 4 (quoting this passage). The 'tower' is the Temple. 'A full table' refers to the offerings and sacrifices.
it was built . . . on the house *gmt, ilno₁a₁b* (*mt, in* have 'that' before 'house'): 'it was built for those sheep <and> a high tower on the house' *β-ilno₁a₁b*: 'it was built for those sheep <and> a lofty tower was built' *q*: *m, ilno₁a₁b* add a dittograph after 'tower'—'lofty on that house and a tower'.

BOOK OF ENOCH 89. 50-63

was elevated and lofty, and the Lord of the sheep stood on that tower and they offered a full table before Him.

[LXXXIX. 51-67. *The Two Kingdoms of Israel and Judah to the Destruction of Jerusalem.*

51 And again I saw those sheep that they again erred and went many ways, and forsook that their house, and the Lord of the sheep called some from amongst the sheep and sent them to the sheep, 52 but the sheep began to slay them. And one of them was saved and was not slain, and it sped away and cried aloud over the sheep; and they sought to slay it, but the Lord of the sheep saved it from 53 the sheep, and brought it up to me, and caused it to dwell there. And many other sheep He sent 54 to those sheep to testify unto them and lament over them. And after that I saw that when they forsook the house of the Lord and His tower they fell away entirely, and their eyes were blinded; and I saw the Lord of the sheep how He wrought much slaughter amongst them in their herds until 55 those sheep invited that slaughter and betrayed His place. And He gave them over into the hands of the lions and tigers, and wolves and hyenas, and into the hand of the foxes, and to all the wild 56 beasts, and those wild beasts began to tear in pieces those sheep. And I saw that He forsook ~~that~~ their house and their tower and gave them all into the hand of the lions, to tear and devour them, 57 into the hand of all the wild beasts. And I began to cry aloud with all my power, and to appeal to the Lord of the sheep, and to represent to Him in regard to the sheep that they were devoured 58 by all the wild beasts. But He remained unmoved, though He saw it, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed and robbed, and left them to be devoured in the hand of all the beasts. 59 And He called seventy shepherds, and cast those sheep to them that they might pasture them, and He spake to the shepherds and their companions: 'Let each individual of you pasture the sheep 60 henceforward, and everything that I shall command you that do ye. And I will deliver them over unto you duly numbered, and tell you which of them are to be destroyed—and them destroy ye.' And 61 He gave over unto them those sheep. And He called another and spake unto him: 'Observe and mark everything that the shepherds will do to those sheep; for they will destroy more of them than 62 I have commanded them. And every excess and the destruction which will be wrought through the shepherds, record (namely) how many they destroy according to my command, and how many according to their own caprice: record against every individual shepherd all the destruction he 63 effects. And read out before me by number how many they destroy, and how many they deliver over for destruction, that I may have this as a testimony against them, and know every deed of the shepherds, that I may **comprehend** and see what they do, whether or not they abide by my

51-67. Gradual declension of Israel till the Temple is destroyed.

51. **forsook . . . their house.** True only of the Ten Tribes.

that their house, 'that' in Eth. = *rov* in Gk.

called . . . and sent, i.e. the prophets.

slay. Cf. 1 Kings xviii. 4.

52. Elijah's escape and translation. Cf. xciii. 8.

from the sheep *gm*. Other MSS. 'from the hands of the sheep'.

54. **the Lord** + 'of the sheep' *β*.

invited that slaughter and betrayed His place, called in the heathen to help them and so betrayed Jerusalem.

Cf. 2 Kings xvi. 7.

55. The fall of the two kingdoms, and their oppressors' names.

lions and tigers. Assyrians and Babylonians. In 56, 65 the 'lions' are the Babylonians. The 'wolves' are Egyptians, and perhaps the 'hyenas' are the Ethiopians.

56. God forsakes His city and people. Ep. Barn. xvi. 5 refers to this verse.

57. **Lord of the sheep.** 'Lord of the lions' *gmq*.

the wild beasts > *g*.

59. **seventy** *β*. 'seven' *α*. The 'seventy shepherds' raise the most vexed question in Enoch. They are certainly angels, for (1) they exist contemporaneously and receive their commission together, lxxxix. 59. (2) They are to protect the sheep, and only allow so many to be destroyed by the Gentiles. So they cannot be heathen rulers. (3) Men would have been symbolized by animals. (4) During the earlier period God was Israel's shepherd, now He withdraws and commits their pasturing to seventy of his angels. (5) The angel recorder of lxxxix. 61 is called 'another'. (6) In the judgement they are classed with the fallen angels, xc. 21-25. (7) God speaks directly to them. After the exile, Israel was not immediately shepherded by God but by His delegates. How was it that righteous Jews as well as apostates perished? Because of the faithlessness with which the seventy angels discharged their trust, and this faithlessness was to be punished in due time. The theory of the seventy shepherds is an extension of the conception of the seventy years of Jeremiah and the seventy periods of Daniel. The events between the fall of Jerusalem and the Messianic kingdom are divided into four periods (1) to the Return under Cyrus, (2) to the conquests of Alexander, (3) to the Seleucid conquests of Palestine, (4) to the Messiah's reign.

60. The number to be destroyed was a definite one.

61. **another,** in xc. 14, 22 an archangel and Israel's guardian angel, i.e. Michael. This task devolves on Enoch in xii. 3, xv. 1, xcii. 1; in 4 Ezra xiv. 22-26 on Ezra, in 2 En. xxii. 11 on Vretil. See *K.A.T.*³ 400 sq.

63. **destroy** + 'of their own caprice' *bcefnpx*.

comprehend, emended by very slight change.

BOOK OF ENOCH 89. 64-90. 1

64 command which I have commanded them. But they shall not know it, and thou shalt not declare it to them, nor admonish them, but only record against each individual all the destruction which 65 the shepherds effect each in his time and lay it all before me.' And I saw till those shepherds pastured in their season, and they began to slay and to destroy more than they were bidden, and they delivered 66 those sheep into the hand of the lions. And the lions and tigers eat and devoured the greater part of those sheep, and the wild boars eat along with them; and they burnt that tower and demolished 67 that house. And I became exceedingly sorrowful over that tower because that house of the sheep was demolished, and afterwards I was unable to see if those sheep entered that house.

LXXXIX. 68-71. *First Period of the Angelic Rulers—from the Destruction of Jerusalem to the Return from the Captivity.*

68 And the shepherds and their associates delivered over those sheep to all the wild beasts, to devour them, and each one of them received in his time a definite number: it was written by the other 69 in a book how many each one of them destroyed of them. And each one slew and destroyed many 70 more than was prescribed; and I began to weep and lament on account of those sheep. And thus in the vision I saw that one who wrote, how he wrote down every one that was destroyed by those shepherds, day by day, and carried up and laid down and showed actually the whole book to the Lord of the sheep—even everything that they had done, and all that each one of them had made 71 away with, and all that they had given over to destruction. And the book was read before the Lord of the sheep, and He took the book from his hand and read it and sealed it and laid it down.

LXXXIX. 72-77. *Second Period—from the Time of Cyrus to that of Alexander the Great.*

72 And forthwith I saw how the shepherds pastured for twelve hours, and behold three of those sheep turned back and came and entered and began to build up all that had fallen down of that 73 house; but the wild boars tried to hinder them, but they were not able. And they began again to build as before, and they reared up that tower, and it was named the high tower; and they began again to place a table before the tower, but all the bread on it was polluted and not pure. 74 And as touching all this the eyes of those sheep were blinded so that they saw not, and (the eyes of) their shepherds likewise; and they delivered them in large numbers to their shepherds for destruc- 75 tion, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them. And the Lord of the sheep remained unmoved till all the sheep were dispersed over the field and mingled with them (i.e. the 76 beasts), and they (i.e. the shepherds) did not save them out of the hand of the beasts. And this one who wrote the book carried it up, and showed it and read it before the Lord of the sheep, and implored Him on their account, and besought Him on their account as he showed Him all the doings 77 of the shepherds, and gave testimony before Him against all the shepherds. And he took the actual book and laid it down beside Him and departed.

XC. 1-5. *Third Period—from Alexander the Great to the Graeco-Syrian Domination.*

90 1 And I saw till that in this manner thirty-five shepherds undertook the pasturing (of the sheep),

64. No interference allowed with the shepherds, but only a record of their evil deeds.
65, 66. The lions are the Babylonians, who destroy the 'tower' and the 'house'. Thus the shepherds begin about 590, or if the Assyrians are meant, about 720. For the 'wild boars', or Edomites, cf. Obad. 10-12; Ezek. xxv. 12, xxxv. 5 sqq.; Isa. lxiii. 1-14; Ps. cxxxvii. 7.
68. **was written** *u*. 'should write' *g*. 'wrote' other MSS.
69. **lament** + 'very much' *β*.
70. The first period ends. It lasts twelve hours (*v*. 72), i.e. twelve shepherds' reigns. The periods are divided thus: 12 + 23 + 23 + 12.
71. **from his hand** *gmt*. 'in His hand' *β*.
72. **three of those sheep**, Zerubbabel, Joshua, and either Ezra or Nehemiah. The difference in their date is disregarded. Büchler holds that these = three tribes, Levi, Judah, and Benjamin. Cf. T. Joseph xix. 3.
wild boars. Here = Samaritans, not Edomites, as *v*. 66.
73. **named** + 'as before' *q*.
The bread . . . was polluted. Cf. Mal. i. 7 'polluted bread,' i.e. unclean offerings because of the unworthy and heathenized people and priesthood. Cf. Ass. Mosis. iv. 8.
75. The Dispersion.
76. **before the Lord** *g*. 'in the mansions of ('before' *β*) the Lord' *mgtu*, *β*.
the shepherds *gmq*. 'their shepherds' *t*, *β*.
gave testimony *mt*, *β*. 'it was heard' *gq*.
77. The second period ends with the fall of the Persian power, which lasts twenty-three hours.
XC. 1. **Thirty-five**. All the MSS. are corrupt. *qt*, *β-ky* read 'thirty-seven' (corrupted further in *qu*). In xc. 5 at the close of the third period the three periods are summed up as (12 +)23 + 23 = 58.

BOOK OF ENOCH 90. 1-12

and they severally completed their periods as did the first; and others received them into their hands, to pasture them for their period, each shepherd in his own period. And after that I saw in my vision all the birds of heaven coming, the eagles, the vultures, the kites, the ravens; but the eagles led all the birds; and they began to devour those sheep, and to pick out their eyes and to devour their flesh. And the sheep cried out because their flesh was being devoured by the birds, and as for me I looked and lamented in my sleep over that shepherd who pastured the sheep. And I saw until those sheep were devoured by the dogs and eagles and kites, and they left neither flesh nor skin nor sinew remaining on them till only their bones stood there: and their bones too fell to the earth and the sheep became few. And I saw until that twenty-three had undertaken the pasturing and completed in their several periods fifty-eight times.

XC. 6-12. *Fourth Period—from the Graeco-Syrian Domination to the Maccabean Revolt.*

6 But behold lambs were borne by those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see, and to cry to the sheep. Yea, they cried to them, but they did not hearken to what they said to them, but were exceedingly deaf, and their eyes were very exceedingly blinded. And I saw in the vision how the ravens flew upon those lambs and took one of those lambs, and dashed the sheep in pieces and devoured them. And I saw till horns grew upon those lambs, and the ravens cast down their horns; and I saw till there sprouted a great horn of one of those sheep, and their eyes were opened. And it †looked at† them [and their eyes opened], and it cried to the sheep, and the rams saw it and all ran to it. And notwithstanding all this those eagles and vultures and ravens and kites still kept tearing the sheep and swooping down upon them and devouring them: still the sheep remained silent, but the rams lamented and cried out. And those ravens fought and battled with it and sought to lay low its horn, but they had no power over it.

- as . . . the first. As the twelve had fulfilled their times, so did the rest of the thirty-five.
- others received them. Here we have the transition to the Greek period, i. e. from Alexander to the establishment (expected) of the Messianic kingdom. This period has two divisions: (1) twenty-three shepherds of the Graeco-Egyptian rule of Palestine, 330-200; (2) twelve shepherds of Graeco-Syrian rule from 200 till about 140 or 130.
2. The new world power—of the Greeks, is represented by a new order—birds of prey. The 'eagles' are the Greeks or Macedonians. The 'ravens' are the Syrians under the Seleucidae (*vv.* 8, 9, 12). The 'vultures' and 'kites' must be the Egyptians under the Ptolemies.
- 2-4. The Graeco-Egyptian domination.
3. was being devoured *a-u*. 'was devoured' *u*, *β*.
I looked *gqu*. 'I saw' *m*. 'I cried out' *t*, *β*.
4. the dogs, i. e. Philistines (lxxxix. 42, 46, 47).
neither flesh nor skin. Mic. iii. 2, 3.
5. twenty-three + 'shepherds' *t*, *β*.
- 6-17. The fourth and last period of heathen supremacy, the Graeco-Syrian domination over Israel, from 200 to 140 or 130 B.C. See Commentary *in loc.*
6. behold *a*. 'little' *β*.
began to open their eyes: rise of the Chasids, who existed previous to the Maccabean outbreak. See 1 Macc. ii. 42, iii. 13, and 1 En. xc. 9. They possessed all the enthusiasm and religious doctrine of the nation. While champions of the law against the Hellenizing Sadducees they held advanced views on the Messianic kingdom and the Resurrection. The writer of these Dream-visions was evidently a Chasid. He teaches the Resurrection, the final judgement, and the kingdom of the Messiah, and above all he criticizes severely the moral and ceremonial irregularities in the services of the second temple (lxxxix. 73). For this writer the Chasid aims—the re-establishment of the Theocracy and the preparation for the Messianic kingdom—are bound up with the success of the Maccabean leader. This could not be the case after Jonathan's assumption of the high-priesthood in 153 B.C., which not merely alienated the Chasids from the Maccabean family, but made them its deadly enemies. Thus we date lxxxiii-xc before 153 B.C.
- 6-7. The Chasids or 'lambs' appeal in vain to the nation, owing to foreign oppression.
7. Yea, they cried to them *g*, i. e. the lambs cried to the sheep: 'but they (i. e. the sheep) did not cry to them' *g*: 'but they oppressed them' *m*: 'but they did not hear them' *t*: 'but the sheep did not cry to them' *β-ino*.
8. one of those lambs. Onias III, put to death by the Syrians in 171 B.C. See 2 Macc. iv. 33-35.
9. of one *g*. 'one' other MSS.
- The horned lambs must be the Maccabees, and the great horn must be Judas Maccabaeus. This section is thus earlier than Judas' death in 160 B.C. See my Commentary for further notes.
- eyes were opened. Unlike the Chasids, the Maccabees do not appeal in vain.
- opened + 'and their eyes saw' *gmt*.
10. †looked at†. For *r'ēja* 'looked at' read *r'ēja* 'pastured with'.
it cried *m*, *β-in*. 'they cried' *a-m*.
- rams, a different word here from that in lxxxix. 42-44.
- 11, 12. Syria uses every effort against Judas but in vain.
12. with it: 'with them' *g*, *eh*.
its horn: 'their horn' *g*.

BOOK OF ENOCH 90. 13-19

XC. 13-19. *The last Assault of the Gentiles on the Jews* (where vv. 13-15 and 16-18 are doublets).

- 13 And I saw till the †shepherds and† eagles and those vultures and kites came, and †they cried to the ravens† that they should break the horn of that ram, and they battled and fought with it, and it battled with them and cried that its help might come.
- 19 And I saw till a great sword was given to the sheep, and the sheep proceeded against all the beasts of the field to slay them, and all the beasts and the birds of the heaven fled before their face.
- 14 And I saw till that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds [and] carried up into the presence of the Lord of the sheep [came and helped it and showed it everything: he had come down for the help of that ram].
- 15 And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them in wrath, and all who saw Him fled, and they all fell †into His shadow† from before His face.
- All the eagles and vultures and ravens and kites were gathered together, and there came with them all the sheep of the field, yea, they all came together, and helped each other to break that horn of the ram.
- And I saw that man, who wrote the book according to the command of the Lord, till he opened that book concerning the destruction which those twelve last shepherds had wrought, and showed that they had destroyed much more than their predecessors, before the Lord of the sheep.
- And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them and took in His hand the staff of His wrath, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and all the beasts and all the birds of the heaven fell from among those sheep, and were swallowed up in the earth and it covered them.

13-19. As early as 1893 I read v. 19 before v. 16, and bracketed 15 as a doublet of 18. Martin suggests that 13-15, and 16-18 are doublets. I have gone further as the text shows. Ver. 19 follows 13 (=16), and many emendations are still required.

13. The symbolism becomes looser here, and the 'vultures' and 'kites' are no longer restricted to the Graeco-Egyptians as in v. 2. See v. 16, and compare the varying reference of boars in lxxxix. 66 and 72. So perhaps here the vultures and kites are Ammon and Moab.

†shepherds and† (*g* omits 'and') i.e. רעים corrupt for ערבים 'ravens', probably due to a dittography in 13. See v. 16.

†they cried† i.e. יִצְעֲקוּ (or יִצְעֲקוּ) for יִצְעֲקוּ (or יִצְעֲקוּ) 'were gathered together'. See v. 16 again. The LXX thus mistranslates יִצְעֲקוּ in Judges vi. 34, 35, xviii. 22, Jos. viii. 16, 1 Sam. xiv. 20. So I read 'and I saw till the ravens and eagles and vultures and kites were gathered together,' &c.

16. All¹⁰. 'and' *u*.

ravens and kites ∞ *m*.

came¹⁰ *gg*. 'brought' *mtu*, β.

all the sheep—in the nom. *g*, in the accus. *mqt*, β.

19. The sword is given to Israel to oppose the hosts of Gog and to avenge itself on its heathen oppressors; in xci. 12 the sword has a higher ethical significance, the judgement of oppression and sin.

14. The text is corrupt.

carried up has no object, but requires 'the book' as in v. 17.

opened in v. 17 can hardly be right as the books are opened later in v. 20. In any case the book would be carried up first. Cf. lxxxix. 70, 76. So I read here in v. 14 'and I saw till that man, who wrote down the names of the shepherds, carried up (the book) into the presence of the Lord of the sheep'.

[came and helped . . . ram.] An intrusion. There is no intervention needed to save Israel which triumphs over Gog in v. 19. This clause, whether added in the Hebrew or the Greek, has a clear reference to the help which Michael gave to Judas Maccabaeus. See 2 Macc. xi. 6, 8. Michael is Israel's patron, as well as the heavenly scribe in these chapters.

helped it + 'and saved it' *g*.

for the help *g*. Other MSS. 'a help.'

17. till he opened . . . destruction: 'for it was opened by the command of the Lord concerning the destruction' *g*.

before the Lord of the sheep *m*q, β. 'formerly. 18. And the Lord of the sheep' *gtu*.

15, 18. God himself destroys Israel's last foes like Korah and his followers, Num. xvi. 31 sqq. This is the first act of the final judgement; the remaining acts are quite forensic.

15. the Lord *a-g*. 'that Lord' *g*, β.

†into His shadow† i.e. בְּצֵלָי corrupt for מִצֵּיִן 'from among the sheep'. *gm* read 'into the shadow'.

18. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep ('of the sheep' > *m*) came unto them *m*, β. > *g* through hmt. 'and the Lord of the sheep I saw till He came to those sheep (till the Lord of the sheep came unto them' *t*) *gt*, 'and the Lord of the sheep came unto them' *u*.

staff and smote the earth recall Num. xx. 11, while the earth clave asunder recalls Num. xvi. 31-33.

it covered them. The Ethiopic=ἐκάλυψεν ἐπ' αὐτούς—a Hebraism. *g* is corrupt. > *u*.

BOOK OF ENOCH 90. 20-31

XC. 20-27. *Judgement of the Fallen Angels, the Shepherds, and the Apostates.*

20 And I saw till a throne was erected in the pleasant land, and the Lord of the sheep sat Himself thereon, and the other took the sealed books and opened those books before the Lord of the sheep.
21 And the Lord called those men the seven first white ones, and commanded that they should bring before Him, beginning with the first star which led the way, all the stars whose privy members
22 were like those of horses, and they brought them all before Him. And He said to that man who wrote before Him, being one of those seven white ones, and said unto him: 'Take those seventy shepherds to whom I delivered the sheep, and who taking them on their own authority slew more
23 than I commanded them.' And behold they were all bound, I saw, and they all stood before Him.
24 And the judgement was held first over the stars, and they were judged and found guilty, and went to the place of condemnation, and they were cast into an abyss, full of fire and flaming, and full
25 of pillars of fire. And those seventy shepherds were judged and found guilty, and they were cast
26 into that fiery abyss. And I saw at that time how a like abyss was opened in the midst of the earth, full of fire, and they brought those blinded sheep, and they were all judged and found guilty and
27 cast into this fiery abyss, and they burned; now this abyss was to the right of that house. And I saw those sheep burning† and their bones burning†.

XC. 28-42. *The New Jerusalem, the Conversion of the surviving Gentiles, the Resurrection of the Righteous, the Messiah. Enoch awakes and weeps.*

28 And I stood up to see till they folded up that old house; and carried off all the pillars, and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it, and they carried
29 it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land. And I saw till the Lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up: all its pillars were new, and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which He had taken away, and all the sheep were within it.
30 And I saw all the sheep which had been left, and all the beasts on the earth, and all the birds of the heaven, falling down and doing homage to those sheep and making petition to and obeying
31 them in every thing. And thereafter those three who were clothed in white and had seized me by my hand [who had taken me up before], and the hand of that ram also seizing hold of me, they

20. the pleasant land, i.e. Palestine, cf. lxxxix. 40 and Dan. xi. 16, 41, 45. God's throne is set up in Jerusalem (vv. 28, 29). The books are opened as in Dan. vii. 10. See xlvi. 3 (note). The Messiah does not appear till after the judgement in lxxxiii-xc.

the other. Text has 'all' kuëllô for kâl'û, and so reads 'and He took all the sealed books'.

21. men a. > β.

the seven qtu, β. 'and seven' m. > g.

seven first white ones. For these seven archangels cf. the Zoroastrian Amshaspands, and Tobit xii. 15; Rev. i. 4; iv. 5; viii. 2. See Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter* pp. 281, 282, &c.; *Jewish Encycl.* i. 590.

bring gm, β. 'come' qtu.

before Him. > gu, d.

star. See lxxxvi-lxxxviii.

all the stars, &c. So I emended in 1893, with Dillmann.

horses + 'and the first star which went out (g; other MSS. 'fell') first'—a dittograph.

22-25. The shepherds are judged along with the fallen Watchers.

22. said unto him mtu, β-hox, b. 'said unto them' gq, hox, b.

23. g has only 'And behold they were all bound before Him'.

24. an abyss full of fire. Their final prison, as in x. 6, xviii. 11, xxi. 7-10, liv. 6. Contrast xviii. 12.

flaming and full of: 'flaming with' g.

26. The Apostates are cast into Gehenna, south of Jerusalem ('to the right', &c.).

27. The Apostates suffer in view of the blessed Jerusalem. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 24, 1 En. xlviii. 9 (note).

and their bones. Read 'yea their very selves'—a Hebrew idiom; נפשו='self'.

28, 29. The old Jerusalem removed and the new set up. Cf. O.T. prophecy: Ezek. xl-xlviii; Isa. liv. 11, 12; lx; Hagg. ii. 7-9; Zech. ii. 6-13. A New Jerusalem descending from heaven is a familiar idea in Jewish Apocalypses. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 26; xiii. 36; 2 Bar. xxxii. 2; Rev. xxi. 2, 10.

28. folded up, np(y): 'submerged' gqtu, β-nfy.

29. and (>g) all the sheep were within it a-m, acdiklo, a, b. 'and (>m) the Lord of the sheep was within it' m, befhnpx. The omission of 'and' in gm suggests that we should read 'from which He had sent forth all the sheep', by reading 'abâg'a for 'abâg'ë and prefixing 'ë to mâ'ëkalâ.

30. Conversion of the surviving Gentiles and their spontaneous submission to Israel. Cf. Isa. xiv. 2; lxvi. 12, 19-21, &c. Contrast the later Jewish view, Weber *Jüd. Theol.* 384-387, 395.

and obeying them mt, β. >ggu.

in every thing, lit. 'in every word'.

31. those three, &c. see lxxxvii. 2, 3.

that ram, seemingly Elijah, lxxxix. 52.

BOOK OF ENOCH 90. 32—92. 1

32 took me up and set me down in the midst of those sheep†before the judgement took place†. And those
 33 sheep were all white, and their wool was abundant and clean. And all that had been destroyed
 and dispersed, and all the beasts of the field, and all the birds of the heaven, assembled in that house,
 and the Lord of the sheep rejoiced with great joy because they were all good and had returned to
 34 His house. And I saw till they laid down that sword, which had been given to the sheep, and they
 brought it back into the house, and it was sealed before the presence of the Lord, and all the sheep
 35 were invited into that house, but it held them not. And the eyes of them all were opened, and they
 36 saw the good, and there was not one among them that did not see. And I saw that that house was
 large and broad and very full.
 37 And I saw that a white bull was born, with large horns, and all the beasts of the field and all the
 38 birds of the air feared him and made petition to him all the time. And I saw till all their generations
 were transformed, and they all became white bulls; and the first among them became a lamb, and
 that lamb became a great animal and had great black horns on its head; and the Lord of the sheep
 39 rejoiced over it and over all the oxen. And I slept in their midst: and I awoke and saw everything.
 40 This is the vision which I saw while I slept, and I awoke and blessed the Lord of righteousness and
 41 gave Him glory. Then I wept with a great weeping and my tears stayed not till I could no longer
 endure it: when I saw, they flowed on account of what I had seen; for everything shall come and
 42 be fulfilled, and all the deeds of men in their order were shown to me. On that night I remembered
 the first dream, and because of it I wept and was troubled—because I had seen that vision.

SECTION V. XCI—CIV (i.e. XCII, XCI. 1–10, 18–19, XCIII. 1–10, XCI. 12–17, XCIV—CIV).

A BOOK OF EXHORTATION AND PROMISED BLESSING FOR THE RIGHTEOUS
 AND OF MALEDICTION AND WOE FOR THE SINNERS.

XCII, XCI. 1–10, 18–19. *Enoch's Book of Admonition for his Children.*

92 1 The book written by Enoch—[Enoch indeed wrote this complete doctrine of wisdom, (which is)
 praised of all men and a judge of all the earth] for all my children who shall dwell on the earth. And
 for the future generations who shall observe uprightness and peace.

before the judgement took place. These words are awkward here.

32. white=righteous; abundant and clean wool=righteousness in large measure. Cf. Isa. i. 26; iv. 3; lx. 21.

33. The righteous dead will rise to share in the kingdom. Cf. li. 1. Also the dispersion are gathered into it.
 Cf. Mic. iv. 6, 7.

rejoiced. Cf. Isa. lxii. 3–5; lxv. 19.

34. Israel's sword sealed and preserved as a memorial.

into the house *g.* 'into His house' *mqṭ*, *β*.

were invited *g.* Other MSS. 'were enclosed'.

it held them not. Cf. Isa. xlix. 19–21; Zech. ii. 4; x. 10.

37. a white bull. The Messiah emerges from the bosom of the community. He is not angelic, but human, yet
 superior to the righteous symbolized by sheep. As human he corresponds to the Messiah of the prophets, not that of
 the Parables (apocalyptic). He has, however, no function and comes after the judgement. The Messiah-hope was
 practically dead while such a leader as Judas lived. Later some revived the O.T. Messiah, the Son of David as in Pss.
 Solomon (70–40 B.C.), others followed the idea of the supernatural Son of Man given us in the Parables (94–70 B.C.).

38. All the members of the kingdom are transformed, and the Messiah becomes a lamb. Their life is now appar-
 ently unending, and there is a return to the primitive righteousness of Eden, i.e. Adam was a white bull.

a lamb. The text corruptly runs 'the first became among them (*a-u, aikn*: 'among them became' *badlox, a₁b*)
 a word and that word became a great animal'. I no longer consider that the corruption arose in the Greek, i.e. *ῥῆμα*
 for *ρημα* a transliteration of *מַלְאכָה*, but follow Goldschmidt (*Das Buch Henoch*, p. 91) in tracing it to the Hebrew, i.e. *מַלְאכָה*
 'word' for *מַלְאכָה* 'lamb'. This correction is supported by Test. Joseph xix. 3–9, where the three harts first become three
 lambs, and then with the other nine harts become twelve sheep. Again there in *vv.* 5–9 the bull-calf (=Judas
 Maccabaeus) becomes a lamb, and yet as a lamb overcomes and destroys the beasts and reptiles who attack him.
 The lamb, or rather the horned lamb, is the nation's head, indeed its Messianic head. Here the Testaments seem to
 be dependent on 1 Enoch.

great *a.* 'great and' *β*.

black seems wrong here.

40. Cf. xxii. 14.

XCI–XCIV. I have rearranged these chapters in what was apparently their original order (see above) and treated
 the Apocalypse of Weeks, i.e. xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17, as an earlier fragment incorporated by the author of xci–civ or
 the editor of the whole book. Beer, however, taking xci. 1–11, 18–19 as the introduction to the Apocalypse of Weeks,
 rearranges the order as xci. 1–11, 18–19, xciii, xci. 12–17, xcii, xciv.

XCII. The beginning of the new book composed of xci–civ. The original order was xcii, xci. 1–10, 18–19, xciii. 1–10, xci.
 12–17, xciv, as printed here.

1. The book . . . indeed wrote (*g*). Other MSS. 'written by Enoch the scribe'. For 'scribe' cf. xii. 3, 4.

[Enoch indeed . . . all the earth]. An interpolation.

this complete doctrine of wisdom (which is) praised, *a-ḏ*. *ḏ* reads 'of the' for 'this'. *β-γ* read 'is praised'
 after 'wisdom'.

a judge of all the earth. For wisdom as God's assessor see lxxiv. 3 (note).

BOOK OF ENOCH 92. 2 — 91. 5

- 2 Let not your spirit be troubled on account of the times ;
For the Holy and Great One has appointed days for all things.
- 3 And the righteous one shall arise from sleep,
[Shall arise] and walk in the paths of righteousness,
And all his path and conversation shall be in eternal goodness and grace.
- 4 He will be gracious to the righteous and give him eternal uprightness,
And He will give him power so that he shall be (endowed) with goodness and righteousness,
And he shall walk in eternal light.
- 5 And sin shall perish in darkness for ever,
And shall no more be seen from that day for evermore.

XCI. 1-10, 18-19. *Enoch's Admonition to his Children.*

91. 1 ' And now, my son Methuselah, call to me all thy brothers
And gather together to me all the sons of thy mother ;
For the word calls me,
And the spirit is poured out upon me,
That I may show you everything
That shall befall you for ever.'
- 2 And thereupon Methuselah went and summoned to him all his brothers and assembled his relatives.
- 3 And he spake unto all the children of righteousness and said :
- ' Hear, ye sons of Enoch, all the words of your father,
And hearken aright to the voice of my mouth ;
For I exhort you and say unto you, beloved :
- 4 Love uprightness and walk therein.
And draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart,
And associate not with those of a double heart,
But walk in righteousness, my sons.
And it shall guide you on good paths,
And righteousness shall be your companion.
- 5 For I know that violence **must** increase on the earth,
And a great chastisement be executed on the earth,
And all unrighteousness come to an end :
- Yea, it shall be cut off from its roots,
And its whole structure be destroyed.

2. The times though evil are ordained of God.
the Holy and Great One *gq, el₁a* : 'the Holy Great One' *mt, β-el₁a*. See i. 3 (note).
3. **the righteous one**. Used collectively as in xci. 10.
the righteous one . . . sleep, [shall arise]. *g* reads 'and wisdom shall arise'.
4. **the righteous** *tu, β* : *gq* = 'righteousness'.
power. Uprightness and power will no longer be dissevered.
he shall *mt, β*. 'they shall' *gqu*.
in eternal light. See xxxviii. 4 (note).
5. Cf. x. 16, 20.
- XCI. 1. Enoch calls his sons together. Cf. lxxxi. 5, 6.
all thy brothers . . . all the sons of thy mother ∞ *g*.
all the sons. Their names are given in 2 En. i. 10, lvii. 2.
3. **unto all the children of righteousness** *gq, y₁b*. 'to all (> *u*, + 'his children' *t*) concerning his (> *β-ehny₁a₁b*) righteousness' *mtu, β-ehny₁a₁b*.
beloved *a-u*. 'my beloved' *β*.
4. **love uprightness, &c.** Cf. xciv. 1.
draw not nigh to uprightness with a double heart. Cf. Sir. i. 25. Cf. Ps. xii. 2 ; Jas. i. 8.
associate not, &c. > *gu* through hmt. Cf. xciv. 2, 3, civ. 6.
in righteousness, my sons. 'in uprightness and righteousness' *g*.
good paths. Perhaps a reference to the Two Ways. Cf. v. 19.
5. The Deluge.
violence must increase. Emended easily from text which = 'the state of violence shall increase.'
cut off from its roots, cf. *vv*, 8, 11.

BOOK OF ENOCH 91. 6—93. 2

- 6 And unrighteousness shall again be consummated on the earth,
And all the deeds of unrighteousness and of violence
And transgression shall prevail in a twofold degree.
- 7 And when sin and unrighteousness and blasphemy
And violence in all kinds of deeds increase,
And apostasy and transgression and uncleanness increase,
A great chastisement shall come from heaven upon all these,
And the holy Lord will come forth with wrath and chastisement
To execute judgement on earth.
- 8 In those days violence shall be cut off from its roots,
And the roots of unrighteousness together with deceit,
And they shall be destroyed from under heaven.
- 9 And all the idols of the heathen shall be abandoned,
And the temples burned with fire,
And they shall remove them from the whole earth,
And they (i.e. the heathen) shall be cast into the judgement of fire,
And shall perish in wrath and in grievous judgement for ever.
- 10 And the righteous shall arise from their sleep,
And wisdom shall arise and be given unto them.
- 11 [And after that the roots of unrighteousness shall be cut off, and the sinners shall be destroyed
by the sword . . . shall be cut off from the blasphemers in every place, and those who plan
violence and those who commit blasphemy shall perish by the sword.]
- 18 And now I tell you, my sons, and show you
The paths of righteousness and the paths of violence.
Yea, I will show them to you again
That ye may know what will come to pass.
- 19 And now, hearken unto me, my sons,
And walk in the paths of righteousness,
And walk not in the paths of violence;
For all who walk in the paths of unrighteousness shall perish for ever.'

XCIII, XCI. 12-17. *The Apocalypse of Weeks.*

93 1, 2 And after that Enoch both †gave† and began to recount from the books. And Enoch said :

- 7, 8. This fresh development of wickedness will call forth the final judgement.
7. in all *a-g*. 'and all' *g, β*.
and transgression *> gu*.
from heaven *> g*.
And *> gmt*.
Lord + 'upon earth' *g*.
8. And the roots *mtu, β*. *> gg*. Cf. *vv*. 5, 11.
And (*> u, befhp*) they shall be destroyed *mtu, β*. *> gg*.
9. The absolute rejection of the heathen seems to be taught here, the prevailing, though not the universal, belief of later Judaism. Contrast *v*. 14.
10. the righteous. The singular used collectively, as in *xcii*. 3. In *xcii-civ* only the righteous attain to the Resurrection. See *li*. 1 (note).
their sleep *gmq, x*. 'his sleep' *tu, β-x*.
wisdom. See *xlii*. 1, 2 (note).
11. This verse is an interpolation by the final editor, added to introduce *vv*. 12-17, which originally followed *xciii*.
1-10. Judgement has already been consummated in *xcii*. 7-9, and the resurrection attained *xcii*. 10. Verse 11 reverts to the period of the sword—which precedes the Resurrection (*xc*. 19, *xcii*. 12; cf. *c*. 4, 5).
12-17. I read these verses after *xciii*. 14.
18. will show *m, β*. 'have shown' *gqt*. *> u*.
19. hearken unto me *qtu*. 'hearken' *β*. *> g*.
And ^{2°} *> g*.
paths of righteousness . . . paths of violence. For 'paths' cf. *xciv*. 1, 2, 4. This is one of the earliest non-canonical references to the Two Ways. See *Test. Ash*. i. 3, 5; 2 *En*. xxx. 15 (note).

XCIII. 1-10. An account of the great events of the world during the first seven weeks of its history, which are already past. The three last weeks of *xcii*. 12-17 belong to the future. This Apocalypse of weeks refers to the Dream-visions, *lxxxiii-xc*, but not being by the same author is irreconcilable with them. The ten weeks are not definite and equal periods, but of varying length, each marked, especially towards its close, by some great event, e.g.

BOOK OF ENOCH 93. 2-8

- ‘Concerning the children of righteousness and concerning the elect of the world,
And concerning the plant of uprightness, I will speak these things,
Yea, I Enoch will declare (them) unto you, my sons :
- According to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision,
And which I have known through the word of the holy angels,
And have learnt from the heavenly tablets.’
- 3 And Enoch began to recount from the books and said :
‘I was born the seventh in the first week,
While judgement and righteousness still endured.
- 4 And after me there shall arise in the second week great wickedness,
And deceit shall have sprung up ;
And in it there shall be the first end.
- And in it a man shall be saved ;
And after it is ended unrighteousness shall grow up,
And a law shall be made for the sinners.
- 5 And after that in the third week at its close
A man shall be elected as the plant of righteous judgement,
And **his posterity** shall become the plant of righteousness for evermore.
- 6 And after that in the fourth week, at its close,
Visions of the holy and righteous shall be seen,
And a law for all generations and an enclosure shall be made for them.
- 7 And after that in the fifth week, at its close,
The house of glory and dominion shall be built for ever.
- 8 And after that in the sixth week all who live in it shall be blinded,
And the hearts of all of them shall godlessly forsake wisdom.
- And in it a man shall ascend ;
And at its close the house of dominion shall be burnt with fire,
And the whole race of the chosen root shall be dispersed.

the first by Enoch’s birth, the third by Abraham’s call, the seventh by the publication of Enoch’s writings. In the eighth the Messianic kingdom is established and lasts to the close of the tenth week. The final judgement in xci. 15 is held at the close of the Messianic kingdom.

1. †gave† *a-mt.* ‘was’ *t, β.* I cannot explain this corruption.
and began. > *a-g.*
the books. Cf. xxxiii. 3, 4, xl. 8, lxxiv. 2, lxxxi. 1, 2.
2. These disclosures are for the children of righteousness. Cf. xcii. 1.
the elect of the world. Here only in Enoch.
the plant of uprightness. See x. 16 (note).
uprightness *a-g.* ‘righteousness’ (+ ‘and uprightness’ *β*) *q, β.*
will declare *gq, β.* ‘have declared’ *mtu.*
heavenly tablets. See xlvii. 3 (note).
3. Enoch > *mgt.*
seventh in the first week. Cf. ‘seventh from Adam’, Jude 14 ; also Gen. v. 24 where he is the seventh of the patriarchs. This does not imply that each week = exactly seven generations, as the sixth and seventh must = fourteen or more.
still endured. i.e. goodness still prevailed. Or we may render ‘were still held back’, i.e. the Deluge was not yet.
4. great wickedness. This growth of wickedness should belong to Jared’s days as in vi. 6 and cvi. 13. The Deluge and the covenant with Noah (a law for the sinners) occur in this week.
a law shall be made *q, n.* Also *gmu* read ‘law’ in the nom., cf. v. 6. *t, β-n* read ‘He will make a law’.
5. Abraham and his seed are chosen to reveal God’s righteous judgements. Cf. x. 16 (note) and xciii. 2, 10.
his posterity shall become. Text reads ‘after him (or ‘it’) it shall come’ (or ‘become’).
6. Visions. Divine manifestations in favour of Israel in Egypt.
Visions of the holy and righteous *mq, β.* *u* omits ‘and righteous’. *g* reads ‘visions . . . righteousness . *t* = ‘holy and righteous visions’.
a law, given on Sinai, binding for all time. Cf. xcix. 2.
an enclosure, i.e. Palestine. Cf. lxxxix. 2.
7. The Temple will stand for ever, though one form of it may give place to another. In xci-civ proper, there appears to be no Temple after the final judgement. The risen righteous enjoy a purely spiritual existence like the angels. Cf. Jub. and possibly Pss. Sol.
8. The divided kingdoms, Elijah (lxxxix. 52), the Temple’s fall and the Captivity.
chosen root *g, β.* ‘root of might’ *mgt.*

BOOK OF ENOCH 93. 9—91. 15

- 9 And after that in the seventh week shall an apostate generation arise,
And many shall be its deeds,
And all its deeds shall be apostate.
- 10 And at its close shall be elected
The elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness,
To receive sevenfold instruction concerning all His creation.
- 11 [For who is there of all the children of men that is able to hear the voice of the Holy One without
being troubled? And who can think His thoughts? and who is there that can behold all the works
12 of heaven? And how should there be one who could behold the heaven, and who is there that could
understand the things of heaven and see a soul or a spirit and could tell thereof, or ascend and see
13 all their ends and think them or do like them? And who is there of all men that could know what
is the breadth and the length of the earth, and to whom has been shown the measure of all of them?
14 Or is there any one who could discern the length of the heaven and how great is its height, and upon
what it is founded, and how great is the number of the stars, and where all the luminaries rest?]

XCI. 12-17. *The Last Three Weeks.*

- 91 12 And after that there shall be another, the eighth week, that of righteousness,
And a sword shall be given to it that a righteous judgement may be executed on the oppressors,
And sinners shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous.
- 13 And at its close they shall acquire houses through their righteousness,
And a house shall be built for the Great King in glory for evermore,
- 14^d And all mankind shall look to the path of uprightness.
- 14^a And after that, in the ninth week, the righteous judgement shall be revealed to the whole world,
^b And all the works of the godless shall vanish from all the earth,
^c And the world shall be written down for destruction.
- 15 And after this, in the tenth week in the seventh part,
There shall be the great eternal judgement,
In which He will execute vengeance amongst the angels.

9. From the captivity to the author's time an apostate period. Cf. lxxxix. 73-75.

apostate ¹⁰ > *gm*.

10. The writer's own disclosures are to be made known at the end of the seventh week. For the extravagant claims he makes cf. Sir. xxiv. 28-32.

shall be elected *a, acfhikn*: 'shall be recompensed' *bdlopxy, a₁b*.

The elect righteous *q, abefhikx*. Cf. i. 1 Greek Version. *t* supports this *g, dloy₁a₁b* read 'the elect of righteousness'. *m* 'the righteous'. *u* 'the elect'. These alone will receive the revelations. Cf. c. 6, civ. 12, 13.

XCIII. 11-14. These verses are quite out of place in their present context, and suit rather the Book of the Heavenly Luminaries lxxii-lxxix, lxxxii; but are foreign to the whole tone of this book, xci-civ.

11. **the voice of the Holy One**, i. e. the thunder. Cf. Job xxxvii. 4, 5; Ps. xxix.

think His thoughts. Cf. Job v. 9, ix. 10, xxxviii. 33; Ps. xl. 5, xcii. 5; Eccles. xi. 5.

12. **a soul** *gmq, bxy*: 'His breath' *t, β-bxy*.

a spirit *mtu, bxy* (*gy* corrupt): 'His spirit' *β-bxy*.

Enoch's journey through heaven and Hades is referred to.

their ends, i. e. of the things of heaven. But the text may be corrupt for 'their causes'.

13. Not given in Enoch. Cf. Job xxxviii. 4, 5.

14. Not given in Enoch. Jer. xxxi. 37; Job xi. 8.

founded. Cf. xviii. 2, 3.

XCI. 12-17. These verses giving an account of the last three weeks of the world's history are here restored to their place after xciii. 1-10, the account of the first seven weeks.

12. The eighth week sees the setting up of the Messianic kingdom, and the first act of the final judgement—the period of the sword (xc. 19), when the wicked are given into the hand of the righteous. Cf. xcv. 7, xcvi. 1, xcvi. 12, xcix. 4, 6, also xxxviii. 5.

13. After strife will follow rest and quiet possession of the earth. Cf. Isa. lx. 21, 22, lxxv. 20-23.

a house . . . for the Great King. The temple, and also Jerusalem. *g* reads 'the house of the Great King shall be built'.

14. This verse may refer to the conversion of the Gentiles, as l. 2-5, xc. 30, 33, 35, cf. 14^d. Or it may refer to the open punishment by God of the wicked. Cf. 14^c.

the works of the godless shall vanish. Cf. x. 16, 20, 21.

the world . . . for destruction *m, β*: 'He shall write down (i. e. decree) the destruction of the world' *g*: 'He shall write down the world for destruction' *t*: > *u*: *q* = a corruption of *g* (?). This is to take place in the end of the tenth week.

15. **There shall be . . . angels** *a-t*. The structure of the stanza supports this text. *t, β-in* insert a gloss and read 'There shall be the eternal judgement. And it shall be executed on the watchers of the eternal heaven, The great (judgement) in which He will execute vengeance among the angels.'

BOOK OF ENOCH 91. 16—94. 7

- 16 And the first heaven shall depart and pass away,
And a new heaven shall appear,
And all the powers of the heavens shall give sevenfold light.
- 17 And after that there will be many weeks without number for ever,
And all shall be in goodness and righteousness,
And sin shall no more be mentioned for ever.

XCIV. 1-5. *Admonitions to the Righteous.*

- 94 1 And now I say unto you, my sons, love righteousness and walk therein ;
For the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptance,
But the paths of unrighteousness shall suddenly be destroyed and vanish.
- 2 And to certain men of a generation shall the paths of violence and of death be revealed,
And they shall hold themselves afar from them,
And shall not follow them.
- 3 And now I say unto you the righteous :
Walk not in the paths of wickedness, nor in the paths of death,
And draw not nigh to them, lest ye be destroyed.
- 4 But seek and choose for yourselves righteousness and an elect life,
And walk in the paths of peace,
And ye shall live and prosper.
- 5 And hold fast my words in the thoughts of your hearts,
And suffer them not to be effaced from your hearts ;

For I know that sinners will tempt men to **evilly-entreat** wisdom,
So that no place may be found for her,
And no manner of temptation may diminish.

XCIV. 6-11. *Woes for the Sinners.*

- 6 Woe to those who build unrighteousness and oppression
And lay deceit as a foundation ;
For they shall be suddenly overthrown,
And they shall have no peace.
- 7 Woe to those who build their houses with sin ;
For from all their foundations shall they be overthrown,
And by the sword shall they fall.
[And those who acquire gold and silver in judgement suddenly shall perish.]

16. **a new heaven** (cf. Isa. lxv. 17, lxvi. 22 ; Ps. cii. 26), but no new earth. Cf. civ. 2 (note). For a new creation, cf. xlv. 4, lxxii. 1 (note).

sevenfold. Isa. xxx. 26, lx. 19, 20.

light. *mg*, *β-ahk* add 'for ever'.

17. End of Apocalypse of Weeks.

And all *g*. > other MSS.

XCIV. Introduces the practical part of this section.

1. **love righteousness.** Cf. xci. 3.

worthy of acceptance *z, β* (cf. 1 Tim. i. 15) : 'worthy and acceptable' *gmq* : 'worthy' *u*.

paths of unrighteousness . . . destroyed. Cf. Ps. i. 6. On the 'Two Ways' see xci. 19 (note).

2. The revelations through Moses and the Prophets.

paths . . . of death. Cf. Prov. xiv. 12 ; Jer. xxi. 8.

3. **paths** *gmt, bx* : 'path' *β-bx*.

wickedness + 'and of violence' *β*.

draw not nigh. Cf. xci. 4, civ. 6.

4. **But seek.** *g* reads 'as those who seek evil' and connects with preceding verse.

And ye shall *gmq*. 'that ye may' *z, β*.

5. **to evilly-entreat.** Text = 'to make . . . evil' = *κακοποιεῖν*.

no place. Cf. xlii. 1.

6-10. Woes, cf. Isa. v. 8-25 ; Matt. xxiii. 13-33, &c.

6. **build.** Cf. xci. 5 ('structure').

have no peace. Cf. xcvi. 11, 16, xcix. 13, ci. 3, cii. 3, ciii. 8, also v. 4 (note).

7. **build their houses with sin** : from Jer. xxii. 13. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 13.

[**And those . . . perish**]. The subject of 'riches' comes in the next verse, and this clause spoils the stanza here.

BOOK OF ENOCH 94. 8—95. 7

- 8 Woe to you, ye rich, for ye have trusted in your riches,
And from your riches shall ye depart,
Because ye have not remembered the Most High in the days of your riches.
- 9 Ye have committed blasphemy and unrighteousness,
And have become ready for the day of slaughter,
And the day of darkness and the day of the great judgement.
- 10 Thus I speak and declare unto you :
He who hath created you will overthrow you,
And for your fall there shall be no compassion,
And your Creator will rejoice at your destruction.
- 11 And your righteous ones in those days shall be
A reproach to the sinners and the godless.

XCV. *Enoch's Grief: fresh Woes against the Sinners.*

- 95 1 Oh that mine eyes were [a cloud of] waters
That I might weep over you,
And pour down my tears as a cloud †of waters† :
That so I might rest from my trouble of heart !
- 2 †Who has permitted you to practise reproaches and wickedness ?
And so judgement shall overtake you, sinners.†
- 3 Fear not the sinners, ye righteous ;
For again will the Lord deliver them into your hands,
That ye may execute judgement upon them according to your desires.
- 4 Woe to you who fulminate anathemas which cannot be reversed :
Healing shall therefore be far from you because of your sins.
- 5 Woe to you who requite your neighbour with evil ;
For ye shall be requited according to your works.
- 6 Woe to you, lying witnesses,
And to those who weigh out injustice,
For suddenly shall ye perish.
- 7 Woe to you, sinners, for ye persecute the righteous ;
For ye shall be delivered up and persecuted because of injustice,
And heavy shall its yoke be upon you.

9. day of slaughter, &c. See xlv. 2 (note). Cf. James v. 1–5.

And the day of darkness. > *g*, *a*.

10. your Creator will rejoice, &c. Contrast Ezek. xviii. 23, 32, xxxiii. 11, and cf. Pss. ii. 3, 4; xxxvii. 12, 13; En. lxxxix. 58 and xcvi. 2.

11. This stanza is imperfect.

XCV. 1. Oh that, &c. From Jer. ix. 1. Quoted by 2 Bar. xxxv. 2.

[a cloud of] i.e. ענן a doublet for עיני 'my eyes' or a corruption of עין 'a spring'.

cloud †of waters†. Read 'cloud (pours) rain', i.e. דרם 'rainstorm' for מים 'waters'.

2. †Who has permitted you *g*, *β* (= מי נתנבם). But *a-g* read, and possibly rightly, 'Oh that ye were' (= מי יתנבם). Then, either omitting with *g* 'to practise', or emending it to 'become', and adopting the subjunctive in the next line with *β*, and not the indicative in *a*, we have:

Oh that ye were become a reproach and an evil,
And that so judgement might overtake you, sinners.

3. again, as in the first Maccabean victories. Though now even the Maccabean princes are Sadducees, the righteous will again prevail.

into your hands. Cf. xci. 12.

4. Cf. viii. 3. Magical practices and incantations are referred to, but the expression is strange.
which cannot be reversed *m*. For 'cannot' *gq* reads 'can': 'which you cannot reverse' *t*, *β*.

5. requite . . . with evil. Cf. Prov. xx. 22, xxiv. 29; Rom. xii. 17.

requited according to your works. Cf. c. 7; Judges i. 7.

7. ye shall be delivered up *g*. 'Ye shall deliver up' other MSS.

and persecuted *a-gt*, *β-a*. 'and shall persecute' *gt*, *a*.

its yoke *gmq*. 'their yoke' *t*, *β*.

BOOK OF ENOCH 96. 1—97. 2

XCVI. *Grounds of Hopefulness for the Righteous : Woes for the Wicked.*

- 96** ¹ Be hopeful, ye righteous ; for suddenly shall the sinners perish before you,
And ye shall have lordship over them according to your desires.
- ² [And in the day of the tribulation of the sinners,
Your children shall mount and rise as eagles,
And higher than the vultures will be your nest,
And ye shall ascend and enter the crevices of the earth,
And the clefts of the rock for ever as coneys before the unrighteous,
And the sirens shall sigh because of you—and weep.]
- ³ Wherefore fear not, ye that have suffered ;
For healing shall be your portion,
And a bright light shall enlighten you,
And the voice of rest ye shall hear from heaven.
- ⁴ Woe unto you, ye sinners, for your riches make you appear like the righteous,
But your hearts convict you of being sinners,
And this fact shall be a testimony against you for a memorial of (your) evil deeds.
- ⁵ Woe to you who devour the finest of the wheat,
And drink **wine in large bowls**,
And tread under foot the lowly with your might.
- ⁶ Woe to you who drink water **from every fountain**,
For suddenly shall ye be consumed and wither away,
Because ye have forsaken the fountain of life.
- ⁷ Woe to you who work unrighteousness
And deceit and blasphemy :
It shall be a memorial against you for evil.
- ⁸ Woe to you, ye mighty,
Who with might oppress the righteous ;
For the day of your destruction is coming.
- In those days many and good days shall come to the righteous—in the day of your judgement.

XCVII. *The Evils in Store for Sinners and the Possessors of Unrighteous Wealth.*

- 97** ¹ Believe, ye righteous, that the sinners will become a shame
And perish in the day of unrighteousness.
- ² Be it known unto you (ye sinners) that the Most High is mindful of your destruction,
And the angels of heaven rejoice over your destruction.

- XCVI. The righteous are to hope for the coming Messianic kingdom.
1. **lordship.** Cf. xci. 12 (note), xcv. 3, 7, xcvi. 12.
2. Interpolation. The wicked will hide themselves, not the righteous, in the coming time ; xcvi. 3, c. 4, cii. 1.
- civ. 5. But the first three lines may be original.
- tribulation of the sinners.** Is it suffered or caused by the sinners ?
- mount and rise.** From Isa. xl. 31.
- higher than the vultures.** Cf. Jer. xlix. 16.
- enter the crevices, &c.** Isa. ii. 10, 19, 21, from the presence of the Lord, not as here 'before the unrighteous'
- a clumsy insertion.
- the sirens :** 'as the sirens' *qt*, *β*. These may be satyrs or sirens—by the same word the Eth. version renders *σειρήνες* in Isa. xlii. 21, Jer. xxvii. (l.) 39.
3. **a bright light.** See xxxviii. 4 (note).
4. Prosperity was a mark of righteousness, in the O.T. doctrine of retribution.
5. **The finest of the wheat.** Ps. lxxxi. 16, cxlvii. 14.
- wine in large bowls**, i. e. not in ordinary wine-cups. Cf. the flagons of the magnates in Samaria, Amos vi. 6.
- The text is corrupt = 'the strength of the root of the fountain' = *כח עֵץ צֶיֶן* which I emend to *בְּמוֹרֵי צֶיֶן* = the phrase in Amos.
6. The self-indulgent life will fail, for want of the fountain of true life. Cf. Jer. ii. 13 ; Ps. xxxvi. 9.
- drink water from every fountain.** Text corruptly reads *כָּל-עֵץ* for *כָּל-עֵץ*.
- shall ye be consumed** *mgt.* 'shall ye be requited and consumed' *g*, *β*. > *u* (defective).
- forsaken.** Cf. Jer. ii. 13.
7. Cf. xci. 8, xciv. 6, 9.
8. **many and good days :** a temporary Messianic kingdom, in which the righteous then alive will share.
- XCVII. Woes of the wicked.
1. **the day of unrighteousness**, i. e. the judgement day. See xlv. 2 (note).
2. **angels . . . rejoice, &c.** Cf. xciv. 10 and contrast Luke xv. 10. **angels of heaven** *α-η*. 'angels' *β-η*.

BOOK OF ENOCH 97. 3—98. 2

- 3 What will ye do, ye sinners,
And whither will ye flee on that day of judgement,
When ye hear the voice of the prayer of the righteous ?
- 4 Yea, ye shall fare like unto them,
Against whom this word shall be a testimony :
“ Ye have been companions of sinners.”
- 5 And in those days the prayer of the righteous shall reach unto the Lord,
And for you the days of your judgement shall come.
- 6 And all the words of your unrighteousness shall be read out before the Great Holy One,
And your faces shall be covered with shame,
And He will reject every work which is grounded on unrighteousness.
- 7 Woe to you, ye sinners, who live on the mid ocean and on the dry land,
Whose remembrance is evil against you.
- 8 Woe to you who acquire silver and gold in unrighteousness and say :
“ We have become rich with riches and have possessions ;
And have acquired everything we have desired.
- 9 And now let us do what we purposed :
For we have gathered silver,
9^c And many are the husbandmen in our houses.”
9^d And our granaries are (brim) full as with water,
10 Yea and like water your lies shall flow away ;
For your riches shall not abide
But speedily ascend from you ;
For ye have acquired it all in unrighteousness,
And ye shall be given over to a great curse.

XCVIII. *Self-indulgence of Sinners : Sin originated by Man : all Sin recorded in Heaven :
Woes for the Sinners.*

- 98 1 And now I swear unto you, to the wise and to the foolish,
For ye shall have manifold experiences on the earth.
- 2 For ye men shall put on more adornments than a woman,
And coloured garments more than a virgin :
In royalty and in grandeur and in power,
And in silver and in gold and in purple,
And in splendour and in food they shall be poured out as water.

3. **prayer of the righteous.** Cf. *v.* 5, and *xlvi.* 2, *xcvii.* 3, *xcix.* 3, 16, *civ.* 3, and *Rev.* *vi.* 10.
4. **shall fare** *gqu.* *mt*, *β* read ‘shall not fare’.
5. **Against whom** *g.* ‘for against you’ *t.* ‘ye against whom’ *mq*, *β*.
this word. Cf. *xcvi.* 4. Note the Pharisaic idea of separateness from the unrighteous.
6. **righteous** *a-g*, *β-afhikpv.* ‘holy’ *g*, *afhikpv.*
7. **all the words of** *mq*, *β-a.* ‘all’ *g.*
8. **shall be read out,** from the books. See *xlvi.* 3 (note). Cf. *Matt.* *xii.* 36.
Great Holy One, *g₁gmq*, *n.* ‘Great and Holy One’ *tu*, *β-n₁a.* See *i.* 3 (note), *xcii.* 2 (note).
covered with shame. Cf. *xlvi.* 6, *lxii.* 10, *lxiii.* 11.
He will reject every work *gqt.* ‘every work shall be rejected’ *mu*, *β*.
9. **remembrance.** Cf. *c.* 10, 11, *civ.* 8.
10. Cf. *xciv.* 7, 8 (note); also *Sir.* *xi.* 19; *Luke.* *xii.* 19.
11. **with riches** *mq*, *β.* *>gu.*
12. **And many** *g₁g*, *1b.* ‘many’ *qt*, *β-1b.*
13. **as with water** *1g.* Other MSS. prefix ‘and’. Note the rejoinder in 10^a.
14. A rejoinder to the boasting of the sinners.
your riches *u.* ‘riches with you’ *a-u*, *β*.
riches shall . . . ascend, &c. *Prov.* *xxiii.* 5.
all *gmt*, *β-n.* *>1gqu.*

XCVIII. A new division begins, *xcviii-cii.* 3, a denunciation of the sinners’ errors in life and doctrine. Their coming judgement.

1. **I swear.** Here first, but frequently after, in verses 4, 6, *xcix.* 6, &c.
wise and . . . foolish. *xcviii-cii.* 3 to the foolish; *cii.* 4-civ to the wise.
to the foolish *mu*, *β*: ‘not to the foolish’ *g₁gqt.*
2. Their personality will be lost in their possessions, as water is lost in the earth. Cf. *Ps.* *xxii.* 14 for the phrase.

BOOK OF ENOCH 98. 3-16

- 3 Therefore they shall be wanting in doctrine and wisdom,
And they shall perish thereby together with their possessions ;
And with all their glory and their splendour,
And in shame and in slaughter and in great destitution,
Their spirits shall be cast into the furnace of fire.
- 4 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, as a mountain has not become a slave,
And a hill does not become the handmaid of a woman,
Even so sin has not been sent upon the earth,
But man of himself has created it,
And under a great curse shall they fall who commit it.
- 5 And barrenness has not been given to the woman,
But on account of the deeds of her own hands she dies without children.
- 6 I have sworn unto you, ye sinners, by the Holy Great One,
That all your evil deeds are revealed in the heavens,
And that none of your deeds of oppression are covered and hidden.
- 7 And do not think in your spirit nor say in your heart that ye do not know and that ye do not see
8 that every sin is every day recorded in heaven in the presence of the Most High. From henceforth
ye know that all your oppression wherewith ye oppress is written down every day till the day of
your judgement.
- 9 Woe to you, ye fools, for through your folly shall ye perish : and ye transgress against the wise,
10 and so good hap shall not be your portion. And now, know ye that ye are prepared for the day
of destruction : wherefore do not hope to live, ye sinners, but ye shall depart and die ; for ye know
no ransom ; for ye are prepared for the day of the great judgement, for the day of tribulation and
great shame for your spirits.
- 11 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart, who work wickedness and eat blood :
Whence have ye good things to eat and to drink and to be filled ? From all the good things which
the Lord the Most High has placed in abundance on the earth ; therefore ye shall have no peace.
- 12 Woe to you who love the deeds of unrighteousness : wherefore do ye hope for good hap unto
yourselves ? know that ye shall be delivered into the hands of the righteous, and they shall cut
13 off your necks and slay you, and have no mercy upon you. Woe to you who rejoice in the tribulation
14 of the righteous ; for no grave shall be dug for you. Woe to you who set at nought the words of
15 the righteous ; for ye shall have no hope of life. Woe to you who write down lying and godless
words ; for they write down their lies that men may hear them and act godlessly towards (their)
16 neighbour. Therefore they shall have no peace but die a sudden death.

3. **Their spirits** : cf. verse 10, ciii. 8. As incorporeal spirits the wicked are cast into the final place of punishment.
into the furnace of fire g_1g , β . > $mqtu$.
4. Sin is of man's own devising. See lxix. 11 (note). Contrast c. 4. It is not original or unavoidable, but
voluntary, and therefore punished. Cf. 2 Baruch xviii. 2, liv. 15.
mountain, γ is masc. in Heb. while γ = 'hill' is feminine.
5. The instance is an illustration of the general law. Cf. Hos. ix. 14.
barrenness tu , β - n^1 : 'simulation', or 'excuse' g_1gmq , n^1 .
- 6-8. God does concern Himself with men's deeds. Cf. Job xxii. 13 ; Ps. lxxiii. 11.
6. **Holy Great One**, $gqtu$. 'Holy and Great One' gm , β .
7. **recorded**. Cf. xcvi. 6, xcvi. 8, c. 10, civ. 7, 8.
8. **From henceforth**, after the publication of Enoch's book.
9. **transgress against** g_1g : 'know not' m : 'tend not' q : 'hearken not to' t , β .
10. **prepared**. xciv. 9.
no ransom. Ps. xlix. 7, 8, 9.
for ye g , β : 'and ye' q : 'ye' mq .
- day of the great judgement**. See xlv. 2 (note).
for your spirits, see verse 3.
11. **obstinate of heart** : c. 8.
who work : 2nd sing. in t , β : 3rd sing. in g_1gmq . But only β has 'eat' in 2nd sing.
eat blood. Cf. vii. 5 ; Jubilees vii. 28-32, xxi. 6 ; Acts xv. 29.
the Lord $a-m$. 'our Lord' m , β .
no peace. See v. 4 (note), also v. 16 below.
12. **into the hands of the righteous**. See xci. 12 (note).
13. No burial. Cf. Jer. viii. 2, xxii. 19.
shall be dug for you, 'of yours shall be seen' g_1g .
14. **no hope of life**, &c. Cf. xcvi. 10.
15. Cf. civ. 10. Note the literary strife here revealed between Hellenist and Pharisee.
act godlessly towards $gqtu$. β inserts a negative and this necessitates a change of rendering, 'not forget'.
neighbour a . 'folly' β .
16. **a sudden death**. Cf. xciv. 1, 6, 7, xcvi. 6, xcvi. 1, 6.

BOOK OF ENOCH 99. 1-10

XCIX. *Woes pronounced on the Godless, the Lawbreakers: evil Plight of Sinners in the Last Days: further Woes.*

- 99 1 Woe to you who work godlessness,
And glory in lying and extol them:
Ye shall perish, and no happy life shall be yours.
- 2 Woe to them who pervert the words of uprightness,
And transgress the eternal law,
And transform themselves into what they were not [into sinners]:
They shall be trodden under foot upon the earth.
- 3 In those days make ready, ye righteous, to raise your prayers as a memorial,
And place them as a testimony before the angels,
That they may place the sin of the sinners for a memorial before the Most High.
- 4 In those days the nations shall be stirred up,
And the families of the nations shall arise on the day of destruction.
- 5 And in those days the destitute shall go forth and carry off their children,
And they shall abandon them, so that their children shall perish through them:
Yea, they shall abandon their children (that are still) sucklings, and not return to them,
And shall have no pity on their beloved ones.
- 6, 7 And again I swear to you, ye sinners, that sin is prepared for a day of unceasing bloodshed. And
they who worship stones, and grave images of gold and silver and wood (and stone) and clay, and
those who worship impure spirits and demons, and all kinds of idols not according to knowledge,
shall get no manner of help from them.
- 8 And they shall become godless by reason of the folly of their hearts,
And their eyes shall be blinded through the fear of their hearts
And through visions in their dreams.
- 9 Through these they shall become godless and fearful;
For they shall have wrought all their work in a lie,
And shall have worshipped a stone:
Therefore in an instant shall they perish.
- 10 But in those days blessed are all they who accept the words of wisdom, and understand them,
And observe the paths of the Most High, and walk in the path of His righteousness,
And become not godless with the godless;
For they shall be saved.

- XCIX. 1. Here the admirers of Hellenistic literature are denounced. Cf. xciv. 5, xcvi. 15.
to you *a-g*. 'to them' *1g*, *β*. MSS. constantly confuses 2nd and 3rd person.
2. to them *g1gm*. 'to you' *gtu*, *β*.
the eternal law, i.e. of Moses. Cf. v. 4, xcix. 14.
transform themselves, adopt Gentile customs, become apostates, and possibly undergo the operation mentioned
in Ass. Mos. viii. 3.
[into sinners]. A gloss.
3. your prayers. See xcvi. 3 (note).
place them . . . before the angels. For angelic mediation cf. ix. 2-11, and in O.T. Job v. 1; Zech. i. 12; in N.T.
only Rev. viii. 3, 4. See too my notes in T. Levi iii. 5; T. Dan vi. 2.
- place them *a*. 'ye have placed them' *β*.
the Most High, in all sections of the book; ix. 3, x. 1, xlv. 7, lx. 1, 22, lxii. 7, lxxvii. 1, xciv. 8, xcvi. 2, xcvi. 7, 11,
xcix. 3, 10, ci. 1, 6, 9.
4. Wars, tumults, and the period of the sword. Cf. xc. 19, &c.
shall be *t*, *β*. 'are' *a-1gt*.
shall arise *t*, *β*. 'shall raise up' *a-mt*.
5. abandon them *a*. 'abandon their children' *β*.
6-C. 6. Denunciation of idolatry.
day of unceasing bloodshed. See xci. 12 (note), xlv. 2 (note). Quoted by Tertullian *De Idol.* iv. See my
Comm. on 1 En. *in loc.*
7. (and stone) inserted from Tertullian.
impure *β*. 'evil' *a*.
demons. Cf. xvi. 1, xix. 1, also Rev. ix. 20.
not according to knowledge, *ggt(1gu)*, Tert.: 'in idols' temples' *β*.
8. Idolaters go from bad to worse. Cf. Wisdom xiv. 12, 27; Rom. i. 21.
10. Salvation is for those who accept the true wisdom.
of His righteousness *a-u*. 'of righteousness' *u*, *β*.

BOOK OF ENOCH 99. 11—100. 4

- ¹¹ Woe to you who spread evil to your neighbours;
For you shall be slain in Sheol.
- ¹² Woe to you who make deceitful and false measures,
And (to them) who cause bitterness on the earth;
For they shall thereby be utterly consumed.
- ¹³ Woe to you who build your houses through the grievous toil of others,
And all their building materials are the bricks and stones of sin;
I tell you ye shall have no peace.
- ¹⁴ Woe to them who reject the measure and eternal heritage of their fathers
And whose souls follow after idols;
For they shall have no rest.
- ¹⁵ Woe to them who work unrighteousness and help oppression,
And slay their neighbours until the day of the great judgement.
- ¹⁶ For He shall cast down your glory,
And bring affliction on your hearts,
And shall arouse **His fierce indignation**
And destroy you all with the sword;
And all the holy and righteous shall remember your sins.

C. *The Sinners destroy each other : Judgement of the Fallen Angels : the Safety of the Righteous : further Woes for the Sinners.*

- 100 ¹ And in those days in one place the fathers together with their sons shall be smitten
And brothers one with another shall fall in death
Till the streams flow with their blood.
- ² For a man shall not withhold his hand from slaying his sons and his sons' sons,
And the sinner shall not withhold his hand from his honoured brother :
From dawn till sunset they shall slay one another.
- ³ And the horse shall walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners,
And the chariot shall be submerged to its height.
- ⁴ In those days the angels shall descend into the secret places
And gather together into one place all those who brought down sin,
And the Most High will arise on that day of judgement
To execute great judgement amongst sinners.

^{11. slain in Sheol.} Cf. cviii. 3—the extreme penalty of sin. Condemnation to Sheol is less severe than the slaying of the soul. Cf. xxii. 13. Sheol is here the eternal place of punishment. See lxxiii. 10 (note).

^{12. measures} *a-mt, i^l.* 'foundations' *t, β-i*.

^{cause bitterness} *mt, β.* 'know' *gq.* tempt' *1g.*

^{13. build . . . toil of others.} Cf. Jer. xxii. 13; also 1 En. xciv. 7, xcvi. 8.

^{14. the measure and eternal heritage,} the Mosaic law. Cf. *v.* 2.

^{whose souls follow after} *1gm.* 'and follow after the souls of' *guqt.* 'who cause their souls to follow after' *β.*
^{have no rest.} Cf. the sufferings of the righteous, ciii. 13; also 'no peace', xciv. 6.

^{15. to them} *1gu, β.* 'to you' *gmqt.*

^{day of the great judgement.} See xciv. 9, xcvi. 10, also xlv. 2 (note).

^{16. His fierce indignation.} *1gβ* read 'the spirit of His indignation' = *רוח אפו* corrupt for *חרון אפו*: *gmqt* read 'His indignation and His spirit'. 'His spirit' is nom. in *qt.* + 'into your hands' *g.*

^{holy and righteous} *g1gmq.* ∞ *t, β.*

^{remember your sins,} and so hasten your destruction. See xcvi. 5 (note).

C. 1. ^{brothers one with another shall fall} *β.* *a* inserts 'and' after 'another'.

^{streams flow with their blood.} Cf. Isa. xxxiv. 3, 7; Ps. lviii. 10.

^{2. his sons' sons} *β.* 'his son's son' *gmt.* *1gq* corrupt. + 'in compassion' *tβ.*
^{the sinner} *t, β.* 'as for the sinner, he' *g, gmq.*

^{his honoured brother.} Aristobulus slew his beloved brother Antigonos (Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 11. 1, 2). On the internecine strife that was to initiate the kingdom cf. lvi. 7, xcix. 5, 6; Zech. xiv. 13; Ezek. xxxviii. 21; Hag. ii. 22; Mic. vii. 6; Matt. x. 21, 34, 35, xxiv. 10, &c.

^{3. up to the breast.} Cf. Rev. xiv. 20.

^{to its height} *m, β.* 'to the day of its (>_{1g}) height' (a dittograph of 'day'). 'it shall be filled to its height' *t.*

^{4. The fallen angels who brought down sin} will be gathered from 'the secret places'.

^{the angels shall descend, &c.} Cf. Matt. xiii. 39, 41, 49.

^{brought down sin} *a-t.* 'helped sin' *t, β.*

^{of judgement} *a-tu.* > *tu, β.*

^{amongst} *1gmqu.* 'and amongst' *g.* 'on all the' *t, β.*

BOOK OF ENOCH 100. 5-13

- 5 And over all the righteous and holy He will appoint guardians from amongst the holy angels
To guard them as the apple of an eye,
Until He makes an end of all wickedness and all sin,
And though the righteous sleep a long sleep, they have nought to fear.
- 6 And (then) the children of the earth shall see the wise **in security**,
And shall understand all the words of this book,
And recognize that their riches shall not be able to save them
In the overthrow of their sins.
- 7 Woe to you, Sinners, on the day of strong anguish,
Ye who afflict the righteous and burn them with fire :
Ye shall be requited according to your works.
- 8 Woe to you, ye obstinate of heart,
Who watch in order to devise wickedness :
Therefore shall fear come upon you
And there shall be none to help you.
- 9 Woe to you, ye sinners, on account of the words of your mouth,
And on account of the deeds of your hands which your godlessness has wrought,
In blazing flames burning worse than fire shall ye burn.
- 10 And now, know ye that from the angels He will inquire as to your deeds in heaven, from the sun
and from the moon and from the stars in reference to your sins because upon the earth ye execute
11 judgement on the righteous. And He will summon to testify against you every cloud and mist
and dew and rain ; for they shall all be withheld because of you from descending upon you, and they
12 shall be mindful of your sins. And now give presents to the rain that it be not withheld from descend-
ing upon you, nor yet the dew, when it has received gold and silver from you that it may descend.
13 When the hoar-frost and snow with their chilliness, and all the snow-storms with all their plagues
fall upon you, in those days ye shall not be able to stand before them.

5. The righteous souls in the place of the departed are guarded. Cf. the promptuaria of 4 Ezra vii. 85, 95 ; also 4 Ezra iv. 32, 40, vii. 32 ; 2 Bar. xxx. 2.

all ¹⁰. > *gu*.

the apple of an eye. Cf. Deut. xxxii. 10 ; Ps. xvii. 8.

He makes an end of all *g₁gmq²*. 'all has been made an end of' *q¹tu,β*.

the righteous sleep a long sleep. The writer of xci-civ did not expect the resurrection at the beginning of the temporary Messianic kingdom, which was to come at the commencement of the eighth week. The 'long sleep' seems to last till the end of the tenth week, and the resurrection of the righteous in xci-civ follows the final judgement.

6. I have transposed 'the children of the earth' from the second line to the first, and with *1gq* taken 'the wise' in the acc. and not in the nom. as *gmt, β*. 'The wicked see the bliss of the wise.' Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 85 ; Wisdom iv. 17, &c. children of the earth, cf. cii. 3 ; the counterpart of 'the children of heaven' or the righteous, ci. 1.

in security. Text = *πιστόν* or *πεποιθότα*—a wrong rendering of *𐤒𐤁𐤁* used pregnantly = dwelling in security. Cf.

Gen. xxxiv. 25.

7. on the day of strong anguish. The MSS. wrongly transpose this into the next clause.

Ye who. MSS. read *sōba* = 'when', corrupt for 'ella.

burn them with fire. Cf. 2 Macc. vii.

according to your works. Cf. xciv. 5.

8. obstinate of heart *a*. 'perverse of heart' *β*. Cf. xcvi. 11.

watch. Cf. Isa. xxix. 20.

9. sinners + 'for' *1g, β*.

which your godlessness has wrought *gmu* : 'because of the work of your godlessness' *t* : 'which are the work of your godlessness' *q* : 'which as a work ye have godlessly committed' *β*.

in blazing flames . . . burn. Here *a-1g* > 'shall ye burn', and *1g, β* > 'burning'. The two texts seem to be complementary.

10. All the heavenly powers which witness the sins of the wicked testify against them. Cf. xcvi. 6-8, also xcvi. 7, civ. 1. Cf. the witness of stones and beams in their houses against the wicked, Hab. ii. 11.

in heaven. 'from heaven' *g* + 'and' *a-u*.

execute judgement on = *ποιεῖτε κρίσιν περὰ* (so *gmt*)—a Hebraism.

11. All the natural powers which minister to the earth's fruitfulness will testify against sinners, as they are withheld on account of their sins. Cf. lxxx (interpolation in lxxii-lxxxii) : cf. Jer. iii. 3.

they shall be mindful *a-mt*. 'shall they not be mindful' *mt, β* (*t, β* 'watchful').

12. Ironically spoken.

that it may descend *g₁gt, bilopxy₁a₁b*. 'that it should not descend' *mq*. > *u, β-bilopxy₁a₁b*.

13. Even the punishment by the elements will be irresistible.

BOOK OF ENOCH 101. 1—102. 4

CI. *Exhortation to the Fear of God: all Nature fears Him but not the Sinners.*

- 101** ¹ Observe the heaven, ye children of heaven, and every work of the Most High, and fear ye Him
² and work no evil in His presence. If He closes the windows of heaven, and withholds the rain and
³ the dew from descending on the earth on your account, what will ye do then? And if He sends
His anger upon you because of your deeds, ye cannot petition Him; for ye spake proud and insolent
⁴ words against His righteousness: therefore ye shall have no peace. And see ye not the **sailors** of
the ships, how their ships are tossed to and fro by the waves, and are shaken by the winds, and are
⁵ in sore trouble? And therefore do they fear because all their goodly possessions go upon the sea
with them, and they have evil forebodings of heart that the sea will swallow them and they will
⁶ perish therein. Are not the entire sea and all its waters, and all its movements, the work of the Most
⁷ High, and has He not set limits to its doings, and confined it throughout by the sand? And at His
reproof it is afraid and dries up, and all its fish die and all that is in it; but ye sinners that are
⁸ on the earth fear Him not. Has He not made the heaven and the earth, and all that is therein?
Who has given understanding and wisdom to everything that moves on the earth and in the sea?
⁹ Do not the **sailors** of the ships fear the sea? Yet sinners fear not the Most High.

CII. *Terrors of the Day of Judgement: the adverse Fortunes of the Righteous on the Earth.*

- 102** ¹ In those days when He hath brought a grievous fire upon you,
Whither will ye flee, and where will ye find deliverance?
And when He launches forth His word against you
Will you not be affrighted and fear?
² And all the luminaries shall be affrighted with great fear,
And all the earth shall be affrighted and tremble and be alarmed.
³ And all the †angels shall execute their commands†
And shall seek to hide themselves from the presence of the Great Glory,
And the children of earth shall tremble and quake;
And ye sinners shall be cursed for ever,
And ye shall have no peace.
⁴ Fear ye not, ye souls of the righteous,
And be hopeful ye that have died in righteousness.

- CI. 1. The same subject continued, but verse 1 contains an aside to the righteous.
children of heaven, equivalent to 'sons of God' i. e. righteous Israelites. See Test. Lev. iv. 2 (note); Wisd. ii.
13, 18. For 'children of heaven' cf. Pirke Aboth iii. 22.
2. Address to the wicked resumed, c. 11, 12.
If *gt*, *β-enx*: 'for', *igu*, *ex*: 'when' *mq*, *n*.
windows of heaven. Gen. vii. 11.
3. if *gi*, *gtu*, *β*: 'when' *mq*.
because of (+ 'all' *ig*) **your deeds** *gm*: 'and upon (+ 'all' *β*) your deeds' *t*, *β*: 'your deeds' *gq*.
proud and insolent words: v. 4 (note); xxvii. 2. Cf. xcvi. 7, 8, cii. 6.
4-7. Sailors fear the sea: how much more should men fear God, of whom the sea is sore afraid. Cf. Ps. cvii. 23-27.
4. **sailors**. Text='kings', i. e. מלכ' corrupt for מלח'.
6, 7. The sea is in the hand of God. Cf. Jer. v. 22; Job xxvi. 10, xxxviii. 8-11; Ps. lxxxix. 9, civ. 9; Prov. viii. 29.
has He not set limits to its doings *e* (but it reads 'aqama for 'aqama): *y* preserves the verb: *β-y* alter it to
hatama='has sealed': *gmqt* read 'its doings and waters' (i. e. wamajâ, perhaps corrupt for 'aqama).
at His reproof . . . dries up. Isa. 1. 2.
is afraid and dries up *a-ig*, *x*: 'dries up and is afraid' *β-x*.
9. A pregnant summing up.
sailors. See v. 4 (note).

- CII. 1-3. Whither they will flee on the terrible day of the Lord, when heaven and earth will be aghast and the very
angels seek to hide themselves?
1. **a grievous fire**, i. e. hell. Cf. xcix. 11.
His word, i. e. of judgement.
3. †**angels . . . commands**†. Corrupt: for 'angels' read kings. Cf. Rev. vi. 15.
execute their commands. I cannot emend.
3. **the Great Glory** *a*. 'the Great in Glory' *β*. Cf. xiv. 10.
children of earth. Cf. c. 6.
have no peace. Cf. xciv. 6 (note).
4-CIV. 9. Discussion and condemnation of Sadducean views of the future life.
4, 5. The righteous are to be of good cheer, though their life and death be in grief.
4. **ye that have died** *m*, *cfhikln₁a*: 'they who have died' *ggtu*: 'the day of your death' *abdeox₁b*: 'the souls of
those who have died' *ig*: *q* adds 'ye who have died in righteousness' after 'grieve not' in the next line.

BOOK OF ENOCH 102. 5—103. 3

- 5 And grieve not if your soul into Sheol has descended in grief,
And that in your life your body fared not according to your goodness,
But **wait for** the day of the **judgement** of sinners
And for the day of cursing and chastisement.
- 6 And yet when ye die the sinners speak over you :
“ As we die, so die the righteous,
And what benefit do they reap for their deeds ?
- 7 Behold, even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness,
And what have they more than we ?
From henceforth we are equal.
- 8 And what will they receive and what will they see for ever ?
Behold, they too have died,
And henceforth for ever shall they see no light.”
- 9 I tell you, ye sinners, ye are content to eat and drink, and rob and sin, and strip men naked, and
10 acquire wealth and see good days. Have ye seen the righteous how their end falls out, that no manner
11 of violence is found in them till their death ? “ Nevertheless they perished and became as though
they had not been, and their spirits descended into Sheol in tribulation.”

CIII. *Different Destinies of the Righteous and the Sinners : fresh Objections of the Sinners.*

- 103 1 Now, therefore, I swear to you, the righteous, by the glory of the Great and Honoured and
2 Mighty One in dominion, and by His greatness I swear to you.
I know a mystery
And have read the heavenly tablets,
And have seen the holy books,
And have found written therein and inscribed regarding them :
3 That all goodness and joy and glory are prepared for them,
And written down for the spirits of those who have died in righteousness,
And that manifold good shall be given to you in recompense for your labours,
And that your lot is abundantly beyond the lot of the living.

5. Strong in the belief in a blessed future for the righteous, the writer can concede the apparent equality of righteous and wicked in life and death.

if g_1g . Other MSS. ‘that’ or ‘because’.

soul + ‘into great tribulation and wailing and sorrow and’ t, β .

Sheol. See lxiii. 10 (note).

wait for. Here I emend ēnka ba (=‘moreover on’) into ṣenḥū la =‘wait for’. Cf. cviii. 2.

judgement of sinners. Text=‘ye became sinners’. The next line requires this emendation here.

day of . . . chastisement. Hos. v. 9.

6-8. The Sadducean argument—the O.T. view of the retribution of the righteous in this life was interpreted as implying that men could be judged by their fortunes in this life, and that where there is no difference in this life there will be none in the next. Cf. Wisdom ii. 1-5, iii. 2-4; Eccles. ii. 14-16, iii. 19-21, &c.

7. in grief and darkness. The O.T. view of Sheol, lxiii. 10 (note).

8. what will they receive mt, β : ‘how will they rise’ g_1gq .

Behold a_1g . ‘For behold’ $1g, \beta$.

9-10. Answer of the writer. The distinction of righteous and wicked is not an outward, but a religious and ethical one. The wicked man’s life is moulded by material and temporal aims only.

9. see good days. So LXX of Ps. xxxiv. 12.

10. falls out a . ‘is peace’ β .

death a_1g . ‘day of their death’ $1g, \beta$.

11. The wicked rejoin that Death awaits both alike.

spirits a_1g . ‘souls’ $1g, \beta$.

CIII. 1-4. The writer turns to the righteous, and assures them from the heavenly tablets and the holy books that every good thing is in store for them.

1. A more solemn oath than in xcvi. 1, 4, 6, &c.

by the glory . . . dominion g and almost $1g$: ‘by His great glory (‘by the glory of the Great One’ qt) and by His honoured kingdom’ mq : ‘by His great glory and honour and by His honoured kingdom’ $\beta-y$.

2. a mystery $a-t$. ‘this mystery’ t, β .

read gqu . ‘read in’ mt, β .

the holy books gqt . ‘books of the holy ones’ $1gm, \beta$. Cf. cviii. 7, xlvii. 3. See also cviii. 3.

3. Where are these blessings to be enjoyed, in Sheol, or in the spiritual theocracy set up after the final judgement? There seems to be only a resurrection of the spirit.

for them $1g, \beta$. $> a_1g$.

the spirits of those who mt, β : ‘your spirits which’ gq .

manifold good $1gmq$. ‘things manifold and good’ gt . ‘with manifold good’ β .

BOOK OF ENOCH 103. 4-12

- 4 And the spirits of you who have died in righteousness shall live and rejoice,
And their spirits shall not perish, nor their memorial from before the face of the Great One
Unto all the generations of the world : wherefore no longer fear their contumely.
- 5 Woe to you, ye sinners, when ye have died,
If ye die in the wealth of your sins,
And those who are like you say regarding you :
" Blessed are the sinners : they have seen all their days.
- 6 And now they have died in prosperity and in wealth,
And have not seen tribulation or murder in their life ;
And they have died in honour,
And judgement has not been executed on them during their life."
- 7 Know ye, that their souls will be made to descend into Sheol
And they shall be wretched in their great tribulation.
- 8 And into darkness and chains and a burning flame where there is grievous judgement shall your
spirits enter ;
And the great judgement shall be for all the generations of the world.
Woe to you, for ye shall have no peace.
- 9 Say not in regard to the righteous and good who are in life :
" In our troubled days we have toiled laboriously and experienced every trouble,
And met with much evil and been consumed,
And have become few and our spirit small.
- 10 And we have been destroyed and have not found any to help us even with a word :
We have been tortured [and destroyed], and not hoped to see life from day to day.
- 11 We hoped to be the head and have become the tail :
We have toiled laboriously and had no satisfaction in our toil ;
And we have become the food of the sinners and the unrighteous,
And they have laid their yoke heavily upon us.
- 12 They have had dominion over us that hated us† and smote us ;
And to those that hated us† we have bowed our necks
But they pitied us not.

4. **spirits of you** $g_1 g q$, β : 'spirits of them' mt .
who have died (2nd sing. in $1g$, $t^2 \beta$). 'who have died' (3rd sing.) $a-1g$.
rejoice + 'and be glad' $g_1 g m$, β .
And their spirits shall not perish, nor a . 'their spirits and' β .
5-8. The wicked are not at an end after death. Darkness, chains and a burning fire await them.
5. **when ye have died** $a-u$. $> \beta$.
the wealth of $a-q$. $> q, \beta$.
7. **Sheol**. See lxiii. 10 (note). Here, unlike in cii. 5, 11, it is the final place of punishment. Our text is a development of Jub. vii. 29, as it adds to Sheol one of the characteristics of Gehenna. See v. 8a.
8. **of the world** a . 'unto eternity' β .
have no peace. See v. 4 (note); xciv. 6 (note).
9-15. An ironical description of the lot of the righteous. Cf. the Sadducean view in cii. 6, 7.
9. From this verse to the end of the chapter $1g$ stands frequently alone, exhibiting nearly sixty variations, mostly between 1st and 3rd plurals. The MSS. evidence goes to prove that the 3rd person was original, for whereas $1g$ gives the 3rd person in all but seven instances (these are confined to vv. 14 and 15), all other MSS. with few exceptions give the 1st person. Thus the wicked assume the rôle of the righteous and speak in their person in ciii. 9-15. Yet in civ. 1-6 the author addresses his reply not directly to the sinners who have just spoken but to the righteous (cf. ciii. 1), and returns to the sinners in civ. 7-9.
our troubled days t^2 , β : 'their troubled days' $g q t^2 u$: 'the days of their life with their troublous toil' $1g$.
we. 'they' $1g$, and so on except in 14-15.
been consumed: 'they have suffered from disease' $1g$.
become few. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 62.
our spirit small. Not 'humble' but 'poor-spirited'.
10. **we . . . have not found any to help us even with a word** $a-1g t$. So $1g$ but with a change of persons. 'There has been none to help us in word or deed: we are powerless and have found nothing' t, β .
11. **We hoped** a . 'and we hoped' β .
to be the head. Deut. xxviii. 13.
laid their yoke, &c. Deut. xxviii. 48.
12. **had dominion . . . hated us**. Cf. Esther ix. 1.
to those that hated us. I think this is a dittograph from the line before, and 'that smote us' belongs to this line. Thus we have: 'They have had dominion over us that hated us, And to those that smote us we have bowed our necks, But they pitied us not.'

BOOK OF ENOCH 103. 13—104. 7

- 13 We desired to get away from them that we might escape and be at rest,
But found no place whereunto we should flee and be safe from them.
- 14 And we complained to the rulers in our tribulation,
And cried out against those who devoured us,
But they did not attend to our cries
And would not hearken to our voice.
- 15 And they helped those who robbed us and devoured us and those who made us few ; and they
concealed their oppression, and they did not remove from us the yoke of those that devoured us
and dispersed us and murdered us, and they concealed their murder, and remembered not that they
had lifted up their hands against us.

CIV. *Assurances given to the Righteous : Admonitions to Sinners and the Falsifiers of
the Words of Uprightness.*

- 104 1 I swear unto you, that in heaven the angels remember you for good before the glory of the Great
2 One : and your names are written before the glory of the Great One. Be hopeful ; for aforetime
ye were put to shame through ill and affliction ; but now ye shall shine as the lights of heaven,
3 ye shall shine and ye shall be seen, and the portals of heaven shall be opened to you. And in your
cry, cry for judgement, and it shall appear to you ; for all your tribulation shall be visited on the
4 rulers, and on all who helped those who plundered you. Be hopeful, and cast not away your hope ;
5 for ye shall have great joy as the angels of heaven. What shall ye be obliged to do ? Ye shall not
have to hide on the day of the great judgement and ye shall not be found as sinners, and the eternal
6 judgement shall be far from you for all the generations of the world. And now fear not, ye righteous,
when ye see the sinners growing strong and prospering in their ways : be not companions with them,
7 but keep afar from their violence ; for ye shall become companions of the hosts of heaven. And,
although ye sinners say : “ All our sins shall not be searched out and be written down,” nevertheless

13. **we desired** $a_{-1}g$. $1g\beta$ prefix ‘and’.
14. **cried out** + ‘and made lamentation’ g : $1g$ inserts this clause before ‘in our tribulation’.
- 14, 15. These verses help to fix the date of xci-civ. In lxxxiii-xc the rulers appear as the divinely appointed leaders of the righteous. Here they are shown as the aiders and abettors of the persecutors. These enemies are the Sadducees, sinners, apostates, and paganizers. The righteous are the Pharisaic party. These issues only became clear in the Maccabean period, and after the breach between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees. ‘Dispersed’ and ‘murdered’ point to Jannaeus, and the date 94–79 B.C. Possibly it is later, 70–64 B.C., when for the last time Sadducees and rulers acted in concert.
15. **they helped** $1g\beta$: ‘you have helped’ gmt : ‘thou hast helped’ q .
the yoke of those that g_1gm , &c. ‘their yoke but’ qt , &c.
- CIV. Again the writer replies, not to the wicked, but to the righteous, as in ciii. 1. The righteous have indeed no hope in this life, but must look for the blessed future awaiting them in heaven.
1. **unto you** + ‘ye righteous’ $t^2\beta$.
the angels remember you. For angelic mediation cf. xv. 2 (note), xl. 5–7, xlvii. 2, lxxxix. 76.
and a, i . $> \beta-ei$.
names are written : xlvii. 3 (note). The Great One : xiv. 2, ciii. 4.
2. **now** : used here of the impending future.
shine as the lights. Cf. Dan. xii. 3 ; 4 Ezra vii. 97, 125.
ye shall shine $2^o a$. $> \beta$.
portals of heaven. For the open gates cf. Rev. xxi. 25. There is no hope of a new earth. Cf. xci. 16 (note).
3. Their demand for justice, unheard on earth, ciii. 14, 15, will one day be satisfied. Cf. for the cry of the righteous xcvi. 3, 5 (note), xcix. 3, 16.
the rulers. Cf. ciii. 14, 15 (note).
4. **as the angels of heaven.** Cf. Matt. xxii. 30 ; 1 En. civ. 6.
5. **what shall ye . . . do** $a-t, e$. ‘as for what ye shall . . . do’ $t, \beta-e$.
day of the great judgement. Cf. xix. 1, lxxxiv. 4, xciv. 9, xcvi. 10, xcix. 15.
the eternal judgement. Cf. xci. 15, also xlv. 2 (note). This verse seems to imply no judgement for the righteous.
- Contrast li. 2.
6. **in their ways** g_1gmt . ‘in their lusts’ β .
Note Pharisaic exclusiveness. Cf. xci. 3, 4. The hope of the righteous can be realized in heaven alone. The Messianic kingdom falls into the background.
be not a . ‘and be not’ β .
companions, &c. ; cf. civ. 2, 4. In 2 Bar. li. 5, 10, 12 the righteous attain and even transcend the glory of the angels.
hosts. So β , reading ḥarâ. Cf. Luke ii. 13 ; Rev. xix. 14 ; gmt read ḥêrâna = τῶν ἀγαθῶν (corrupt for ἀγγέλων, Flemming).
- 7, 8. He warns the wicked that, though they know it not, their sins are recorded daily.
7. **All our sins . . . out.** So Beer and n . Other MSS. read ‘ye shall not search out all our sins’. t, β give ‘all our sins’ in nom. : g_1gmq in acc.
be written down t, β . ‘they (‘he’ $1gq$; ‘ye’ mu) shall write’ g_1gmqu .

BOOK OF ENOCH 104. 8—105. 2

8 they shall write down all your sins every day. And now I show unto you that light and darkness,
9 day and night, see all your sins. Be not godless in your hearts, and lie not and alter not the words
of uprightness, nor charge with lying the words of the Holy Great One, nor take account of your
10 idols; for all your lying and all your godlessness issue not in righteousness but in great sin. And
now I know this mystery, that sinners will alter and pervert the words of righteousness in many
ways, and will speak wicked words, and lie, and practise great deceits, and write books concerning
11 their words. But when they write down truthfully all my words in their languages, and do not
change or minish ought from my words but write them all down truthfully—all that I first testified
12 concerning them. Then, I know another mystery, that books will be given to the righteous and the
13 wise to become a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom. And to them shall the books
be given, and they shall believe in them and rejoice over them, and then shall all the righteous who
have learnt therefrom all the paths of uprightness be recompensed.'

CV. *God and the Messiah to dwell with Man*

105 1 In those days the Lord bade (them) to summon and testify to the children of earth concerning
their wisdom: Show (it) unto them; for ye are their guides, and a recompense over the whole earth.
2 For I and My Son will be united with them for ever in the paths of uprightness in their lives; and
ye shall have peace: rejoice, ye children of uprightness. Amen.

8. For the witness of natural powers cf. c. 10 (note).
9-13. Disclosures and directions regarding his own book.
9. The wicked are bidden not to alter or misinterpret the O.T. Cf. xciv. 5, xcvi. 14, xcix. 2.
Holy Great One. See i. 3 (note).
take account of *g₁gq*. 'praise' *mt*, *β*.
your idols. Cf. xcix. 7-9, 14.
10. A time will come when the words of revelation will be perverted, and books be written enforcing wicked and
heathen doctrine.
sinners . . . in many ways *g₁gmt*. 'many sinners' *g*, *β*.
books *t*, *β*. 'my books' *g₁gmq*.
11. But the writings of Enoch will counteract these heathen teachings. The writer speaks here from Enoch's stand-
point.
my words *tu*, *β*. 'words' *g₁gmq*.
their languages, i.e. Greek and Aramaic.
12. At last a righteous and wise generation will receive and understand his works (cf. i. 2). Cf. Dan. xii. 4, 9, 10.
13. **recompensed**: i.e. find their reward in these books (xciii. 10, c. 6, civ. 12, 13, cv. 1), or perhaps in the Messianic
kingdom thereupon set up.
CV. This chapter does not seem to belong to xci-civ. (1) Children of earth is used in a good sense. Contrast c. 6.
(2) The Messiah is introduced, here alone in xci-civ. (3) The emphasis is on the finite life of the saints on earth (an
idea of i-xxxvi), not on the immortal life in heaven, as in xci-civ.
1. **In those** *a-m*. 'and in those' *m* *β*.
and testify *> m*.
recompense. Cf. civ. 13.
2. **I and My Son**, i.e. the Messiah. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 28, 29, xiii. 32, 37, 52, xiv. 9. The righteous are God's children,
and pre-eminently so the Messiah. Cf. the early Messianic interpretation of Ps. ii, also 1 En. lxii. 14; John xiv. 23.
in their lives, thus finite.
ye shall have peace. Contrast the curse of the wicked, xciv. 6 (note).

FRAGMENT OF THE BOOK OF NOAH

106 **1** And after some days my son Methuselah took
a wife for his son Lamech, and she became
2 pregnant by him and bore a son. And his body
was white as snow and red as the blooming of
a rose, and the hair of his head †and his long
locks were white as wool, and his eyes beautiful†.
And when he opened his eyes, he lighted up the
whole house like the sun, and the whole house
3 was very bright. And thereupon he arose in the
hands of the midwife, opened his mouth, and
†conversed with† the Lord of righteousness.
4 And his father Lamech was afraid of him and
5 fled, and came to his father Methuselah. And
he said unto him: 'I have begotten a strange
son, diverse from and unlike man, and resem-
bling the sons of the God of heaven; and his
nature is different and he is not like us, and his
eyes are as the rays of the sun, and his coun-
6 tenance is glorious. And it seems to me that
he is not sprung from me but from the angels,
and I fear that in his days a wonder may be
7 wrought on the earth. And now, my father,
I am here to petition thee and implore thee that
thou mayst go to Enoch, our father, and learn
from him the truth, for his dwelling-place is
8 amongst the angels.' And when Methuselah
heard the words of his son, he came to me to the
ends of the earth; for he had heard that I was
there, and he cried aloud, and I heard his voice
and I came to him. And I said unto him:
9 'Behold, here am I, my son, wherefore hast
thou come to me?' And he answered and said:
'Because of a great cause of anxiety have
I come to thee, and because of a disturbing vision
10 have I approached. And now, my father, hear
me: unto Lamech my son there hath been born
a son, the like of whom there is none, and his
nature is not like man's nature, and the colour

LATIN FRAGMENT.

Factum est autem [cum esset Lamech annorum **1**
tricentorum quinquaginta] natus est ei filiu(s)
cui oculi sunt sicut radi solis capilli autem eius **2**
candi(di)ores in septies niue corpori autem eius
nemo hominum potest intueri.

et surexit inter manus obstetricis suae et **3**
adorauit dominum uiuentem in secula [laudauit].

et timuit Lamech.
et uenit ad patrem suum Mathusalem et **4**
narrauit illi omnia. **5**

ne non ex eo natus esset nisi nontius dei. **6**

dixit Mathusalem: Ego autem non possum **7**
scire nisi eamus ad patrem nostrum Enoc.

quum autem uidit Enoc filium suum Mathu- **8**
salem uenientem ad se [et] ait. quid est quod
uenisti ad me nate?

dixit: **9**

quod natus est filio suo [nomine] Lamech cui **10**
oculi sunt sicut radi solis capilli[s] eius candidiores
septies niue, corpori autem eius nemo hominum
potest intueri

CVI—CVII. A fragment of a Noah Apocalypse. Part of this section has been preserved in a Latin Version which I print side by side with the text.

2. and his long locks . . . beautiful. The Latin does not mention these 'long locks', and the Eth. is easily emended into 'was white . . . and his eyes were like the rays of the sun'. Cf. the Eth. version in *v.* 5, and *v.* 10. In the Latin (*v.* 2) *septies* seems corrupt for *capitis*. Cf. *v.* 10.

as wool. Cf. xlv. 1.

3. And thereupon ^{1g.} Other MSS. 'and when'.

opened his mouth. Cf. *v.* 11. Latin defective here.

†conversed with†. Here tanâgara is corrupt for tagâna = 'praised' = [*laudauit*] in the Latin, where, however, *adorauit* also occurs. See my Comm. *in loc.*

Lord of righteousness. Cf. xxii. 14, xc. 40.

5. and ^{2o} *g.* ^{1g.} > other MSS.

sons of the God of heaven. Cf. lxix. 4, 5, also lxxi. 1 (note).

6. but from the angels. The Lat. gives a different idea. Nontius = ἄγγελος. The Lat. of 6 follows 'Lamech' in *v.* 4.

7. Latin corrupt; observe *eamus*.

amongst the angels, i.e. at the ends of the earth, as in lxxv. 2.

8. wherefore. So Latin *quid est quod* = διὰ τί. But Eth. = διότι, a corruption.

9. cause of anxiety *g.* ^{gmt.} 'matter' β.

10. And now + 'hear me' ^{1gm.}

colour of his body ^{1g.} Other MSS. = 'his colour'. But *corpori* in the next clause in the Lat. and σώματα in Apoc. Petri support ^{1g.}

FRAGMENT OF THE BOOK OF NOAH 106. 10-19

of his body is whiter than snow and redder than the bloom of a rose, and the hair of his head is whiter than white wool, and his eyes are like the rays of the sun, and he opened his eyes and
 11 thereupon lighted up the whole house. And he arose in the hands of the midwife, and opened
 12 his mouth and blessed the Lord of heaven. And his father Lamech became afraid and fled to me, and did not believe that he was sprung from him, but that he was in the likeness of the angels of heaven; and behold I have come to thee that thou mayst make known to me the truth.
 13 And I, Enoch, answered and said unto him: 'The Lord will do a new thing on the earth, and this I have already seen in a vision, and make known to thee that in the generation of my father Jared some of the angels of heaven
 14 transgressed the word of the Lord. And behold they commit sin and transgress the law, and have united themselves with women and commit sin with them, and have married some of them,
 17 and have begot children by them. And they shall produce on the earth giants not according to the spirit, but according to the flesh, and there shall be a great punishment on the earth, and the
 15 earth shall be cleansed from all impurity. Yea, there shall come a great destruction over the whole earth, and there shall be a deluge and
 16 a great destruction for one year. And this son who has been born unto you shall be left on the earth, and his three children shall be saved with him: when all mankind that are on the earth
 18 shall die [he and his sons shall be saved]. And now make known to thy son Lamech that he who has been born is in truth his son, and call his name Noah; for he shall be left to you, and he and his sons shall be saved from the destruction, which shall come upon the earth on account of all the sin and all the unrighteousness, which shall be consummated on the earth in his days.
 19 And after that there shall be still more unrighteousness than that which was first consummated on the earth; for I know the mysteries of the holy ones; for He, the Lord, has showed me and informed me, and I have read (them) in the heavenly tablets.

et surexit inter manus obstetricis suae eadem 11
 hora, qua *procidit* de utero matris suae. orauit
dominum uiuentem in secula et laudauit.
 et timuit Lamech. 12

et dixit Enoc: nontiatum est mihi fili *quia* 13
 post quingentos annos

mittet deus cataclismum aquae ut debeat 15
 omnem creaturam [XL.] ostendit oculis nostris.

et erunt illi · III · filii [et erunt nomina filiorum 16
 eius · Sem · Cham · Iafeth]

et ipse uocabitur Noe *qui interpretatur* requies 18
quia requiem prestabit in archam.

the colour . . . rose, eyes . . . sun. Borrowed by Apoc. Petri.

11. Lord of heaven. Here only in Enoch. But note Lat. = 'dominum viventem in saecula.' Also cf. v. 1.

13. do a new thing. Num. xvi. 30; Isa. xliii. 19.

in the generation of . . . Jared. Cf. vi. 6.

some of the angels. Easily emended from Eth. = 'some from the heights'. *n* reads 'angels'.

14. transgress the law—of spiritual beings. Cf. xv.

17. I have restored this verse to its original place.

And *q*l, *x*. > *β-x*. *g*₁*g* are defective through hmt. here.

15. one year. Cf. Gen. vii. 11, and viii. 14.

16. and ¹⁰*g*₁*g**g*. > other MSS.

[he and his sons shall be saved] > *g*₁*g**g*. It is a repetition of the clause in v. 18.

18. unrighteousness which shall *mt*, *β*: *g*₁*g**g* read 'unrighteousness of apostasy (which) shall'.

19. the mysteries of the holy ones. Either the secrets known to the angels, or the secrets relating to the righteous in the future.

heavenly tablets. See xlvii. 3 (note).

FRAGMENT OF THE BOOK OF NOAH 107. 1—108. 7

- 107** ¹ And I saw written on them that generation upon generation shall transgress, till a generation of righteousness arises, and transgression is destroyed and sin passes away from the earth, and all ² manner of good comes upon it. And now, my son, go and make known to thy son Lamech that this ³ son, which has been born, is in truth his son, and that (this) is no lie.' And when Methuselah had heard the words of his father Enoch—for he had shown to him everything in secret—he returned and showed (them) to him and called the name of that son Noah; for he will comfort the earth after all the destruction.
- 108** ¹ Another book which Enoch wrote for his son Methuselah and for those who will come after him, ² and keep the law in the last days. Ye who have done good shall wait for those days till an end is ³ made of those who work evil, and an end of the might of the transgressors. And wait ye indeed till sin has passed away, for their names shall be blotted out of the book of life and out of the holy books, and their seed shall be destroyed for ever, and their spirits shall be slain, and they shall cry and make lamentation in a place that is a chaotic wilderness, and **in the fire shall they** ⁴ **burn**; for there is no earth there. And I saw there something like an invisible cloud; for by reason of its depth I could not †look over†, and I saw a flame of fire blazing brightly, and things like shining ⁵ mountains circling and sweeping to and fro. And I asked one of the holy angels who was with me and said unto him: 'What is this shining thing? for it is not a heaven but only the flame of a blazing ⁶ fire, and the voice of weeping and crying and lamentation and strong pain.' And he said unto me: 'This place which thou seest—here are cast the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who work wickedness, and of those who pervert everything that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth ⁷ of the prophets—(even) the things that shall be. For some of them are written and inscribed above in the heaven, in order that the angels may read them and know that which shall befall the sinners,

CVII. 1. The fresh growth of sin after the Deluge: its destruction and the advent of the Messianic kingdom.

till: t, β : 'that' g_1gmq .

3. The meaning of the name Noah given in Gen. v. 29 is here repeated.

everything in secret α : 'every secret thing' β .

returned and showed m . So g (but omits two letters through hmt.): 'returned after having seen' $t_1abcdloxy_1b$: $>_1sgu$.

CVIII. This final chapter forms an independent addition. The writer is acquainted with i-xxxvi and xci-civ, or at least with parts of those sections. But his acquaintance with i-xxxvi is very inaccurate. What in chapters xviii and xxi was the place of punishment for the disobedient stars becomes in cviii. 3-6 practically Gehenna. Note the Essene tone of this chapter, the high honour paid to asceticism, the scorn of silver and gold in 8-10, the blessed immortality of the soul but apparently not of the body, and the duration of light and darkness so prominent in 11-14.

This chapter is more akin to xci-civ than any other in the book. Its object is to encourage the righteous still to hope on despite the long delay in the coming of the kingdom.

1. **keep the law.** Contrast 'fall away from the law', xcix. 2.

2. The faithful are exhorted to further patience.

good g_1g . $>$ other MSS.

shall wait g_1gmq . 'and are waiting' t, β .

3. And ¹⁰ a . $> \beta$.

blotted out of the book of life. Cf. xlvii. 3 (note).

out of the book of life and g_1g : 'out of the books of the living', g, x : 'out of the book and' mt .

holy books, mgt, c_1b (cf. ciii. 2). 'book of the Holy One' g . 'books of the holy ones' $\beta-ex_1b$. These contain the roll of the members of the kingdom. Cf. ciii. 2, 3.

spirits shall be slain. Cf. xxii. 13; xcix. 11 (note). It does not imply annihilation as the victims still 'cry and make lamentation'.

in a place. This chaotic flaming hell beyond the limits of the earth is the place of punishment for the angels in xviii. 12-16; xxi. 1-7.

chaotic. Eth.= $\acute{\alpha}\acute{\rho}\alpha\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$, the LXX rendering of $\eta\eta\eta$ in Gen. i. 2.

in the fire shall they burn. So after xxi. 3 I emend the Eth. = 'in fire they have burnt' ($g_1gmqt, \beta-abcx$): 'in fire they shall burn' ($abcx$)—a different form of the verb.

4. Further description of this hell and its inhabitants in terms borrowed from xviii. 13; xxi. 3.

†look over†. We might emend to 'behold its height' or 'tell its circuit' (or 'size').

of fire g_1gu : other MSS. = 'of its fire'.

5. one of the holy angels. This phrase is borrowed from i-xxxvi: cf. xxvii. 2.

voice, &c. Cf. xviii. 13.

weeping and crying α : $\infty \beta$.

6. This hell which is outside the earth is the final place of punishment for sinners and blasphemers and perverters of God's revelation through the prophets. In *vv.* 3-6 the writer has confounded places (i.e. Gehenna, and the hell of the disobedient stars) that are most carefully distinguished in i-xxxvi, and yet he has borrowed the phraseology of that section.

blasphemers. Cf. xci. 7.

spoken mtu, β : 'done' g_1gy .

the prophets. Here only expressly mentioned in Enoch.

7. written and inscribed—refers to the heavenly tablets. Cf. xlvii. 3. These records are also called the books of the holy ones, for their purpose is to let the angels know of the future: cf. ciii. 2. See also Asc. Isa. vii. 27.

FRAGMENT OF THE BOOK OF NOAH 108. 7-15

and the spirits of the humble, and of those who have afflicted their bodies, and been recompensed
8 by God ; and of those who have been put to shame by wicked men : Who love God and loved neither
gold nor silver nor any of the good things which are in the world, but gave over their bodies to
9 torture. Who, since they came into being, longed not after earthly food, but regarded everything
as a passing breath, and lived accordingly, and the Lord tried them much, and their spirits were
10 found pure so that they should bless His name. And all the blessings destined for them I have
recounted in the books. And He hath assigned them their recompense, because they have been
found to be such as loved heaven more than their life in the world, and though they were trodden
under foot of wicked men, and experienced abuse and reviling from them and were put to shame,
11 yet they blessed Me. And now I will summon the spirits of the good who belong to the generation
of light, and I will transform those who were born in darkness, who in the flesh were not recompensed
12 with such honour as their faithfulness deserved. And I will bring forth in shining light those who
13 have loved My holy name, and I will seat each on the throne of his honour. And they shall be
resplendent for times without number ; for righteousness is the judgement of God ; for to the faithful
14 He will give faithfulness in the habitation of upright paths. And they shall see those who were
15 born in darkness led into darkness, while the righteous shall be resplendent. And the sinners shall
cry aloud and see them resplendent, and they indeed will go where days and seasons are prescribed
for them.'

7-9. **the humble.** The ענייִם and עניִים of the Psalms. They constitute the true Israel as opposed to the proud,
the selfish and the paganizers. Cf. Cheyne on Ps. ix. 13.

**those who have afflicted their bodies . . . loved neither gold nor silver . . . longed not after earthly
food.** These phrases would apply well to the Essene party. Cf. xlviii. 7, cii. 5. These marks of the righteous have
their counterpart in those of the wicked : cf. xcvi. 5-7, xcvi. 8-10, xcvi. 2.

8. **loved** *a, β-cdnoy, b* : 'love' *1g, cdnoy, b*.

9. **Who** *1gq* (*gmt* slightly corrupt) : 'and' *u* : 'and who' *β*.

everything *u*. 'their bodies' *1g*. 'themselves' *gmt, β*. 'Bodies' is unsuitable, and 'themselves' would read
better if the sinners were speaking : cf. Wisdom ii. 2-4. Cf. Job vii. 7, 8.

the Lord tried them much, &c. Cf. Wisdom iii. 5.

10. Enoch speaks, and refers his hearers and readers to his books.

their life in the world. Cf. xlviii. 7.

11. Verses 11 and 12 are spoken by God.

generation of light. Cf. lxi. 12 (note), xxxviii. 4 (note).

who were born in darkness. Of those who are born in darkness, i.e. heathenism, the faithful who were not
recompensed with honour are transformed : but those who remain in their darkness are cast therein as their
condemnation. Cf. v. 14.

were not recompensed with *a-gu, β* : 'did not seek' *g*.

12. **in shining light**, i.e. clad in it. Cf. Matt. vii. 15. Or we might render 'into shining light'. Cf. 2 En. xxii.
8-10, the garments of the blessed are composed of God's glory. In 1 En. lxii. 16, they are 'garments of life'. Really
they are the spiritual bodies of the blessed. Cf. Rev. iii. 4, 5, 18, &c. ; 4 Ezra ii. 39, 45 ; Asc. Isa. iv. 16, vii. 22, viii. 14.

throne of his honour *a, n*. 'throne of honour, of his honour' *β-n*. Cf. Matt. xix. 28 ; Rev. iii. 21, iv. 4 ; Asc.
Isa. ix. 10, 18.

13. Enoch again speaks.

resplendent, &c. : cf. xxxix. 7, civ. 2, cviii. 14.

the habitation of upright paths *t, β* : 'the habitation and (> *g*) upright paths' *gq* : 'the habitation and
uprightness' *m* : 'the upright paths' *u*.

14. **born in darkness.** See v. 11 (note).

led into darkness. Cf. ciii. 8.

led *gmq*. Cf. ciii. 8. 'cast' *t, β*.

15. Cf. Dan. xii. 2, 3.

resplendent *a*. 'shining' *β*.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. THE BOOK AND ITS FORTUNES.

THE Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs were written in Hebrew in the latter years of John Hyrcanus—in all probability after his final victory over the Syrian power and before his breach with the Pharisees—in other words, between 109 and 106. Their author was a Pharisee who combined loyalty to the best traditions of his party with the most unbounded admiration of Hyrcanus. The Maccabean dynasty had now reached the zenith of its prosperity, and in its reigning representative, who alone in the history of Judaism possessed the triple offices of prophet, priest, and king, the Pharisaic party had come to recognize the actual Messiah.

Won over by the purity of life, nobility of character, and pre-eminent gifts of the Maccabees as high-priests, civil rulers, and military commanders, the Hasids, or early Pharisees, had some decades earlier attached themselves to this new high-priesthood, though with many a misgiving on account of the break in the high-priestly succession.

The approval thus won from the reluctant Hasids, the Maccabees had deepened and strengthened by their achievements every year in every province of their activity, till the thought was begotten in many a breast, that at last the hope of Israel had come, and, in defiance of all ancient prophecy, was sprung from the house and lineage of Levi.

There are good grounds for regarding Psalm cx as the outcome of such an expectation, and as greeting one of the Maccabees as the long-expected deliverer of Israel. But, however this may be, there is no doubt that our author addresses two or more Messianic hymns to John Hyrcanus, in whom had culminated all the glories and gifts of this great family. The writer already sees the Messianic kingdom established, under the sway of which the Gentiles will in due course be saved, Beliar overthrown, sin disappear from the earth, and the righteous dead rise to share in the blessedness of the living.

Alas for the vanity of man's judgement and man's prescience. Our book had hardly been published, when Hyrcanus, owing to an outrage done him by the Pharisees, broke with their party, and joining the Sadducees, died a year or two later. His successors proved themselves the basest of men. Their infamy is painted in lurid colours by contemporary writers of the first century B.C., and by a strange irony the work, or rather, fragments of the work of one of these assailants of the later Maccabees, has achieved immortality by finding a covert in the chief manifesto that was issued on behalf of one of the earlier members of the dynasty.

This second writer singles out three of the Maccabean priest-kings for attack, the first of whom he charges with every abomination; the people itself, he declares, is apostate, and chastisement will follow speedily—the temple will be laid waste, the nation carried afresh into captivity, whence, on their repentance, God will restore them again to their own land, where they shall enjoy the blessedness of God's presence and be ruled by a Messiah sprung from Judah.

When we contrast the expectations of the original writer and the actual events that followed, it would seem that the chief value of his work would consist in the light that it throws on this obscure and temporary revolution in the Messianic expectations of Judaism towards the close of the second century. But this is not so. The main, the overwhelming value of the book lies not in this province, but in its ethical teaching, which has achieved a real immortality by influencing the thought and diction of the writers of the New Testament, and even those of our Lord. This ethical teaching, which is very much higher and purer than that of the Old Testament, is yet its true spiritual child, and helps to bridge the chasm that divides the ethics of the Old and New Testaments.¹

¹ That this ethical teaching belongs to the essence of the book is obvious to any careful student of the work. As such it forms alike its warp and woof. On the other hand, the *dogmatic Christian interpolations* are patches differing alike in colour and texture from the original material, stitched on at times where originally there was no rent at all, and at others rudely thrust in where a rent had been deliberately made for their insertion. See § 13.

INTRODUCTION

After the first century of our era the fortunes of the Testaments speedily declined in Christendom. Though they are referred to occasionally in the next three centuries, they came to be discredited as an Apocryphal writing and fell under the ban of the Church. Unhappily, further, in the course of these centuries of their waning popularity, they underwent interpolation at the hands of Christian scribes, but happily many of these interpolations had not been made when the book was done into Armenian.

The reappearance of the Testaments on the stage of history was due to the great Bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste, in the thirteenth century, who procured from Greece the MS. of this book, which is now in the University Library of Cambridge. This scholar took the book with all its Christian additions to be a genuine writing of the twelve sons of Jacob.

It is perhaps needless to state that, when the critical instinct revived with the Reformation, Grosseteste's view of the Testaments was summarily rejected. Nay more, as the book was regarded as the work of one writer, it was simply condemned as a Christian forgery. In the course of four centuries only one voice was raised against this mistaken verdict, and that in vain for about two hundred years. The twentieth century sees this book at last come into its own.¹

§ 2. THE TITLE.

The *general* title was in all probability 'The Testaments of the Patriarchs'. Such is the designation in use in the Armenian version. In the Greek MSS. the title varies. In *a* (= *chi*) *bd* it appears as Διαθήκαι τῶν δώδεκα Πατριαρχῶν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰακῶβ (+ τοῦ Πατριάρχου *a*), *a* αἱ διαθήκαι τῶν υἱῶν πατρ. πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν. In the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the Synopsis of Athanasius, and the anonymous list of books edited by Montfaucon, Pitra, and others, the book is simply called Πατριαρχαί.

As regards the title of the individual testaments, it was no doubt simply 'The Testament of Reuben', 'The Testament of Simeon', &c. If the reader refers to my edition of the *Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. xlv–xlvi, he will see that, whereas the *a* MSS. uniformly give one form of title, the *β* MSS. (with the exception of *adg*), that is, *bef*, give another, in which in addition to the name of the Patriarch the main subject of the Testament is given. Thus the title of Gad's Testament is διαθήκη Γὰδ περὶ μύσους. The titles in *d* are generally conflated from *bef* and *a*; in *a* simply the name of the patriarch is given, while as for *g*, it takes a line of its own. In the Armenian the titles agree partly with those given in the Greek MSS. *bef*, but oftener do not. From this short summary of the facts it follows that the titles in *bef*, *A* are secondary. There remain now the forms in *a* and the single MS. *a*, and that found in the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, i. e. צוואת נפתלי בן יעקב 'The Testament of Naphtali the son of Jacob'. The form in *a* (i. e. simply the name of the patriarch) may be at once dismissed as an idiosyncrasy of this MS. In the *a* MSS. the title of the individual Testaments resembles closely that of the Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, but the greater number of them are obviously inaccurate and therefore not original. That of Reuben and some others are accurate enough; thus *a* gives διαθήκη Ρουβήμ τοῦ πρωτοτόκου υἱοῦ Ἰακῶβ καὶ Λείας, which is true enough; but in the case of Naphtali we have the impossible διαθήκη Νεφθαλείμ τοῦ ὀγδόου υἱοῦ Ἰακῶβ καὶ Βάλλας. Naphtali was the second son of Bilhah. If, however, we omit in each case the name of the mother, we arrive possibly at the original form of the titles of the individual Testaments. Possibly, I say; for the order of the Testaments is not chronological, but depends on the groupings of the patriarchs according to their respective mothers. Thus the first six patriarchs are the sons of Leah, the next two are the sons of Bilhah, the next two of Zilpah, and the last two of Rachel. Hence it is more than probable that the position of the patriarch as the first, third, or seventh son, was not mentioned in the original title. Thus we conclude that the evidence points to the following as the original form.

צוואת ראובן בן יעקב = διαθήκη Ρουβήμ υἱοῦ Ἰακῶβ = 'The Testament of Reuben the son of Jacob'.

§ 3. THE GREEK MSS.

(*a*) Bodley MS. Baroccio 133. Quarto. This paper MS. contains several treatises by different hands of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The Testaments occupy folios 179*a*–205*b*. Their general title and those of Judah and Gad are written in red. There are two copies of this MS. on paper, one in the Bodley MS. Smith 117, belonging to the close of the seventeenth century, and the second in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. This MS. is remarkable for the large number of omissions, at times of entire chapters.

(*b*) University Library, Cambridge, ff. i. 24. Quarto. This parchment MS. contains four

¹ From the present writer's edition of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, p. xvi sqq.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

works, of which the Testaments are the fourth, written on folios 203*a*–262*b*. It belongs to the tenth century. It is written in double columns, twenty lines in a column. The initials and titles are in red, except the first, which is in gold. It was from this MS. that Grosseteste's Latin Version was made.

(*c*) Vatican Library, Cod. Graec. 731. This is a small octavo MS. written on paper, with twenty-two or twenty-three lines on each page. Besides the Testaments it contains extracts from the Fathers. The Testaments are given on folios 97*a*–167*b*. The script of the latter belongs probably to the thirteenth century. This is the most important of all the MSS.

(*d*) Vatican Library, Gk. 1238. This is a vellum MS. in three volumes of the LXX belonging to the thirteenth century. On the close of the LXX follows the Testament of Job, folios 340*a*–349*b*, and on 350–380 of our present text. There are from 33–39 lines in each page. Strangely enough, above the general title of the Testaments, Διαθήκαι τῶν ιβ πατριαρχῶν υἱῶν Ἰακώβ, appear the words Λεπτής Γενέσεως, which is one of the titles of the Book of Jubilees. That there was a close relation between these books we know independently.

(*e*) Mount Athos MS. This MS. is written in two columns of forty lines each in a good hand of the tenth century. The Testaments are given on folios 197*b*–229*a*. This MS. is of great interest, as it contains three large additions to the text: the first before καὶ ἐπὶ πύργους in T. Lev. ii. 3, consisting of a prayer of Jacob; the second after the word ἡμερῶν in T. Lev. xviii. 2, and the third after τῆς γῆς in T. Ash. vii. 2. The third consists of two and two-third columns of certain Christian disquisitions on love and the Trinity. The second is the remarkable Greek fragment, which I have printed in Appendix III in my edition of the Text, and which we show elsewhere to be a translation from a Hebrew work, which was probably an original source of the Testaments.

(*f*) Paris MS. 938. This is a beautifully written MS. of the tenth century. The Testaments are given on the first seventy-two folios. Each page contains twenty-three lines. On folio 1*a* there is a list of Old Testament names, including the twelve patriarchs, with their meanings. The Testaments proper begin on 1*b*. It is characteristic of this MS. that after the title of each Testament it adds the meaning of the proper name, and also that, at the conclusion of each Testament, it adds the number of years that the patriarch lived. In the latter feature it is followed by the first Slavonic Recension (S¹). After the Testaments follow the Testament of Job and other writings.

(*g*) MS. 411 in the Library of the Monastery of St. John the Evangelist in Patmos. It is a quarto MS. written on parchment, and assigned by H. C. Coxe to the sixteenth century.

(*h*) Mount Sinai MS. No. 547 in the Library of St. Catherine. See Gardthausen, *Cat. Codd. Graec. Sinaiticorum*, p. 132. This MS., 14.5 by 10.35 cm., was written in the seventeenth century. It contains seventeen lines on each page. It is incomplete and comes to an end with T. Jos. xv. 7. This MS. has the following peculiar introduction: Ἰωάννου τοῦ ποτε ἐβραίου εἰδησις τῶν διαθηκῶν τῶν ιβ υἱῶν τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἰακώβ μεταφρασθεῖσα ἀπὸ Ἰουδαικοῦ διαλέκτου εἰς Ἑλληνικὴν. The statement is true, but where the scribe got it we cannot determine.

(*i*) Mount Sinai MS. This MS. was discovered accidentally in the Convent Library in the spring of 1906 by Mrs. Gibson. This MS. was written not earlier than the seventeenth century. It contains 21–23 lines on each page. It has the same peculiar introduction as *h*. See preceding MS.

§ 4. THE ARMENIAN MSS.

There are many MSS. of this version. The first five are designated by the symbols attached to them in the Venice edition of the text by the Mechitarist Fathers. The rest owe their designation to the present editor. When cited they appear as A^a, A^b, &c.

A^a. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, Venice, No. 345. This MS., five by seven inches, was written in the year 1220 on paper. It belongs to the first recension of the text.

A^b*. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 280. This MS. is the worst representative of the second recension of the Armenian version.

A^b. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 679. This MS., six by ten inches, was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, in double columns of twenty-six lines each, and consists of 679 folios. It belongs to the first recension.

A^c. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 229. This MS. Bible, eight by ten inches, was written on vellum in double columns of fifty lines each in the year 1655.

A^d. Mechitarist Library of St. Lazzaro, No. 1366. This MS. Bible was written in the sixteenth century on paper, in double columns of forty-three lines each.

A^e. This MS. Bible was written in the sixteenth century and belongs to the London Bible Society.

A^f. This MS. Bible, which belongs to the Catholicos of the Armenian Church at Edschmiadzin

INTRODUCTION

in Armenia, was there photographed by Conybeare in 1891. The MS. is written in two columns of fifty lines each in a beautiful hand.

A^g. This MS. Bible, which was written in the seventeenth century, belongs to Lord Zouche.

A^h. Bodleian Library, Oxford, No. *e.* 30 (thirteenth century). Only five Testaments are found in this MS., and in the following order: Simeon (folio 168^a), Levi (173^a), Joseph (183^b), Benjamin (195^b), Judah (202^a). The MS. is written in two or more hands (latest eighteenth century), and there are two types of text. Fortunately the four first-mentioned Testaments and T. Judah i–xiv. 8^{a b c} (i.e. *ἐὰν . . . ἀισχρορημονεῖν*) belong to the first recension, and only T. Jud. xiv. 8^{d e}–xxvi, to the second. This MS. thus attests the same type of text as A^{a b}, but it is more closely related to A^a than to A^b.

All the preceding MSS. have been used by the present editor. There are three others, of two of which he has no knowledge.

Aⁱ. A Vatican MS. of the Bible cited once by Conybeare. See *ℱQR* viii. (1896), p. 260. It belongs to the seventeenth century.

A^k. Mechitarist Library, Vienna, No. 126 (Dashian's *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften der Mechitaristen-Bibliothek zu Wien*, 1895, p. 71, 411 sqq.). This MS. was written in the year 1388. On the first 105 folios it contains the history of Joseph and Asenath. Then follow the Testaments. Of these Reuben, Dan, Naphtali, are missing. The order of the remaining nine is peculiar, agreeing in the first five with that of A^b. Thus we have Simeon, Levi, Joseph, Benjamin, Judah, Issachar, Zebulun, Gad, Asher. A study of the titles of these Testaments given in Sinker's Appendix, p. 25, and the German translation of the T. Jud. xxiv–xxvi, and T. Benj. x. 8^b–xii, by Dr. Paul Hunanian, makes it at once clear that A^k belongs to the first Armenian recension, and furthermore, that A^k is more nearly related to A^{a h} than to A^b, and to A^h than to A^a.

(A^l). The Hof-Bibliothek, Vienna, No. 11 (Dashian's *Catalog der armenischen HSS.*, p. 19, 1891).

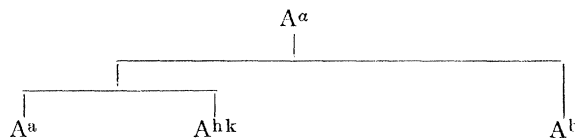
§ 5. THE SLAVONIC VERSION AND ITS TWO RECENSIONS S¹, S².

This version is late and is based on the type of text represented by *aef*, and of these it attaches most closely to *f*; for S¹ always and occasionally S² agree in making the addition at the close of each Testament, that is to be found in *f* alone of the Greek MSS. This version, as I have shown in my edition, exhibits traces of the influence also of *a*.

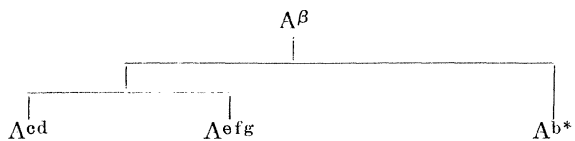
The two Slavonic recensions S¹ and S² are primarily taken from the so-called *Palea* (Greek *Παλαιά*), which contain short accounts of events mentioned in the Old Testament. They are printed in Tichonravov's work entitled *Pamjatniki otrechennoi Russkoi Literaturi* (2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1863).

§ 6. THE ARMENIAN VERSION IN ITS TWO RECENSIONS A^α, A^β. VALUE OF THIS VERSION.

As we have already observed in § 4, there are two recensions of this version, A^α, A^β. A^α, which is found in non-Biblical MSS., includes four MSS., A^{abhk}. The relations of these MSS. can be represented as follows:—



A^β, which appears to be found only in Biblical MSS., includes A^{b*cd efg}. Of these A^{b*} stands aloof from the rest. Its idiosyncrasies are innumerable, but in a very few cases, where it diverges from the other representatives of this recension, it has the support of the best Greek MSS. The relations of these MSS are as follows:—



The variations between A^α and A^β are very numerous, but the greater part of them appear to have arisen from internal corruption, or from the attempt on the part of the scribe of A^α to abbreviate the text. But over and above these differences, there are certain important sections where the differences

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

between the two recensions go back to the Greek, as in T. Levi ii. 7-10, xiv. 1, where A^a agrees with a against β , and in T. Levi iii. 1-5, where A^a is less corrupt than a , and gives the nearest reproduction of the original Hebrew archetype.

Exclusive of the sections just mentioned, A , taken as a whole, agrees with β S against a (see my edition of the Text, p. xv sq.). But within β there are two secondary types of text, to which aef and bdg belong respectively. All but universally A agrees with bdg where bdg differs from aef .

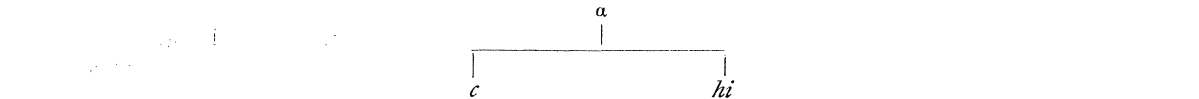
The value of A will be best understood when we come to deal with the Christian interpolations in the text. These are by no means absent from A , but they are present in a much less degree in A than in a and β . This is especially the case in the last two Testaments.

But, however valuable A is, it must be admitted that on almost every page it is guilty of omissions. These omissions are made obvious to the reader by the use of brackets. All words enclosed thus [] are omitted by A .

§ 7. THE GREEK VERSION IN TWO RECENSIONS a, β .

The Greek version is found in two forms, a and β . I do not call them recensions, since, as I have sought in my edition to prove, they very probably go back to distinct forms in the Hebrew.

a and its characteristics. a is represented by three MSS., *chi*. Their relations may be represented as follows:—



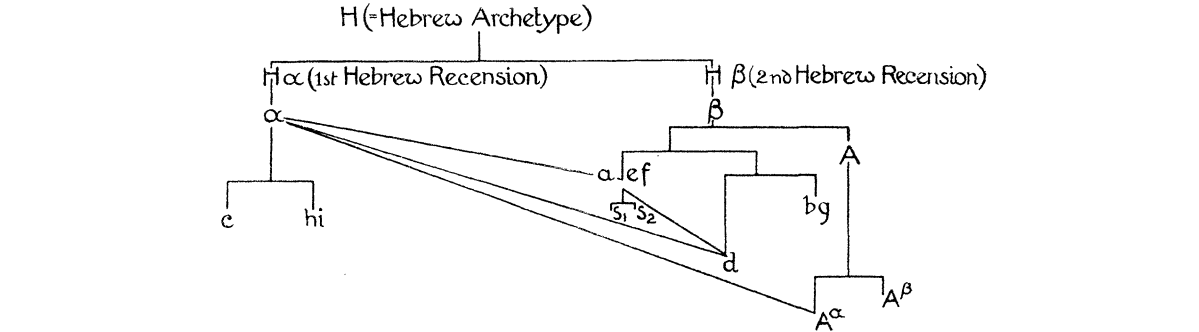
hi are derived from one and the same parent and show signs of a mixed ancestry (i.e. the influence of β), and herein diverge occasionally from c . a shows some omissions such as T. Reub. ii. 3^b-4^a, T. Jud. vi. 1-2, xii. 6-10, &c. Though much freer than β from Christian interpolations, it too has suffered from the Christian scribes' ill-directed activity.

β and its characteristics. β is represented by six MSS., *abdefg*, which represent two diverging types of text, *aef* showing affinities with a , and *bdg* with A . We have already pointed out (§ 5) that S is derived from *aef*. *aef* agree closely together, but not so *bdg*. Furthermore *bdg* are remarkable for large additions to the text in T. Zeb. vi. 4-6, vii-viii. 3, ix. 8^{ad}. These may have belonged to the original tradition.

Space will not admit of a description of *bdg*, but a few characteristics of b should here be noted. The variants of this MS. are sometimes due to deliberate emendation. Thus in T. Lev. xvii. 2 the priesthood of an ancient worthy is said to have been *πλήρης μετὰ κυρίου*, i.e. "perfect with the Lord." But the scribe of b , failing naturally to understand this Semitic idiom, wrote *πλήρης μετὰ φόβου κυρίου*. Not infrequently it alters the text against all the other authorities. Thus it adds *καὶ ἐθαύμαζον* in T. Jos. xvii. 5, *ζήσεσθε* in T. Jud. xvi. 2, changes *συντρέχει* into *συνεργεῖ* in T. Benj. iv. 5, *συγγενῇ* into *συμπεισθῆς* in T. Jos. vii. 3, and in iv. 5, &c. On the other hand, it possibly preserves two words *καὶ νότον* in T. Jud. v. 2, which have been lost in all the other MSS. Though a good representative of the type *bdg*, b cannot form a secure foundation on which to build a text.

d. This MS. exhibits peculiarities on every page. Though agreeing generally with *bg*, it attests readings of a and also of *aef* against *bg*.

The affinities of the various MSS. and Versions may be represented as follows:—



In this table all the main connexions are represented, but not the influence that in a few cases the descendants of β have exerted on *hi*.

INTRODUCTION

§ 8. THE GREEK VERSION A TRANSLATION FROM THE HEBREW.

Apart from Grabe, no notable scholar has advocated a Hebrew original till recently. Even Grabe, though he declared for a Hebrew original, advanced no linguistic arguments in support of his contention. It is remarkable that such a great Semitic scholar as Dillmann (Herzog's *Real-Encyc.* xii. 362) could write: 'Since the publication of Nitzsch's study all are agreed that the book is not a translation, but was originally written in Greek.' Dr. Sinker in the Cambridge edition of the Greek text is still more pronounced.

To two Jewish scholars, Kohler (1893) and Gaster (1904) within the last twenty years belongs the honour of reopening the question of a Hebrew original of the Testaments, but the former did not advance any linguistic evidence, and the latter, though he brought forward a few good points, failed to establish his thesis. Shortly after the above articles were written the present writer began his study of the Testaments, in the course of which he early came to the conclusion, which he set forth in the *Encyc. Biblica* i. 241 (1899), that the bulk of the work was written before 100 B.C., and subsequently in full detail in *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* in 1908. Since that date this thesis has been accepted by all Semitic scholars.

In what follows only a few specimens of the evidence for a Hebrew original can be given. A fuller statement of the evidence will be found in my edition of *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. xlii-l (1908), and a nearly complete one in my edition of the *Greek Versions* (pp. xxiii-xxxix) above referred to.

1°. *Hebrew constructions and expressions are to be found on every page. Though the vocabulary is Greek, the idiom is frequently Hebraic and foreign to the Greek language.*

T. Reub. i. 6 ἀγνοία νεότητος = 'sins of youth', i. e. פשע נעורים; iii. 8 συνιῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ = בן בתורה; iv. 6 οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν = עתם בלא; vi. 11 ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο = בו בחר.

T. Sim. ii. 12 καίγε = וגם in its adversative meaning = 'but'—a non-Greek use. Cf. Eccles. iii. 13, vi. 7; in iv. 4 ἡγάπησέ με σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου (α) = אהבני עם אחי. In β we have the normal rendering ὡς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδελφούς. v. 4 ἐν Λευὶ ἀδικήσουσι = ירעי בלוי; v. 5 οὐ δυνήσονται πρὸς Λευί = לא יכלו ללוי (the same Hebraism recurs in T. Iss. iv. 4; T. Dan v. 4); vi. 5 σώζων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀδάμ. Here as in T. Lev. ii. 11 ἐν αὐτῷ (or ἐαυτῷ) = בעצמו, which the translator should have rendered simply by αὐτός. Cf. Midrash Wajjikra on Lev. xvii. 3 אנה בעצמי גואל אחכם.

T. Lev. viii. 8 κλάδον . . . ἐλαίας πύκτητος = 'a branch of the oil-olive', i. e. זית שמן; cf. Deut. viii. 8; viii. 14 ἐπικληθήσεται αὐτῷ ὄνομα καινόν = שם חדש.

T. Jud. vii. 1 ὄχλος βαρύς = חיל כבד 'a numerous army'; xii. 8 ἕως τῆς ζωῆς μου = בחיי 'so long as I lived'; xx. 4 ἐν στήθει ὁστέων αὐτοῦ, which is absolutely unintelligible, is full of meaning in the Hebrew = על לב עצמו 'on his very heart'; xxv. 1 ἑξαρχοὶ σκῆπτρων = 'chiefs of the tribes' (שבטים).

T. Ash. iii. 1 ὁ θεὸς ἀναπαύεται εἰς αὐτήν = אלהים ישכן בה 'God hath his habitation therein'.

T. Jos. ii. 3 ὅσῳ με ὁ κύριος εἰς οἰκτιρμοὺς ἐνώπιον = נתן אתי לרחמים לפני (cf. Dan. i. 9), 'granted me to find mercy in the sight of'; xii. 3 ποιήσον μετ' αὐτοῦ κρίσιν = עשה משפט עמו.

T. Benj. x. 11 κατοικήσετε ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐν ἐμοί = תשבו לבטח בי 'ye shall dwell securely with me'. The same mistranslation is found in Ezek. xxviii. 26, xxxiv. 28, &c.

The above instances are sufficient in themselves to prove the derivation of the text from a Hebrew original. The bulk of the above expressions could hardly, on any hypothesis, have been written for the first time in Greek. But the evidence can be multiplied fourfold, both in quantity and conclusiveness.

2°. *Dittographic renderings of the same Hebrew phrase, and expressions in the Greek implying dittographs in the Hebrew MS. before the translator.*

In T. Naph. iii. 5 ἀπὸ κατοικησίας . . . τάξας τὴν γῆν δοίκτητον is a clear instance of dittography. The original may have been מבלי יושב which is twice rendered in the Greek. In vi. 2 the impossible μεστὸν ταρίχων ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν is due to the same cause. μεστὸν ταρίχων = מלא מלוחים, a corruption of בלא מלחים = ἐκτὸς ναυτῶν. One more will here suffice. In viii. 4, 6 there are a strophe and an antistrophe. The latter consists of six lines, but the former of seven. Now if we compare them closely, we discover the six lines of the antistrophe correspond line for line to the first six lines in the strophe. Thus the seventh line is against the structure of the stanza. It is also against the sense. How then did it come to be here? We discover the reason the moment we retranslate into Hebrew. The genuine line καὶ ὁ κύριος ἀγαπήσει ὑμᾶς (cf. the corresponding line in the antistrophe καὶ ὁ κύριος μισήσῃ αὐτόν) = ואלהים יאהבכם which was written corruptly a second time as ומלאכים יאהבכם.

3°. *Paronomasiae which are lost in the Greek can be restored by retranslation into Hebrew.*

We can recover more than a dozen of these by retranslation, the most of them having to do with the names of the patriarchs, i. e. on Simeon, Gershom, Kohath, Merari, Jochebed, Judah, Issachar, Gad, Zebulun, Naphtali, Bilhah, Asher, Benjamin. See my edition of the *Greek Versions*, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

4°. *Many passages which are obscure or wholly unintelligible in the Greek become clear on retranslation.*

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

In T. Reub. iv. 9 πολλὰ ἐποίησε αὐτῷ, where the text is speaking of Potiphar's wife trying to ensnare Joseph, cannot be right. As Perles has pointed out, לוּ תרבה is corrupt for לוּ תארב, i. e. 'she lay in wait for him'.

In T. Sim. iii. 6 καὶ λοιπὸν συμπαθεῖ τῷ φθονουμένῳ
καὶ συγγινώσκει τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν
καὶ οὕτως παύεται τοῦ φθόνου

cannot be right, and as Perles recognizes the error lies in ἀγαπῶσιν which is against the parallelism and sense. Here τοῖς ἀγ. αὐτόν = אַהֲבִי אֹהֲבָיו, corrupt for אֲנִי אֲנִי 'those hostile to him'.

In T. Lev. ii. 8 the second heaven is said to be brighter and more brilliant than the first, ἦν γὰρ καὶ ὕψος ἐν αὐτῷ ἄπειρον. Clearly there is something wrong here. The greater brightness of the second heaven cannot be due to its greater loftiness. The error, therefore, lies in the ὕψος. This word = הַבֵּי, which is corrupt for הַנֵּי = φῶς or φέγγος. Thus the brightness of the second heaven was due to a boundless light (φῶς ἄπειρον) that was therein. This light may have been physical, if we may adopt the Talmudic view, which represents the sun, moon, and stars as being in the second heaven (Chag. 12^b).

In T. Jud. ix. 3 καὶ ἡρῶν νεκρὸς ἐν ὄρει Σειρ, καὶ πορευόμενοι ἐν Ἀνονιράμ ἀπέθανεν (β, S'), the words καὶ . . . ἀπέθανεν are omitted by α as unintelligible. But a comparison with the Midrash Wajjissau where the same incident is recounted shows that this clause belongs to the original text, and in the form in which it appears in β, S'. Moreover these authorities help us to discover how the corruption in νεκρός arose. νεκρός = נָבֵלָה, whereas the Midrash has נָהָלָה = τετρανυματισμένος. Thus Esau was wounded on Mount Seir and died as he was passing over Anoniram.

T. Jud. xxi. 6 οἱ μὲν κινδυνεύουσιν αἰχμαλωτιζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πλουτοῦσιν ἀρπάζοντες τὰ ἀλλότρια. Here instead of κινδυνεύουσιν, we require a verb forming an antithesis to πλουτοῦσιν. Now κινδυνεύουσιν = יִסְכְּנוּ (late Hebrew) which in earlier Hebrew = פִּוְחוּ.

T. Zeb. ix. 2 εἰς πολλὰ διαιρεθῶσιν, ἡ γῆ ἀφανίζει αὐτά, καὶ γίνονται εὐκαταφρόνητα. Here, as Perles has pointed out, εὐκαταφρόνητα = מִפְּנֵי, which is either a corruption or secondary form of מִפְּנֵי = 'melt away', 'vanish'. The same corruption underlies ὡς ὕδωρ ἀχρηστον (= 'as useless water') = כַּמִּים נִמְאָסִים, corrupt for כַּמִּים נִמְאָסִים 'vanishing away as water'.

In T. Jos. xi. 7 ἐπλήθυνεν αὐτὸν ἐν χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ καὶ ἔργῳ(α). β, A omit καὶ ἔργῳ as unintelligible. But by retranslation the source of the corruption springs to light. ἔργῳ = עֲבָדָה, which the translator read as עֲבָדָה = ἔργῳ, but which he should have read as עֲבָדָה = 'household servants'.

The above form a small part of the passages where the Greek text has to be retranslated in order to discover the source of the corruption. In all these passages there is no divergence between the MSS. and Versions. In the next section we shall discuss only those passages in the text where the MSS. and Versions attest different readings, α generally standing in opposition to β, A, S.

By means of the evidence thus forthcoming we hope to advance a stage further than we have yet reached. We have proved that our book is derived from an Hebrew original : we shall now try and prove that α and β did not originate in the Greek but are derived respectively from two distinct Hebrew recensions H^α and H^β.

§ 9. THE TWO GREEK TYPES OF TEXT, α AND β, APPEAR TO BE DERIVED FROM TWO HEBREW RECENSIONS, H^α AND H^β.

α and β are not, strictly speaking, Greek recensions; for their chief variations appear not to have originated in the Greek, but to go back to diverse forms of text already existing in the Hebrew, which we denote as H^α and H^β. Of these two recensions, H^α and H^β, sometimes one gives the correct text, sometimes the other. According to the most likely hypothesis H^α was first translated into Greek, i. e. α, and then H^β was rendered into Greek by a translator who had α before him. In regard to the Book of Daniel the same hypothesis is necessary. The LXX version was undoubtedly made first, and subsequently that of Theodotion from a Semitic text diverging considerably from that used by the translator of the LXX version, not merely in individual readings but also in the subject-matter, especially in Daniel iv. Now in the case of the text before us the same phenomenon is repeated, but on a very much smaller scale. In T. Lev. ii. 7–iii, the description of the Three Heavens is more or less faithfully handed down in α A, whereas in the corresponding chapters in β there is an account of the Seven Heavens. There is no good ground for assuming that this divergence originated in the Greek and not in the Hebrew; for such duplicate accounts of the same event are found occasionally in the Hebrew books of the O.T., and in the Zadokite Fragments. Moreover, I will now give a few of the passages, where α and β undoubtedly presuppose variations in the Hebrew. The variants will be underlined.

T. Benj. xii. 2 (α) ἐκοιμήθη ὕπνῳ καλῷ. (β, Λ) ἀπέθανε . . . ἐν γήρει καλῷ.
Here H^β (i. e. β, A) is undoubtedly right. In H^α שִׁיבָה (= γήρει) was corrupted into שִׁינָה = ὕπνῳ. The same

INTRODUCTION

corruption was present in both H^a and H^b in T. Zeb. x. 6 ; T. Dan vii. 1 (*c*) ; T. Ash. viii. 1 ; T. Jos. xx. 4 ; whereas both Hebrew recensions were right in T. Iss. vii. 9. The above conclusion is confirmed by the fact that in the Hebrew Test. Naph. i. 1 we find **בְּשִׁיבָה טוֹבָה**. Though this Testament is not the original Testament of Naphtali, it preserves in several passages a more original text than the Greek.

T. Ash. vi. 6 (*a*) *εἰσφέρει αὐτὸν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*. (*β*, A) *παραμυθείται αὐτὸν ἐν ζωῇ*.

Here H^a is right and not H^b . The angel of peace, who is mentioned earlier in the verse, conducts the good soul into eternal life. Here *εἰσφέρει* = **יָנַח**, which in H^b was corrupted into **יָנַחַם**. *ὁδηγεῖ* would have been the usual rendering of **יָנַח**, as we find in T. Benj. vi. 1 *ὁ γὰρ ἄγγελος τῆς εἰρήνης ὁδηγεῖ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ*. The LXX implies the same corruption of **יָנַח** into **יָנַחַם** in 1 Sam. xxii. 4 ; Isa. lvii. 18, and Symmachus the converse corruption in Job xxxix. 25.

T. Reub. iv. 1 (*a*) *μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς καὶ ἐν* (*β*, A) *μοχθοῦντες ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι ἐν γράμμασιν*.

Here *a*, which is in part supported by A, is clearly right. *ἐν ἔργοις καλοῖς* = **יִשְׂרָיִם בְּמַעֲשִׂים יְשָׁרִים**, of which **יִשְׂרָיִם** was corrupted in H^b into **יִשְׂרָיִם = καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι**.¹

T. Ash. vi. 5 (*a*) *ὅτε γὰρ πονηρὰ ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπέρχεται*. (*β*, A) *ὅτε γὰρ τεταραγμένη ἡ ψυχὴ ἀπέρχεται*.

Here **רַעֲשָׁה** (= *τεταραγμένη*) in H^b was corrupted in H^a into **רִשְׁעָה** = *πονηρά*.

T. Jos. iv. 7 (*a aef*) *ἀντεφιλονεῖκει*. (*b g*, A) *ἐσιώπησε*.

Here H^a read **הַתְּחַרְשָׁה** which was a corruption of H^b **הַתְּחַרְשָׁה**.

T. Jos. iv. 3 (*a*) *τῆς δολιότητος αὐτῆς*. (*β*, A) *τῆς Αἰγυπτίας*.

Here H^a = **מִמְצִיָּה** 'from her snares' (so Perles, but neither *δόλιος* nor its derivatives ever render this Hebrew word in the LXX): or = **מִתְרַמִּיתָה** and H^b **מִמְצִרִית**.

T. Zeb. iv. 3 (*a*) *ἀπεδόθη* = **נָמַכָּר**. (*β*, A) *ἐπράθη* = **נָמַכָּר**.

The above instances are sufficient to establish the existence of two distinct types of text in the Hebrew— H^a , H^b . For over thirty other passages in the Testaments where the variations postulate the same conclusion see Introd. to my Text, § 12.

§ 10. DATE OF THE ORIGINAL HEBREW.

The date of the original Hebrew is not difficult to determine. Thus Reuben (T. Reub. vi. 10–11) admonishes his sons: 'Draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive a blessing from his mouth . . . because him hath the Lord chosen to be king over all the nation.' Here a high-priest who is also king is referred to. Such a combination of officers naturally makes us think of the Maccabean priest-kings of the second century B.C. Moreover, the possibility of doubting this reference is excluded by the words that immediately follow: 'And bow down before his seed; for on our behalf it shall die in wars visible and invisible and shall be among you an eternal king.' A similar statement is made in T. Sim. v. 5. Thus the high-priest is not only to be high-priest and civil ruler, but also a warrior. That the Maccabean high-priests are here designed cannot be reasonably doubted. But the identification becomes undeniable as further marks and tokens of this priestly dynasty come to light. Thus it is said that this priesthood shall be called by a new name (T. Lev. viii. 14). Now the Maccabean high-priests were the first Jewish priests to assume the title 'priests of the Most High God'—the title anciently borne by Melchizedek, and applied to the Maccabean high-priests in Jubilees, the Assumption of Moses, Josephus, and the Talmud. A kindred title of the same significance is applied according to a growing body of expositors to Simon the Maccabee in Ps. cx. In due accord with these facts our text (T. Lev. viii. 14) declares that a new name should mark the new priesthood.

But the praises accorded in this book could not apply to all the Maccabean priest-kings; for, since it was written by a Pharisee, it could not have been composed after the breach arose between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees towards the close of the second century B.C. Thus the date of composition lies between 153, when Jonathan the Maccabee assumed the high-priesthood, and the year of the breach of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees. But the limits can be determined more closely. To only one member of the Maccabean dynasty are the prophetic gifts assigned in our text (T. Lev. viii. 15) in conjunction with the functions of kingship and priesthood. Now in all Jewish history the triple offices were ascribed to only one individual, John Hyrcanus. Hence we conclude that the Testaments were written between 137 and 107 B.C. But the limits may be fixed still more

¹ Since *καλοῖς* would be the stock rendering of **טוֹבִים**, it is possible that this word stood in H^a and was corrupted into **טוֹבִים** in H^b .

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

definitely. For the text refers most probably to the destruction of Samaria, T. Lev. vi. 11. In that case our book was written between 109 and 107 B. C. (see my edition, pp. 1–liii).

§ 11. INTEGRITY, AUTHORSHIP, SOURCES.

The groundwork, which consists of about eleven-twelfths of the Testaments, after the removal of the Jewish and Christian additions (§§ 12, 13), presents, it must be confessed, a certain want of coherence, and the parts dealing with the duty of submission to Levi, or to Levi and Judah jointly, come in at times very abruptly. Notwithstanding, I accept on the whole the unity of the book; for its two main characteristics—the strictly Hasid element in the book and its loyal acceptance of the Maccabean dynasty—belong to the period to which our author belongs and to none other before or after. Furthermore, both these parts of the book are universalistic in tone. On the other hand, much of the unevenness of the book may be due to the use of sources and to faulty transmission of the text.

The author was a Pharisee of the early type. He was an upholder of the Law and of the Temple sacrifices: he looked for the Messianic kingdom and the resurrection of the body to a new life therein. He taught the duties of chastity, truthfulness, forgiveness, self-control, and temperance. Our author has drawn freely on earlier books and traditions. He shows a wide acquaintance with the O.T., Sirach, and 1 Enoch, as well as of other ancient works—such as the account of the War of Jacob and his sons against the Amorites utilized in T. Jud. iii–vii, Jubilees xxxiv. 1–9, the Midrash Wajjissau (see my Text, pp. 235–8), and the Book of Jasher: the account of the war between Jacob and Esau utilized in T. Jud. ix, Jubilees xxxvii–xxxviii, and the Jalkut Shimeoni i. 132.

Another very important source for the T. Levi has just been discovered in the lost Hebrew document, from which the Aramaic and Greek fragments are printed in my *Greek Versions of the Testaments*, pp. 245–56, and translated in my *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, pp. 228–35. This source deals with the temple ritual of the second century B. C. and is therefore of great importance from an historical standpoint.

Our author drew also upon a Hebrew document dealing with the ‘Two Ways’ in the T. Asher and upon Jewish tradition generally on a great variety of points.

§ 12. JEWISH ADDITIONS TO THE ORIGINAL WORK.

A large body of these additions can be classed under one head, as interpolated at a certain period and written with a well-defined object. The period was about 70–40 B. C., and the object of the additions was the overthrow of the Maccabean high-priesthood, which in the first century B. C. had become guilty of the most abandoned lewdness and baseness.

1°. *First century additions* :—

- T. Lev. x, xiv–xvi.
- T. Jud. xvii. 2–xviii. 1 (?), xxi. 6–xxiii, xxiv. 4–6.
- T. Zeb. ix.
- T. Dan v. 6–7, vii. 3 (?).
- T. Naph. iv.
- T. Gad viii. 2.
- T. Ash. vii. 4–7.

In these passages the nation is declared to be guilty of apostasy; the laying waste of the Temple is predicted, and a second captivity: a redemption of the nation either by God Himself or by a Messiah sprung from Judah, and a blessed return to their own land. In all these respects these passages agree with the Psalms of Solomon, which belong to the same period.

Another characteristic of these additions is their frequent citation of the Enoch literature. The citations cannot be found in 1 Enoch, but bear a close affinity to certain passages in 2 Enoch, whence we may reasonably infer the existence of certain portions of that literature, which were subsequently embodied in some form in 2 Enoch.

2°. *Other additions of various dates* :—

- T. Reub. ii. 3–iii. 2.
 - T. Lev. xvii. 1–9.
 - T. Zeb. vi. 4–6, vii–viii. 3.
 - T. Jos. x. 5–xviii.
- On this section see my edition, pp. lvii–lxi.

INTRODUCTION

§ 13. CHRISTIAN ADDITIONS.

These additions are found in nearly all the Testaments and were made at different periods. The dominant characteristic of all these additions (which are bracketed in the following translations, and a full list of which is given in my edition, pp. lxi–lxv) is their *dogmatic* character. They always import dogmatic Christian statements into a Jewish text, to which they are naturally alien in character. A few English scholars on the ground of these undoubted interpolations have proceeded to infer that all other passages common to the Testaments XII Patriarchs and the N.T. must have been interpolated in the former from the latter. But these scholars have failed to observe the characteristic differences between the two sets of passages in question. In the case of the first we have *dogmatic Christian statements* interpolated in a *Jewish work at variance not only with the teaching and character of that work as a whole, but also at variance with their respective contexts*. But in regard to the second, we have ethical sayings and teachings, *which are in harmony not only with the spirit of the book as a whole, but also with their respective contexts*. The ethical teaching, while very much loftier than that of the O.T., is yet its true spiritual child, and, though not so pure and sublime as that of the N.T., is a product of the school that prepared the way for the N.T.

It is hard to understand the mental attitude of those who regard these ethical teachings as Christian interpolations. Three-fourths of these teachings have no direct parallels in the N.T., and they stand practically on the same level as the rest, which are parallel to, or rather have exercised a direct influence on, the N.T. The only reasonable conclusion is that these ethical teachings belong to the original Testaments.

Fragments of an ethical tradition which was largely independent of the O.T. are preserved in the Story of Ahikar. That this story with its moral goes back to a very ancient date we now know, since Aramaic fragments of the fifth century B.C. have been recently discovered. For the account of this story the reader should consult Dr. Rendel Harris' study of it at the close of this volume. Now our author appears to have borrowed a few of his sayings from this story. Thus—

Ahikar, *Syr. Version* 28 (Syr. 28; Arab. 19^b, 58^b).
‘If thine enemy meet thee with evil meet him
with wisdom’ (‘with good’ Syr. Frag. 20).

Greek version preserved in Aesop. xxvi. 6 τοῖς εὖ
πράττουσιν μὴ φθόνοι, ἀλλὰ σύγχαιρε· φθονῶν γὰρ σεαυτὸν
μᾶλλον βλάψεις.

T. Jos. xviii. 2 ‘If any one seeketh to do evil
to thee do him a good turn, and pray for him, and
so from all evil shall ye be redeemed of the Lord’.
Cf. T. Benj. iii. 3.

T. Gad iii. 3 (ὁ μισῶν) τῷ κατορθοῦντι φθονεῖ. vii. 1
ἐὰν δὲ εἰς ὑπὲρ ὑμᾶς εὐοδοῦται μὴ λυπεῖσθε, ἀλλ’ εὐχεσθε
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἵνα τελείως εὐοδοῦται (b d e g A S’). 2 καὶ
ἐὰν ἐπὶ πλείον ὑψοῦται, μὴ φθονεῖτε. T. Sim. iii. 6
συμπαθεῖ τῷ φθονουμένῳ.

These parallels are close; but it will be observed how our author has touched to finer issues and glorified what he has borrowed, far above the highest imaginings of Ahikar.

Ahikar Syr. 19 (Syr. Frag. 7) ‘My son, go not
after the beauty of a woman: and lust not
after her in thy heart.’

T. Reub. iv. 1 μὴ οὖν προσέχετε, τέκνα μου, κάλλος
γυναικῶν. Cf. T. Jud. xvii. 1; T. Iss. iv. 4. T. Benj.
viii. 2 ὁ ἔχων διάνοιαν καθαρὰν (β S’) . . . οὐχ ὀρεῖ γυναῖκα
εἰς πορνείαν.

With the above we might compare Matt. v. 28 πᾶς ὁ βλέπων γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτήν ἤδη ἐμοίχευσεν
αὐτήν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ.

Once more in T. Jos. iii. 5 the words, which Joseph uses with regard to himself, ἐὰν δὲ ἀπεδήμει
ὁ κύριός μου οἶνον οὐκ ἔπινον καὶ ἐλάβανόν μου τὴν τροφήν καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτὴν τοῖς πένησιν, seem to be used
deliberately to contrast his conduct with that of Nadan the nephew of Ahikar, who acted in the
opposite fashion, when he believed Ahikar was dead. As Drs. James and Harris have already
pointed out, the story of Ahikar lies at the base of the Parable of the Wicked Servant, Matt. xxiv.
48–51 || Luke xii. 45–6.

§ 14. INFLUENCE ON JEWISH AND PATRISTIC LITERATURE.

See my edition pp. lxxiv–lxxviii.

§ 15. INFLUENCE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Since the influence of the Testaments on the N.T. has been very extensive only some of the
chief instances of this influence can be touched on here. The reader can consult my edition,
pp. lxxviii–xcii, where it is shown that the Sermon on the Mount reflects in several instances the

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

spirit and even reproduces the very phrases of our text: that many passages in the Gospels exhibit traces of the same, and that St. Paul seems to have used the book as a *vade tecum*.

1. **Forgiveness.** Matt. xviii. 15 εἰς δὲ ἁμαρτήσῃ T. Gad vi. 3 (β) εἰς τις ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς σε εἰπὲ ἐν ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἵπαγε ἔλεγχον αὐτὸν μεταξὺ σοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ ἐν εἰρήνῃ . . . καὶ εἰς . . . μετανόησῃ ἅφες αὐτῷ.μόνον.
xviii. 35 εἰς μὴ ἀφήτε ἕκαστος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ vi. 6 ἡσύχασον μὴ ἐλέγξῃς. v. 7 ἅφες αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν καρδιῶν ὑμῶν. καρδίας.

With the above we must take Luke xvii. 3 εἰς ἁμάρτην ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐπιτίμησον αὐτῷ, καὶ εἰς μετανόησῃ ἅφες αὐτῷ.

That the N.T. passages are here dependent cannot be reasonably denied.

2. **Duty of loving God and our neighbour.** T. Dan v. 3 ἀγαπήσατε τὸν κύριον ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀλλήλους ἐν ἀληθινῇ καρδίᾳ.
Matt. xxii. 37-9 ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ . . . τῇ ψυχῇ σου . . . ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

Our text, which enunciates the same duty twice elsewhere, T. Iss. v. 2, vii. 6, is the first literary authority to conjoin the two great commands of love to God and love to our neighbour. These commandments are given separately in Deut. vi. 5 and Lev. xix. 18. In the latter passage and possibly in our text the sphere of neighbourhood is limited to Israelites, but in our Lord's use there is no limit of race or country.

3°. Various borrowings of ideas or diction.

Matt. xxv. 35, 36 ἐπέινασα γὰρ καὶ ἐδώκατέ μοι T. Jos. i. 5, 6 ἐν λιμῷ συνεσχέθην καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος διέθρεψέ με . . . ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ ἤμην καὶ ὁ κύριος ἐπεσκέ-φαγεῖν . . . ἡσθένησα καὶ ἐπεσκέψασθέ με, ἐν φυλακῇ ψατό με, ἐν φυλακῇ ἤμην καὶ θεός μου ἐχαρίτωσέ με.
Luke ii. 19 συνετήρει τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα . . . ἐν τῇ T. Lev. vi. 2 συνετήρουν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς. μου.
Acts xii. 11 ἐξαπέστειλεν ὁ κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ T. Sim. ii. 8 ὁ θεός . . . ἀπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρρύσατο αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου.
John i. 9 τὸ φῶς . . . ὁ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον. T. Lev. xiv. 4 τὸ φῶς τοῦ νόμου τὸ δοθὲν εἰς φωτισμὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπου.
v. 41 δόξαν παρὰ ἀνθρώπων οὐ λαμβάνω. T. Benj. vi. 4 οὐκ ἐπιδέχεται δόξαν . . . ἀνθρώπων (β-a, S').

4°. The Pauline borrowings are too numerous to be dealt with here. The reader can consult my text. There are over seventy words which are common to the Testaments and the Pauline Epistles, but which are not found in the rest of the N.T. Only a few of the most notable passages where St. Paul draws upon the Testament will here be appended:

1 Thess. ii. 16 ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ (+ τοῦ T. Lev. vi. 11 ἔφθασε δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς θεοῦ D E F G, Itala. Vulg.) εἰς τέλος.
Rom. i. 32 οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδο- T. Ash. vi. 2 καὶ πράσσουσι τὸ κακόν, καὶ συνευδο-κοῦσιν τοῖς πράσσουσιν. (α).
xii. 21 νῖκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν. T. Benj. iv. 3 οὗτος τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιῶν νικᾷ τὸ κακόν.
1 Cor. iv. 4 οὐδὲν . . . ἑμαυτῷ σύνοιδα. T. Iss. vii. 1 οὐκ ἔγνων ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτίαν.
vii. 5 μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, εἰ μήτι . . . ἵνα T. Naph. viii. 8 καιρὸς γὰρ συνουσίας γυναικός, καὶ σχολάσῃτε τῇ προσευχῇ. καιρὸς ἐγκρατείας εἰς προσευχὴν αὐτοῦ.
2 Cor. vii. 10 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη μετάνοιαν εἰς T. Gad v. 7 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν ἀληθὴς μετάνοια . . . σωτηρίαν ἡμεταμέλητον ἐργάζεται. ὀδηγεῖ τὸ διαβούλιον πρὸς σωτηρίαν.

§ 16. THEOLOGY, FORGIVENESS, THE TWO GREAT COMMANDMENTS, UNIVERSALISM, THE MESSIAH, THE RESURRECTION, THE ANTICHRIST.¹

Forgiveness.—We have in our text a passage of truly epoch-making importance. Its importance cannot be grasped until we contrast the teaching of the New Testament with that of the Old on the question of man's forgiveness of his neighbour. In the New Testament from the first page to the last it is either explicitly stated or implicitly understood that a man can only receive the divine forgiveness on condition that he forgives his neighbour. Indeed, in their essential aspects, these two forgivenesses are seen to be one and the same. But in the Old Testament it is very different. There, indeed, God's forgiveness is granted, without money and without price, to the sinner who truly seeks it. But the penitent in the Old Testament could accept and enjoy the divine pardon, and yet cherish the most bitter feelings towards his own personal enemy. David on his death-bed shows this unforgiving spirit when he charges Solomon not to let Joab's hoar head go down to the grave in peace; and commands him to deal similarly with Shimei, though David had promised to

¹ This section is reprinted in the main from my edition of the Testaments, pp. xcii sqq.

INTRODUCTION

preserve his life. There is certainly the notable instance of Joseph's forgiveness of his brethren; but this act of grace on Joseph's part does not seem to have impressed later O.T. writers, or led them to urge Joseph's conduct therein as worthy of imitation. There is, of course, the noble passage on the subject of beneficence to one's enemy in Prov. xxv. 21, 22: 'If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; And if he be thirsty, give him water to drink. For thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head, And the Lord shall reward thee.' But to show how far these words are from representing the attitude which the saints should adopt to those who wronged them, we have only to turn back to the preceding chapter (Prov. xxiv. 17, 18), where we receive this remarkable piece of advice, 'Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, And let not thine heart be glad when he is overthrown: Lest the Lord see it and it displease Him, And He turn away His wrath from him.' Moreover, the righteous man can pray to God to make him strong enough to pay out his enemies: 'Do thou, O Lord, have mercy upon me, and raise me up, that I may requite them' (Ps. xli. 10). Thus we may conclude on the whole that in the Old Testament the saint as well as the sinner could indulge in resentful feelings or even in personal vengeance.

Now that we have grasped the conflicting attitudes of the Old and New Testaments on this great moral and religious question, we are able to appreciate the value of the contribution which the Testaments make in this direction. This contribution is found in T. Gad vi. 3-7 (see also § 26, p. lxxviii of my edition). These verses, as I have said in my notes, contain the most remarkable statement on the subject of forgiveness in all ancient literature. They show a wonderful insight into the true psychology of the question. So perfect are the parallels in thought and diction between these verses and Luke xvii. 3, Matt. xviii. 15, 35, that we must assume our Lord's acquaintance with them. The meaning of forgiveness in both cases is the highest and noblest known to us, namely, the restoring the offender to communion with us, which he had forfeited through his offence. And it is likewise the essence of the divine forgiveness—God's restoration of the sinner to communion with Him, a communion from which his sin had banished him. But, though such is the meaning of forgiveness in the full sense of the word, our author is aware that it is often impossible to attain to such a perfect relation with the offender. Thus forgiveness comes often to be synonymous with banishing the personal feeling of resentment which rises within us when we suffer wrong, and which, when indulged, leads to hate. When we have achieved this right attitude towards the offender the way is always open for his return to a right relation with us, and so far as we do so we reflect the attitude of God Himself to His erring children.

For the further prosecution of the parallels the reader should consult p. 292. We now see the importance of our text. It shows that pre-Christian Judaism possessed a noble system of ethics on the subject of forgiveness. By the early school of the Hasidim, or the pious ones of the Psalms, the best elements of the Old Testament had been taken up, studied and developed, and the highly ethical code of conduct deduced therefrom had been carried out in actual life by these ancient Quietists. But when Pharisaism, breaking with the ancient ideals of its party, committed itself to political interests and movements, and concurrently therewith surrendered itself more and more wholly to the study of the letter of the Law, it soon ceased to offer scope for the further development of such a lofty system of ethics as the Testaments attest, and so the true successors of the early Hasids and their teaching quitted Judaism and found their natural home in the bosom of primitive Christianity.

Duty of loving God and one's neighbour.—It is remarkable that the famous command in the Gospels that embodies all duty in itself, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart . . . Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Mark xii. 30, 31)—is already found in the Testaments, though less emphatically and vigorously stated. Thus in T. Iss. v. 2 we have, 'Love the Lord and your neighbour'; T. Dan. v. 3, 'Love the Lord through all your life, And one another with a true heart'; and again in T. Iss. vii. 6, Issachar declares, 'I loved the Lord; Likewise also every man with all my heart.'

Various ethical teachings.—The Testaments deal largely with the questions of hatred, lying, envy, hate, lust, covetousness and the virtues of long-suffering, truthfulness, love, purity, generosity, and the like. We can touch here only on a few of their pithy sayings on such subjects. Thus: 'Anger is blindness, and does not suffer one to see the face of any man with truth' (T. Dan ii. 2). 'Hatred, therefore is evil; for it constantly mateth with lying' (T. Gad v. 1). 'Envy dominates the whole mind of man' (T. Sim. iii. 2), 'it has no rest while the object of it prospers' (iii. 3): 'Deliverance therefrom cometh through the fear of God' (iii. 4). Wherefore 'If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray for him that he may have perfect prosperity' (T. Gad vii. 1). 'When envy goes a man's mind is lightened, so that he can enjoy the well-being of his former rival' (T. Sim. iii. 5, 6). A man is 'not to keep a ledger account of the evil done him' by his neighbour' (T. Zeb. viii. 5), a clause that St. Paul borrows in 1 Cor. xiii. 5, where λογίζεται τὸ κακόν

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

is wrongly rendered in A.V. by 'thinketh no evil', and misleading in R.V. by 'taketh not account of evil'.

As regards the questions of temperance and total abstinence, what better advice could be given than that of this old writer: 'If ye drink wine with gladness, be ye modest with the fear of God. For if in your gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and shamelessness stealeth in. But if you would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in words of outrage . . . and perish before your time' (T. Jud. xvi. 2-3). 'Be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth away the mind from truth and inspireth the passion of lust . . . and if the occasion of lust be present, he worketh the sin and is not ashamed' (T. Jud. xiv. 1-3).

Universalism.—Although the Testaments were written about the same date as the Book of Jubilees and both books were the work of Pharisees, the views of the two authors were widely sundered on some of the greatest questions, and particularly on that of the destiny of the Gentiles. The author of Jubilees taught that there was no hope for the Gentiles: God had placed them under angelic guardians with the object of accomplishing their destruction (xv. 31). Moreover, the Jew who intermarried with them should be put to death, and the man who gave his daughter in marriage to a Gentile should be stoned with stones (xxx. 7-17). How different the spirit of the author of the Testaments. A true son of the larger-hearted O.T. prophets, he proclaims the salvation of the Gentiles. The promised time has come. The kingdom is already established, and all the Gentiles will be saved through Israel. In the Judgement the conduct of the best heathen will form the norm according to which Israel shall be judged. The teachings of the author on this question will be found in the note on T. Benj. ix. 2.

The first century B.C. additions are likewise characterized by the same Universalism. The Law was given to lighten every man, and the Gentiles were to be saved through the example and teaching of Israel (T. Lev. xiv. 4). The same view of the destiny of the Gentiles is found in the Pss. of Solomon (xvii. 32), though it is perhaps not as favourable as that in these additions. In other literature of the first century B.C. a harsher fate is predicted for the Gentiles, as in 1 Enoch xxxvii-lxxi and the Assumption of Moses, and in 4 Ezra in the next century.

The Messiah.—In the original work the Messiah is to be descended from Levi, and not from Judah—in other words he is to be first of all priest, and then prophet and king. There are many passages expressing this view: T. Reub. vi. 7-12; T. Lev. viii. 14, xviii; T. Jud. xxiv. 1-3; T. Dan v. 10, 11; T. Jos. xix. 5-9. We have here the attestation of a most remarkable revolution in the Jewish expectations of the Messiah. For some thirty or forty years the hope of a Messiah from Judah was abandoned in favour of a Messiah from Levi. But with the breach of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees this hope was abandoned, and so we find that in the first-century additions the hope of a Messiah from Judah reappears (T. Jud. xxiv. 5-6; T. Naph. iv. 5 (?)).

The prerogatives and powers ascribed to the priestly Messiah from Levi are very lofty. He was to be free from sin (T. Jud. xxiv. 1); to walk in meekness and righteousness (T. Jud. xxiv. 1); to establish a new priesthood under a new name (T. Lev. viii. 14), and also be a mediator for the Gentiles (T. Lev. viii. 14, emended); likewise he was to be a prophet of the Most High (T. Lev. viii. 15); to be a king over all the nation (T. Reub. vi. 11, 12; T. Lev. viii. 14); to war against Israel's national enemies and against Beliar and the powers of wickedness (T. Reub. vi. 12; T. Lev. xviii. 12; T. Dan v. 10), and deliver the captives taken by him, even the souls of the saints (T. Dan v. 11); to open Paradise to the righteous (T. Lev. xviii. 10; T. Dan v. 12), and give the saints to eat of the tree of life (T. Lev. xviii. 11). Moreover, he should give the faithful power to tread upon evil spirits and bind Beliar (xviii. 12), who should be cast into the fire (T. Jud. xxv. 3), and sin should come to an end (T. Lev. xviii. 9).

It was the priestly character of the Maccabean priest-kings that gave rise to the expectation that the Messiah was also to be a priest as well as a king.

The Resurrection.—There is to be a resurrection, first of the O.T. heroes and patriarchs, and next of the righteous on the right hand and of the wicked on the left (T. Benj. x. 6-8). The scene of the future kingdom is to be the present earth. It is to last for ever.

Demonology.—The book represents a very developed demonology as a reference to 'Spirits' in Index II in my edition will show. The conception of Beliar in the Testaments is very advanced for this early date.

The Antichrist.—In the first century addition, T. Dan v. 6, we have the most ancient authority at present known to us for the view which connects the tribe of Dan with Antichrist, and helps to explain the exclusion of this tribe from the list of the Twelve in the N.T. Apocalypse.

INTRODUCTION

§ 17. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- (a) EDITIONS OF GREEK VERSIONS, i. e.
 Of β . Grabe, *Spicilegium Patrum*³, i. 129-44, 335-74. The text here given is *b* with a few readings from *a*.
 Sinker, *Testamenta XII Patriarcharum ad fidem codicis Cantabrigiensis edita: accedunt lectiones cod. Oxoniensis*, Cambridge, 1869.
 Appendix containing a collation of the Roman and Patmos MSS., 1879.
 Of *a* and β . Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, edited from nine MSS. together with the Variants of the Armenian and Slavonic Versions and some Hebrew Fragments*, The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1908.
The Armenian Version. H. Sargis Josepheanz, *The Treasury of the Old and New Fathers*, i. 27-151.
The Slavonic Version. Tichonravov, *Pamiatniki otrechennoi Russkoi Literaturi*, 1863.
- (b) EDITIONS OF THE HEBREW FRAGMENTS.
 Fragments of the T. Judah are found in the Midrash Wajjissau: see the Charles edition of the Greek Versions, pp. 235-8; and of the T. Naph. in the late Hebrew Test. of Naphtali, *op. cit.* pp. 239-44; Gaster, 'The Hebrew Text of one of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' *PSBA*, Dec. 1893, Jan. 1894.
- (c) CRITICAL INQUIRIES.
 Grabe: see above and Sinker in his edition, and *Dict. Christ. Biog.* iv. 865-74.
 Schnapp, *Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen untersucht*, 1884.
 Conybeare, 'On the Jewish Authorship of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' *JQR*, 1893, 375-98.
 Kohler, *The Pre-Talmudic Haggada*, *JQR*, 1893, 400-6; 'Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,' *Jewish Encyc.*, 1906, xii. 113-18.
 Charles, 'Apocalyptic Literature,' *Encyc. Bib.*, 1899, i. 237-41.
 Hastings, *B. D.*, 1902, iv. 721-5; *Hibbert Journal*, 1905, 558-73; *Encyc. Brit.*, 1911, xxvi. 666-8.
 Bousset, 'Die Testamente der zwölf Patriarchen' in *Z. f. NTliche Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 187-209, 344-6.
- (d) COMMENTARY.
 Charles, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, translated from the Editor's Greek Text and edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices*, A. & C. Black, London, 1908.
 For a complete bibliography see this volume.

§ 18. BRACKETS AND SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

Brackets. The same brackets are used in this book as throughout the entire work; and in addition the brackets [] to signify that the words so enclosed are omitted by A.

Symbols and Abbreviations.

a, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *i* denote the Greek MSS.
a denotes the MSS. *c h i* of the first class.
 β denotes the MSS. *a b d e f g* of the second class.
A denotes the Armenian Version.
A^a, *A^{b*}*, *A^b*, *A^c*, &c., denote the Armenian MSS.
A^a denotes the MSS. *A^{a b h k}* of the first class.
A^{\beta} denotes the MSS. *A^{b* c d e f g}* of the second class.
S¹ denotes the first Slavonic recension.
S² denotes the second Slavonic recension.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

THE TESTAMENT OF REUBEN, THE FIRST-BORN SON OF JACOB AND LEAH

- 1 1 The copy of the Testament of Reuben, even the commands which he gave his sons 2 before he died in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life. Two years after the death of Joseph 3 his brother, when Reuben fell ill, his sons and his sons' sons were gathered together to visit him. And 4 he said to them: My children, behold I am dying, and go the way of my fathers. And seeing 5 there Judah, and Gad, and Asher, his brethren, he said to them: Raise me up, that I may tell to my brethren and to my children what things I have hidden in my heart, for behold now at length 6 I am passing away. And he arose and kissed them, and said unto them: Hear, my brethren, and do ye, my children, give ear to Reuben your father, in the commands which I give unto you. And 7 behold I call to witness against you this day the God of heaven, that ye walk not in the sins of youth and fornication, wherein I was poured out, and defiled the bed of my father Jacob. And I tell you that he smote me with a sore plague in my loins for seven months; and had not my father 8 Jacob prayed for me to the Lord, the Lord would have destroyed me. For I was thirty years old when I wrought the evil thing before the Lord, and for seven months I was sick unto death. And 9 after this I repented with set purpose of my soul for seven years before the Lord. And wine and strong drink I drank not, and flesh entered not into my mouth, and I eat no pleasant food; but I mourned over my sin, for it was great, such as had not been in Israel.
- 2 1 And now hear me, my children, what things I saw concerning the seven spirits of deceit, when

TITLE. So h i. c is corrupt: b ef add 'regarding thoughts'; A^{a o f g} 'the Book of the Chronicles, the words of Reuben, First (> A^a) Testament'; A^b 'Testament and words of Reuben from the Book of the Chronicles'.

1. **hundred and twenty-fifth year.** This agrees with the Midrash Tadshe (viii. Eppstein's edition) which is itself based on Jubilees and the Testaments. It gives Reuben's age as 125, Simeon's as 120, Levi's 137, Dan's 125, Judah's 119 (?), Naphtali's 133, Gad's 125, Issachar's 122, Asher's 123, and Joseph's 110.

2. **Two years after the death of Joseph.** This agrees with Jub. xxviii. 11, 24, which says Reuben was born in 2122 A.M. and Joseph in 2135. As Joseph died at the age of 110, Reuben lived two years longer to attain the age of 125.

his brother. So a d only.

3. **go the way of my fathers.** Cf. Joshua xxiii. 14 'Go the way of all the earth'. Cf. 1 Kings ii. 2, 10.

4. **Judah, and Gad, and Asher, his brethren.** Joseph alone of the other patriarchs addresses his brethren as well as his sons.

what things I have in my heart. T. S. ii. 1.

now at length, = ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν. Thus the LXX translates הפעם in Gen. xlv. 30 אמונתה הפעם. Cf. ἀπ' ἀπρι in John i. 51 in some MSS. Also ἀπ' ἀπρι, Matt. xxvi. 64 = ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν, Luke xxii. 69.

5. **Hear, my brethren, and do ye, my children, give ear.** So a A^o S¹. Cf. T. Jos. i. 2. This reading suits the context better than 'hear, my brethren, and give ear' β-d g A^{d o g}; or 'hear, my (> d) children, and give ear' d A^{a b}.

6. **I call to witness against you this day.** A reminiscence cf. Deut. iv. 26 where Moses calls heaven and earth to witness. ἐπιμαρτύρομαι is, however, unsuitable with 'God', and ὀρκῶ, 'I adjure,' is more so. Still we might compare Exod. xix. 21 διαμαρτυραί.

I was poured out. A classical use of ἐξέχυθην. Cf. Pindar, Isth. i. 4.

7. The importance of prayer is emphasized by our author. Jacob prays for Judah, T. Jud. xix. 2; for Gad, T. G. v. 9; for his ten eldest sons, T. B. iii. 6. Cf. T. S. ii. 2, 13; T. N. vi. 8; T. Jos. iii. 3, vii. 4, viii. 1; T. B. v. 5. Fasting accompanies prayer, T. Jos. iii. 3, iv. 8, x. 1, 2; T. B. i. 4.

8. **thirty years old.** Jub. xxviii. 11, xxxiii. 1-5 says Reuben was only twenty-one.

9. The chastisement lasted seven months, the penance seven years.

10. **eat no pleasant food.** Cf. Dan. x. 3. Reuben practises abstinence for seven years, Simeon for two, T. S. iii. 4, and Judah till old age, T. Jud. xv. 4, xix. 2, in expiation of their sins. Joseph fasts seven years to preserve his chastity, T. Jos. iii. 4. Issachar in his righteousness and self-control abstains from wine all his life, T. Iss. vii. 3. The righteous man 'combines fasting with chastity', T. Jos. ix. 2: the double-hearted man superstitiously combines fasting and adultery, T. A. ii. 8, iv. 3.

such as had not been in Israel. So c and practically A. Cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 12.

II. 1. **seven spirits of deceit.** Origen refers to this passage (*Hom. in Iosuan* 15^b, ed. Lommatzsch, xi. 143, as from the Testaments of the XII Patr. as implying various 'Satanæ'. Matt. xii. 45 speaks of seven evil spirits.

spirits of deceit. The Testaments contain a vast demonology. The chief of the demons is called Beliar *passim* (see T. Lev. iii. 3); the Devil, T. N. viii. 4; the Prince of Deceit, T. S. ii. 7; T. Jud. xix. 4; or your Prince (of Dan), T. D. v. 6. Beliar's works are opposed to God's law, T. L. xix. 1; T. Iss. vi. 1. He rules over disturbed souls, T. D. iv. 7, or those which yield to their evil inclination, T. A. i. 8. He flees, however, from the righteous and keepers of the law, T. D. v. 1; T. N. viii. 4. The Messiah will make war on Beliar and take away from him the captive souls, T. D. v. 10; Beliar will be bound, T. L. xviii. 12, and cast into the fire, T. Jud. xxv. 3. The evil spirits in general are

THE TESTAMENT OF REUBEN 1. 1--3. 6

² I repented. Seven spirits therefore are appointed against man, and they are the leaders in the works
³ of youth. [And seven other spirits are given to him at his creation, that through them should be
⁴ done every work of man. The first is the spirit of life, with which the constitution (of man) is
⁵ created. The second is the sense of sight, with which ariseth desire. The third is the sense of
hearing, with which cometh teaching. The fourth is the sense of smell, with which tastes are given
^{6, 7} to draw air and breath. The fifth is the power of speech, with which cometh knowledge. The
sixth is the sense of taste, with which cometh the eating of meats and drinks; and by it strength is
⁸ produced, for in food is the foundation of strength. The seventh is the power of procreation and
⁹ sexual intercourse, with which through love of pleasure sins enter in. Wherefore it is the last in
order of creation, and the first in that of youth, because it is filled with ignorance, and leadeth the
youth as a blind man to a pit, and as a beast to a precipice.

3 ¹ Besides all these there is an eighth spirit of sleep, with which is brought about the trance of
^{2, 3} nature and the image of death. With these spirits are mingled the spirits of error.] First, the
spirit of fornication is seated in the nature and in the senses; the second, the spirit of insatiableness,
⁴ in the belly; the third, the spirit of fighting, in the liver and gall. The fourth is the spirit of
⁵ obsequiousness and chicanery, that through officious attention one may be fair in seeming. The
fifth is the spirit of pride, that one may be boastful and arrogant. The sixth is the spirit of lying,
⁶ †in perdition and jealousy† to practise deceits, and concealments from kindred and friends. The

called spirits of deceit, T. R. ii. 1, 2; T. S. iii. 1; and *passim*: also wicked spirits, T. S. iv. 9; spirits of Beliar, T. Iss. vii. 7, &c.; unclean spirits, T. B. v. 2; angels of Satan, T. A. vi. 4. Their function is threefold as in 1 and 2 Enoch and the N. T., (1) to tempt men, (2) to accuse them when they fall, (3) to torment them. (2) is not a feature in this book, (3) is mentioned twice, T. L. iii. 2, spirits of retribution, and T. A. vi. 5, the evil spirit which a man serves waits for his soul as it leaves the body at death to torment it. (1) is their most prominent function in the Testaments. Of the tempting spirits, there are the seven spirits of deceit which attack youth, T. R. ii. 1-2, namely, those of fornication (cf., too, T. Jud. xiii. 3), insatiableness, fighting, obsequiousness, pride, lying, and injustice, T. R. iii. 3-6. T. Jud. xvi. 1 adds the spirits of lust, hot desire, profligacy, and filthy lucre. There are also the spirits of jealousy, T. Jud. xiii. 3; and of envy, T. S. iii. 1, iv. 7, which are wicked and poisonous spirits, T. S. iv. 9; the spirits of anger, T. D. ii. 4. There are angels, moreover, which stir men to murder, T. D. i. 7; and idolatry, T. N. iii. 3; and lust, T. Jos. vii. 4. The faithless and wicked fall an easy prey to them, but the spirits first require permission to tempt men, T. B. iii. 3 (cf. Job i. 12, ii. 6). If men yield, the devil makes them into his own instruments, T. N. viii. 6; but if they are single-hearted and do right, then neither the spirits of deceit nor Beliar have power over them, T. Iss. iv. 4; T. B. iii. 3; indeed, the devil and the spirits of Beliar and unclean spirits flee from them, T. N. viii. 4; T. Iss. vii. 7; T. B. v. 2. Nay, more, the righteous rule over them, T. S. vi. 6, and tread them under foot, T. L. xviii. 12, T. Z. ix. 8 (bdg). These spirits are punished on the judgement day, T. L. iii. 3.

2. **against man** + 'by Beliar' β A S.

leaders in the works. 'leader,' β-f g A^a S, which points to the singular שׂאֵל in Hebrew, which = 'poison' as well as 'leader'. Cf. 'poisonous spirit', T. S. iv. 9.

II. 3-III. 2. A late addition to the text, undoubtedly first made in Greek, and chiefly drawn from Greek sources. Not only does this passage intrude between the promise in ii. 1 and its fulfilment in iii. 3, 7, but it has no organic connexion with either. Moreover, the division of the bodily senses here given is based on Stoic theories, e.g. the peculiar meaning attached to πνεύματα as that of senses, organs, or appetites. The Stoics held that the soul had eight parts, namely, the five senses, the powers of reproduction and speech, and the dominant part or reason which ruled the other seven. They discharged themselves into the various parts of the body in the form of immaterial currents or πνεύματα. Cf. Plutarch, *De Plac.* iv. 21; also Zeller, *Stoics*, 214-15 (Eng. Trans.). For full quotations see my Comm. on the Test.; also my note in Slav. Enoch xxx. 9. A parallel interpolation occurs in M.S. 248 of Sirach xvii. 4, and precedes as here the Hebrew division of various powers.

3. **seven other spirits.** 'other' a, > β S, 'again' A. This use of πνεύματα is confined to the Stoics, and has no parallel in the Hebrew שְׁנַיִם. The Stoic division gives eight πνεύματα, but our text omits ἀφή, and replaces the eighth power τὸ ἡγεμονικόν by πνεῦμα ζωῆς.

4. **spirit of life.** Here πνεῦμα is used in its usual sense, cf. Gen. vi. 17, vii. 15. But the Hebrew usage would not imply more than life in an impersonal sense, whereas the Stoic parallel τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, and the next phrase 'with which the constitution of man is created' suggest the power which gives vitality and life to the material organism and constitutes man's powers into a unity which is personal.

5. **sense.** πνεῦμα, and so in verses 5 and 7.

sight . . . desire. Cf. 1 John ii. 16 ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν.

to draw air and breath. Cf. T. N. ii. 8 (note); also Arist. *De Spir.* 2.

6. **power.** πνεῦμα.

7. **and by it strength is produced,** αὐτῷ can refer only to πνεῦμα. Only d reads αὐτῇ (γεῦσις).

9. **as a blind man to a pit.** Cf. Matt. xv. 14.

III. 1-2. This reference to an eighth spirit, of sleep, is due to the interpolator himself, who has also inserted iii. 7. It is not found in Stoic teaching.

1. **trance of nature** (ἐκστασις φύσεως). Unlike the preceding bodily powers, sleep is not credited with any contribution to human activity.

the image of death. Cf. Homer, *Il.* xiv. 231, &c.

2. An adaptation of ii. 3-iii. 1 to its present context.

4. **spirit of fighting, in the liver.** Cf. T. N. ii. 8.

5. **†in perdition and jealousy†.** Probably corrupt in the Hebrew text, בְּשׂוֹאָה וּקְנָאָה for לְשׂוֹנְאָה וּקְנָאָה. Hence read 'to practise deceits on an enemy and a rival and concealments', &c.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- seventh is the spirit of injustice, with which are thefts and acts of rapacity, that a man may fulfil the desire of his heart; for injustice worketh together with the other spirits by the taking of gifts.
- 7, 8 [And with all these the spirit of sleep is joined which is (that) of error and fantasy.] And so perisheth every young man, darkening his mind from the truth, and not understanding the law of
- 9 God, nor obeying the admonitions of his fathers, as befell me also in my youth. And now, my children, love the truth, and it will preserve you: hear ye 'the words of' Reuben your father.
- 10 Pay no heed to the face of a woman,
Nor associate with another man's wife,
Nor meddle with affairs of womankind.
- 11 For had I not seen Bilhah bathing in a covered place, I had not fallen into this great iniquity.
- 12 For my mind taking in the thought of the woman's nakedness, suffered me not 'to sleep' until I had
- 13 wrought the abominable thing. For while Jacob our father had gone to Isaac his father, when we were in Eder, near to Ephrath in Bethlehem, Bilhah became drunk and was asleep uncovered in her
- 14 chamber. Having therefore gone in and beheld her nakedness, I wrought the impiety 'without her
- 15 perceiving it', and leaving her sleeping I departed. And forthwith an angel of God revealed to my father concerning my impiety, and he came and mourned over me, and touched her no more.
- 4 1 Pay no heed, therefore, 'my children', to the beauty of women, nor set your mind on their affairs; but walk in singleness of heart in the fear of the Lord, and expend labour on good works, and on study and on your flocks, until the Lord give you a wife, whom He will, that ye suffer not as I did.
- 2 For until my father's death I had not boldness to look in his face, or to speak to any of my brethren,
- 3 because of the reproach. Even until now my conscience causeth me anguish on account of my
- 4 impiety. And yet my father comforted me much, and prayed for me unto the Lord, that the anger of the Lord might pass from me, even as the Lord showed. And thenceforth until now I have
- 5 been on my guard and sinned not. Therefore, my children, 'I say unto you', observe 'all' things
- 6 whatsoever I command you, and ye shall not sin. For a pit unto the soul is the sin of fornication, separating it from God, and bringing it near to idols, because it deceiveth the mind and under-

6. fulfil *a*. 'do' β A S.
7. An interpolation. See iii. 1 (note). Sleep is properly a natural power, not a vice like the other seven. *a a e* read 'which is error and fantasy'.
8. darkening his mind. Cf. Eph. iv. 18 ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ, also Rom. i. 21. understanding the law. Here συνιδὼν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ is a Hebraism.
9. the words of. So *a a e f*.
10. Pay no heed, &c. See iv. 1.
- associate (*a*): 'be alone' β -g S¹. Cf. Sir. ix. 9, where the verb is κάθου, 'sit,' in the Greek, חטט 'eat' in the Hebrew, and חרבה שיחה 'talk much' according to the Syriac (cf. Aboth i. 5). In Sanh. 100^b and Yebam. 63^b, where Sir. is quoted, we have חטט אצלך 'turn not aside to her'. Cf. also Nedarim 20^a.
- meddle with affairs, &c. Cf. Sir. xli. 21. For πράξω (*a b f S*), 'affairs', *a* reads ὄψω, A ^b* κάλλος καὶ πράξεις.
- 11-15. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 21, 22; Jub. xxxiii. 1-9. Reuben's sin is denied in late works, e.g. Gen. rabba 98, 99; Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxv. 22. See note on Jub. xxxiii. 2.
13. had gone to Isaac. Jub. xxxiii. 1.
- Eder near to Ephrath. Gen. xxxv. 19, 21; Jub. xxxiii. 1.
- Bilhah became drunk. Peculiar to our text. Hence the new turn to the story in *v*. 15.
14. without her perceiving it *a*: > β A S.
- leaving her sleeping. Jub. xxxiii. 4-7 says Bilhah awoke and cried out. She also told the matter to Jacob on his return.

IV. 1. Pay no heed . . . to the beauty of women, &c. Cf. iii. 10; T. Jud. xvii. 1; T. Iss. iv. 4; also Sir. ix. 8. Abodah Zara 20^b forbids a man to look on a beautiful woman if single, or a homely one if married.

singleness of heart, ἀπλότητι τῆς καρδίας = חֶסֶד-לֵב. Wisd. i. 1; Col. ii. 22; Eph. vi. 5. See note on uprightness in T. Iss. iii. 1.

on good works and. So *a A*. ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἀποπλανώμενοι β S. i.e. the β recension had a corrupt Hebrew בְּמַעֲשֵׂים יְשָׁרִים instead of בְּמַעֲשֵׂים יְשָׁרִים.

your flocks. Cf. stress on husbandry, T. Iss. v. 3; vi. 2.

3. This is the first occurrence in Jewish literature of the conscience as a fully-developed conception. The LXX first uses the word in the technical sense in Wisd. xvii. 10 αὐτὸς δὲ προσείληφεν τὰ χαλεπὰ (πονηρία) συνεχομένη τῇ συνειδήσει. See also T. Jud. xx. 2 (*a*). The action of the conscience is described (without the term) in T. Jud. xx. 5; T. G. v. 3.

impiety *a*. 'Sin' β S¹.

4. that the anger of the Lord might pass. Jub. xxxiii. 15 says 'Reuben was granted life and forgiveness'.

until now, ἕως νῦν *a*. μετανοῶν, 'repenting', d g A. ἕως ἐννοιῶν, '(even) in thought', *a e f*.

5. I say unto you. *a* only.

6-7. Cf. T. Jud. xv. 1, xviii. 2-6, on the evils of fornication.

6. A pit, βάθος, *a a f*. ὀλεθρος, 'destruction' β -*a f*. חַת has both meanings.

separating it from God . . . near to idols. This recurs in T. S. v. 3. Cf. Kethub. 11^b 'Most idolaters are adulterers', also Wisd. xiv. 12 ἀρχὴ γὰρ πορνείας (= spiritual unfaithfulness) ἐπίνοια εἰδώλων.

THE TESTAMENT OF REUBEN 3. 6—6. 5

- 7 standing, and leadeth down young men into Hades before their time. For many hath fornication destroyed; because, though a man be old or noble, ¹or rich or poor¹, he bringeth reproach upon himself with the sons of men and derision with Beliar. For ye heard regarding Joseph how he guarded himself from a woman, and purged his thoughts from all fornication, and found favour in the sight of God and men. For the Egyptian woman did many things unto him, and summoned magicians, and offered him love potions, but the purpose of his soul admitted no evil desire. There- fore the God of your fathers delivered him from every evil (and) hidden death. For if fornication overcomes not your mind, neither can Beliar overcome you.
- 5 ¹ For¹ evil are women, my children; and since they have no power or strength over man, they use wives by outward attractions, that they may draw him to themselves. And whom they cannot bewitch by outward attractions, him they overcome by craft. For¹ moreover, concerning them, the angel of the Lord told me, and taught me, that women are overcome by the spirit of fornication more than men, and in their heart they plot against men; and by means of their adornment they deceive first their minds, and by the glance of the eye instil the poison, and then through the accom- plished act they take them captive. For a woman cannot force a man openly, but by a harlot's bearing she beguiles him. Flee, therefore, fornication, my children, and command your wives and your daughters, that they adorn not their heads and faces to deceive the mind: because every woman who useth these wiles hath been reserved for eternal punishment. For thus they allured the Watchers who were before the flood; for as these continually beheld them, they lusted after them, and they conceived the act in their mind; for they changed themselves into the shape of men, and appeared to them when they were with their husbands. And the women lusting in their minds after their forms, gave birth to giants, for the Watchers appeared to them as reaching even unto heaven.
- 6 ¹ Beware, therefore, of fornication; and if you wish to be pure in mind, guard your senses from every woman. And command the women likewise not to associate with men, that they also may be pure in mind. For constant meetings, even though the ungodly deed be not wrought, are to them an irremediable disease, and to us a destruction of Beliar and an eternal reproach. For in fornication there is neither understanding nor[†] godliness, and all jealousy dwelleth in the lust thereof. There-

leadeth down . . . to Hades. Cf. Prov. vii. 27, where LXX has *κατάγουσαι* as here.

before their time, *οὐκ ἐν καιρῷ αὐτῶν* = *בְּלֹא עֵתָם*. Cf. T. Jud. xvi. 3.

7. many hath fornication destroyed. Cf. Prov. vii. 26; also Sir. ix. 8, where read *ἀπεκτάνθησαν* for *ἐπλανήθησαν*. So Sanh. 100^b, Yebam. 63^b.

or rich or poor. *a* only.

derision, *γέλῳτα*, d e A S. *πρόσκομμα*, 'an offence' or 'stumbling-block', *a*, i. e. *שְׂחָק* for *שְׂחָק*.

8. For ye heard, &c., 'for since Joseph guarded himself from every woman . . . he found', &c. *β* A S¹.

found favour in the sight of God ('of the Lord' *β* A S¹). Cf. T. S. v. 2; also 1 Sam. ii. 26; Luke ii. 52.

Acts vii. 10 says of Joseph 'God . . . gave him favour'.

9. Cf. T. Jos. vi.

did many things unto = *תְּרַבֵּה*, perhaps corrupt for *תְּאָרַב*, 'lay in wait for'.

10. delivered him, &c. Cf. Acts vii. 10.

evil, *a*. 'visible and' *β*-d A *β* S¹, i. e. *רָאָה* for *רָע*.

11. Beliar is powerless with the pure. Cf. Jub. i. 20, x. 6 (note); Eccles. vii. 26.

V. 1. For. *a* only.

evil are women. Cf. Eccles. vii. 27, 28.

by outward attractions, *ἐν σχήμασι*, i. e. figure, bearing, attire, and gestures.

2. by outward attractions, *διὰ σχήματος* *a*. *δυνάμει* *β* A S¹, i. e. *הָיוּ* for *הָיוּ* or *הָיוּ*.

3. they plot. Cf. Eccles. vii. 26, 27.

glance of the eye. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 2; T. B. vi. 3; also Prov. vi. 25; Sir. xxiii. 4.

4. openly . . . beguiles him. *a* only.

5. adorn not their heads and faces. Enoch viii. 1 says that the fallen Watchers taught women to beautify the face and wear precious metals. For Hebrew adornments see Isa. iii. 16.

reserved for eternal punishment, *εἰς κόλασιν αἰώνιον τετήρηται*. Cf. Jude 6 *εἰς κρίσιν* . . . *τετήρηκεν*; 2 Pet. ii. 4 *εἰς κρίσιν τηρουμένων*.

6. thus they allured the Watchers. Jub. iv. 15 (see note) says the Watchers descended to instruct the children of men, and afterwards proceeded to take wives of the daughters of men (Jub. v. 1). See Chron. Jerahmeel xxv. 2-4. In xxv. 7, 13 Azazel is said to be 'appointed chief over all dyes and all kinds of ornaments by which women entice men to thoughts of sin'. Is this story in view in 1 Pet. iii. 3-5; 1 Tim. ii. 9?

Watchers. See Dan. iv. 13, 23; 1 En. vi-viii; Jub. iv. 15, v. 1; 2 En. xviii. 3.

lusted after them A ^b ^b ^e ^d ^e ^g: 'lusted after one another' *a* *β*-g.

7. reaching unto heaven. Their height was 3,000 ells, 1 En. vii. 2.

VI. 1. Beware . . . of fornication. Cf. iv. 6; T. S. v. 3; Tobit iv. 12.

if you wish . . . guard *β* A S¹: 'be pure in mind: guard also' *a*.

2. Cf. iii. 10. Note that purity of heart is required. Cf. Matt. v. 27, 28.

3. a destruction of Beliar and an eternal reproach *a*: 'an eternal reproach of Beliar' *β* S¹: 'a great reproach' A.

4. godliness, *εὐσέβειαν*. Probably corrupt for *εὐλάβειαν*, 'discretion'.

jealousy. Cf. Num. v. 29; Prov. vi. 34.

5-12. Many passages in the Testaments set forth Levi's merits and claims. Cf. T. S. vii. 2; T. L. ii. 11, viii. 14,

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

fore, 'then I say unto you', ye will be jealous 'against the sons of Levi', and will seek to be exalted
6 over them ; but ye shall not be able. For God will avenge them, 'and ye shall die by an evil death'.
7 For to Levi God gave the sovereignty [and to Judah with him and to me also, and to Dan and
8 Joseph, that we should be for rulers]. Therefore I command you to hearken to Levi, because he
shall know the law of the Lord, and shall give ordinances for judgement and shall sacrifice for all
Israel until the consummation of the times, as the **anointed** High Priest, of whom the Lord spake.
9 I adjure you by the God of heaven to do truth each one unto his neighbour and to entertain love
10 each one for his brother. And draw ye near to Levi in humbleness of heart, that ye may receive
11 a blessing from his mouth. For he shall bless Israel and Judah, because him hath the Lord chosen to
12 be king over all the nation. And bow down before his seed, for on our behalf it will die in wars
visible and invisible, and will be among you an eternal king.
7 1, 2 And Reuben died, having given these commands to his sons. And they placed him in a coffin
until they carried him up from Egypt, and buried him 'in Hebron' in the cave where his father was.

THE TESTAMENT OF SIMEON, THE SECOND SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

1 1 The copy of the words of Simeon, the things which he spake to his sons before he died, in the
2 hundred and twentieth year of his life, at which time Joseph, 'his brother', died. For when Simeon

xviii. 1, 2 ; T. D. v. 4 ; T. N. viii. 2 ; T. G. viii. 1 ; T. Jos. xix. 11. The salvation of Israel is to come from both Levi and Judah jointly, T. S. vii. 1, &c. Only in T. G. viii. 1 (probably corrupt) is Judah placed before Levi. Levi is priest and king, T. R. vi. 7-12 ; T. L. viii. 14, xviii. 1, 2 ; as high-priest, T. S. vii. 2. Judah is king T. S. vii. 2 ; T. Jud. i. 6, xvii. 5 ; T. N. viii. 2 (corrupt ?). T. R. vi. 7^b and T. Jud. xxiv. 4-6 are additions.

5. then, I say unto you *a* only.
jealous against the sons of Levi. Cf. the charge against Simeon's sons, T. S. v. 4, and Dan's, T. D. v. 5. The purpose of this admonition is to establish the Maccabean hegemony.

6. and ye . . . death. These words are omitted by A.
7. Levi is to be king. The bracketed words are a foolish interpolation. Why 'to Dan' is not clear. In Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xlix. 3 we have the non-Maccabean view : 'because thou (Reuben) didst sin, my son, the primogeniture is given to Joseph, the kingdom to Judah, and the priesthood to Levi.'

8. shall know : 'shall make known' A.
give ordinances for judgement, διαστελεῖ εἰς κρίσιν c β-b g S : διατελεῖ εἰς κρίσιν h g A, 'fulfil as regards judgement,' perhaps corrupt for διατελέσει κρίσιν.

all Israel (> 'all' *a*). The Twelve Tribes are considered as in Palestine by our author. John Hyrcanus, who is meant by our text, is to bless Israel and Judah, verse 11. The title 'Twelve Patriarchs' points to the same view. Cf. the letter of Aristaeas, which says that Eleazar the high-priest sent six men from each of the Twelve Tribes to Ptolemy. The pre-Maccabean view (1 En. lxxxix. 72) was that the Northern tribes were still in captivity. The Maccabean view was due to the extensive sway of those native kings. With the failure of the Maccabees, the Messianic promises were again attached to Judah instead of Levi, and the idea of the Captivity of the Northern Tribes revived. See Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 34, 50 ; Ass. Mos. iv. 8, 9 ; Sib. Or. ii. 170-3 ; 4 Ezra xiii. 39-47 ; Apoc. Bar. i. 2, 3, lxxviii. 1, 5, 7, lxxxiv. 10. For the rejection of Dan see T. D. v. 6-7.

consummation of the times, τελειώσεως χρόνων. Cf. T. L. x. 2 (T. B. xi. 3) συντελεία τῶν αἰώνων ; T. Z. ix. 8 καιροῦ συντελείας. This means the closing years of the age present to the writer, and the opening of a new era, possibly with no catastrophe, as in Jub. i. 29, v. 12, xxiii. 26-30 (see notes). Cf. Daniel's 'time of the end' (Dan. viii. 19, xi. 35, 40, xii. 49), עֵת־קֵץ. The LXX gives ὥραν καιροῦ, ὥραν συντελείας, καιροῦ συντελείας. Cf. 1 En. x. 13 ἡμέρας τελεσμοῦ, xvi. 1 ἡμέρα τῆς τελειώσεως. Also Ass. Mos. i. 18 'in consummatione exitus dierum' ; x. 13 '(tempora) consummentur' ; 2 Bar. xxvii. 15, &c. 'consummation of the times' ; lvi. 2 'of the world' ; lxxxiii. 7 'of the age'. Cf. 4 Ezra ix. 5 and T. Iss. vi. 1 (note) ; also Matt. συντέλεια αἰῶνος, xiii. 39, xxiv. 3.

as the anointed High Priest. So emended from ἀρχιερεὺς χριστοῦ h : (times) 'of the anointed High Priest' c β S.

of whom the Lord spake. Ps. cx, originally written in honour of Simon, is here interpreted of John Hyrcanus. Cf. for reinterpretation Dan. vii. 7, 8 as explained in Dan. vii. 23-5, and interpreted anew in 4 Ezra xi. 1 ff.

9. do truth h i β S : 'walk in truth' A : 'speak truth' c, as also T. D. v. 2 (Zech. viii. 16 ; Gal. iv. 25).
entertain love. Cf. T. L. xix. 18 ; also T. S. iv. 7 ; T. D. v. 3.

10-11. Levi as priest and king. Cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 41 concerning Simon, ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα.
receive a blessing. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 15 ; Sir. l. 20.

11. him hath the Lord chosen, i.e. Levi : ἐν αὐτῷ ἐξελέξατο—a Hebraism.
nation a f A : 'nations' β-f S¹.

12. Achievements of the Maccabean prince-priests. Most 'died in wars visible', cf. T. S. v. 5. As spiritual leaders they spent themselves in warfare against spiritual opposition. Cf. Ps. lxix. 9, cxix. 139.

eternal king ('kings' A). Cf. ἱερεὺς εἰς αἰῶνα 1 Macc. xiv. 41 ; Ps. cx. 4. 'Seed' and 'die', however, may be corrupt. If so, read נָרְעָו for נָרְעָו and יַעֲמֹד for יָמוֹת, and render 'Bow down before his might, for he will stand forth . . . a king for ever', of Hyrcanus.

VII. 2. Joseph's bones alone remained in Egypt till the Exodus. Cf. Acts vii. 16.

TITLE *a* : + 'regarding envy' β-a d e A ^e f g S¹.

1. 1. The copy of the words h β-d e S¹ : 'testament' c : 'copy of the testament' d e A ^a b.
before . . . died > *a* d.

hundred and twentieth year β-d g A ^b * ^e d. See T. R. i. 1.

Joseph died. Jub. xxviii. 13, 24 makes Joseph ten years younger than Simeon.

THE TESTAMENT OF SIMEON 1. 1—4. 4

was sick, his sons came to visit him, and he strengthened himself and sat up and kissed them, and said:—

- 2** ¹ Hearken, my children, to Simeon your father,
And I will declare unto you what things I have in my heart.
² I was born of Jacob as my father's second son;
And my mother Leah called me Simeon,
Because the Lord had heard her prayer.
³ Moreover, I became strong exceedingly;
I shrank from no achievement,
Nor was I afraid of ought.
⁴ For my heart was hard,
And my liver was immovable,
And my bowels without compassion.
^{5, 6} Because valour also has been given from the Most High to men in soul and body. For in the
time of my youth I was jealous 'in many things' of Joseph, because my father loved him 'beyond
⁷ all'. And I set my mind against him to destroy him, because the prince of deceit sent forth the
spirit of jealousy and blinded my mind, so that I regarded him not as a brother, nor did I spare even
⁸ Jacob my father. But his God and the God of his fathers sent forth His angel, and delivered him
⁹ out of my hands. For when I went to Shechem to bring ointment for the flocks, and Reuben to
Dothan, where were our necessities and all our stores, Judah my brother sold him to the Ishmaelites.
¹⁰ And when Reuben heard these things he was grieved, for he wished to restore him to his father.
¹¹ But on hearing this I was 'exceedingly' wroth against Judah in that he let him go away alive, and
¹² for five months I continued wrathful against him. But the Lord restrained me, and withheld 'from
¹³ me' the power of my hands; for my right hand was half withered for seven days. And I knew, my
children, that because of Joseph this had befallen me, and I repented and wept; and I besought the
Lord God that my hand might be restored, and that I might hold aloof from all pollution and envy
¹⁴ 'and from all folly'. For I knew that I had devised an evil thing before the Lord and Jacob my
father, on account of Joseph my brother, in that I envied him.
- 3** ^{1, 2} And now, my children, 'hearken unto me and' beware of the spirit of deceit and envy. For envy
ruleth over the whole mind of a man, and suffereth him 'neither to eat nor to drink', nor to do any
³ good thing. But it ever suggesteth (to him) to destroy him that he envieth; and so long as he that
⁴ is envied flourisheth, he that envieth fadeth away. Two years 'therefore' I afflicted my soul with
fasting in the fear of the Lord, and I learnt that deliverance from envy cometh by the fear of God.
⁵ For if a man flee to the Lord, the evil spirit runneth away from him, and his mind is lightened.
⁶ And henceforward he sympathiseth with him whom he envied and forgiveth those who **are**
hostile to him, and so ceaseth from his envy.
- 4** ¹ And my father asked 'concerning me', because he saw that I was sad; and I said unto him, I am
² pained in my liver. For I mourned more than they all, because I was guilty of the selling of Joseph.
³ And when we went down into Egypt, and he bound me as a spy, I knew that I was suffering justly,
⁴ and I grieved not. Now Joseph was a good man, and had the Spirit of God within him: being

II. 2. Simeon . . . heard her prayer. Cf. Gen. xxix. 33 for this play on the name.

4. liver. Here the spirit of war dwells, T. R. iii. 4.

6. jealous of Joseph. Cf. iv. 2, 3; and Targum Ps.-Jon. which attributes Gen. xxxvii. 19, 20 to Simeon and Levi.
in many things *a* only.
beyond all *a* only.

7. mind, *ἡπαρα*. See *v.* 4.

prince of deceit. See T. R. ii. 1 (note).

blinded my mind. Cf. T. R. iii. 8.

8. sent forth his angel and delivered. Dan. iii. 28; Acts xii. 11. Cf. Ps. xxxiv. 7, 8.

9. Reuben to Dothan. Reuben's absence explains Gen. xxxvii. 21.

Judah . . . sold him. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 26-8.

10. heard these things, *ἀκούσας c* (cf. Gen. xxxvii. 21): 'came' *β A S¹*, i.e. *בשמעו בשוכו*. Same corruption in
v. 11.

restore *c A* = *השיב*: 'save' *β-a f S¹* = *הושיע*.

13. the Lord God *a d*: 'the Lord' *β-d A b* c d o g S¹*: 'God' *A a b h*.

III. 1. spirit of deceit and envy *a A S²*. Cf. ii. 7. 'spirits' *β S¹*.

3. and so long, &c. Perhaps render 'And he that is envied flourisheth, and', &c.

4. afflicted my soul with fasting. Ps. xxxv. 15. Cf. T. R. i. 10.

6. forgiveth, *συγγνώσκει a a e f S¹*. *οὐ καταγνώσκει b d g A b* c d e*.
are hostile to. The text has 'love' = in the Hebrew original *אהבי* corrupt for *איבי*.

IV. 4. Joseph is commended here and always in the Testaments except Naph. Cf. T. R. iv. 8-10.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

compassionate and pitiful, he bore no malice against me; but loved me even as the rest of his
5 brethren. Beware, therefore, my children, of all jealousy and envy, and walk in singleness of

heart,

$\beta A S^1$
soul and with good heart, keeping in mind
Joseph your father's brother,

that God may give 'you also' grace and glory, and blessing upon your heads, even as ye saw in
6 Joseph's case. All his days he reproached us not concerning this thing, but loved us as his own
7 soul, and beyond his own sons glorified us, and gave us riches, and cattle and fruits. Do ye also,
my children, love each one his brother with a good heart, and the spirit of envy will withdraw from
8 you. For this maketh savage the soul and destroyeth the body; it causeth anger and war in the
mind, and stirreth up unto deeds of blood,

a
and leadeth the mind into frenzy,

$\beta A^\beta S^1$
and leadeth the mind into frenzy, 'and suffereth
not prudence to act in men'; moreover, it taketh
away sleep,

[and causeth tumult to the soul and trembling to the body].

9 For even in sleep some malicious jealousy, deluding him, gnaweth, and with wicked spirits dis-
turbeth his soul, and causeth the body to be troubled, and waketh the mind from sleep in confusion;
and as a wicked and poisonous spirit, so appeareth it to men.

5 1 Therefore was Joseph comely in appearance, and goodly to look upon, because no wickedness
2 dwelt in him; for some of the trouble of the spirit the face manifesteth. And now, my children,

Make your hearts good before the Lord,
And your ways straight before men,
And ye shall find grace before the Lord and men.

3 Beware, therefore, of fornication,
For fornication is mother of all evils,
Separating from God, and bringing near to Beliar.

4 For I have seen it inscribed in the writing of Enoch that your sons shall be corrupted in fornication,
5 and shall do harm to the sons of Levi with the sword. But they shall not be able to withstand Levi;
6 for he shall wage the war of the Lord, and shall conquer 'all' your hosts. And they shall be few in
number, divided in Levi and Judah, and there shall be none of you for sovereignty, even as also our
father prophesied in his blessings.

6 1, 2 Behold I have told you all things, that I may be acquitted of your sin. Now, if ye remove from
you your envy and all stiff-neckedness,
As a rose shall my bones flourish in Israel,
And as a lily my flesh in Jacob,
And my odour shall be as the odour of Libanus;
And as cedars shall holy ones be multiplied from me for ever,
And their branches shall stretch afar off.

5. singleness of heart. See T. Iss. iii. 2 (note).
of heart a . $\beta A S^1$ read 'soul and ($> A^a h$) with good ('pure' $A^a h b^* c d e g > A^b$) heart, keeping in mind
Joseph ($> b$) your father's brother ('brother' A). d is corrupt. The twofold recension obviously goes back to the
Hebrew original.

6. gave us riches, &c. Cf. Gen. xlvii. 11, 12.

7. love each one his brother. Cf. T. R. vi. 9.

will withdraw a &c.: 'put ye away' $\beta-e g S^1$. For 'withdraw' cf. iii. 5, 6.

8. and suffereth . . . men $> A^b * c d e f g$: 'moreover . . . sleep' recurs T. Jud. xviii. 4 with a new verb.
[and causeth tumult . . . body], bracketed as a corrupt dittography of 8^a.

9. Sir. xl. 5-7.

poisonous. Cf. T. R. v. 3; also ii. 2 (note).

V. 1. comely, &c. Gen. xxxix. 6.

2. grace before the Lord and men. Luke ii. 52; T. R. iv. 8.

3. Separating from God, &c. See T. R. iv. 6.

4. in the writing of Enoch. Cf. T. L. x. 5, &c. Not in our Enoch: 2 En. xxxiv. 2 says similar things of the
Antediluvians. Possibly a reference to Num. xxv. 6, 7, 14.

the sons of Levi. See T. R. vi. 5.

5. wage the war of the Lord—refers to the Maccabees, T. R. vi. 12.

6. few in number, divided in Levi and Judah. Cf. Gen. xlix. 7. 'I will divide them (Simeon and Levi) in Jacob
and disperse them in Israel.' Levi is omitted from this curse here, yet Levi claims the credit of destroying Shechem
in T. L. vi. 4, and is praised for it in Jub. xxx. 18-23. Cf. T. L. v. 3. Contrast the tone of Gen. xlix. 6-7 and later Rabbinic
tradition.

VI. 1. acquitted of your sin. Cf. T. L. xiv. 2.

THE TESTAMENT OF SIMEON 4. 4—9. 2

- 3 Then shall perish the seed of Canaan,
And a remnant shall not be unto Amalek,
[And all the Cappadocians shall perish],
And all the Hittites shall be utterly destroyed.
- 4 Then shall fail the land of Ham,
And all the people shall perish.
Then shall all the earth rest from trouble,
And all the world under heaven from war.
- | | | |
|------------------------|--|---|
| | Restored Text | A ^{abh} |
| 5 | Then the Mighty One of Israel shall glorify Shem,
For the Lord God shall appear on earth,
And Himself save men. | Then shall Shem (MSS. 'Seth') be glorified,
For the Lord our God shall appear on earth
[as man]
And Himself saves again. |
| 6 | Then shall all the spirits of deceit be given to be trodden under foot,
And men shall rule over wicked spirits. | |
| 7 | Then shall I arise in joy,
And will bless the Most High because of his marvellous works,
[Because God hath taken a body and eaten with men and saved men]. | |
| 7 ¹ | And now, my children, obey Levi and Judah, and be not lifted up against these two tribes, for | |
| 2 | from them shall arise unto you the salvation [of God]. For the Lord shall raise up from Levi as it | |
| 3 | were a High-priest, and from Judah as it were a King [God and man], He shall save all [the Gentiles | |
| and] | the race of Israel. Therefore I give you these commands that ye also may command your | |
| children, | that they may observe them throughout their generations. | |
| 8 ¹ | And when Simeon had made an end of commanding his sons, he slept with his fathers, being an | |
| 2 | hundred and twenty years old. And they laid him in a wooden coffin, to take up his bones to | |
| 3 | Hebron. And they took them up secretly during a war of the Egyptians. For the bones of Joseph | |
| 4 | the Egyptians guarded in the tombs of the kings. For the sorcerers told them, that on the departure | |
| of the bones of Joseph | there should be throughout all the land darkness and gloom, and an exceeding | |
| great plague | to the Egyptians, so that even with a lamp a man should not recognize his brother. | |
| 9 ^{1, 2} | And the sons of Simeon bewailed their father. And they were in Egypt until the day of their | |
| departure | by the hand of Moses. | |

3. The destruction of Israel's foes.
And all . . . perish > A. The Cappadocians seem to mean here the Caphtorim or Philistines. Cf. Deut. ii. 23, and note on Jub. xxiv. 29.
Hittites, either חתים 'Hittites' or כנענים (i. e. Greeks, or Macedonians).
4. **all the people**. Which people? λαός generally refers to Israel, and so perhaps the Messianic ὁδῶνες are meant.
5-8. A Theophany. God Himself comes to save men, subdues the evil spirits, and raises the righteous.
5. For other Theophanies see T. L. ii. 11, v. 2, viii. 11; T. Jud. xxii. 2; T. Z. ix. 8; T. N. viii. 3; T. A. vii. 3.
the Mighty One of Israel. So β S A^{b*c*d*e*g} (in 2nd clause), while α reads μέγα τῷ Ἰσραήλ (in 1st clause).
shall glorify. Conjectured from ἐνδοξαοθήσεσθαι, all MSS., i. e. יַכְבִּיר corrupt for יִכְבֵּר.
Shem. So β d A^{b*c*d*e*g}: 'Seth' A^{a*b*h}: 'the sign' α β-d S. Possibly σημείον = יִי' misread for יִי' = 'Zion'.
[as man] α β-a S, a Christian addition.
and Himself save men: lit. = 'and save in Himself the Adam' α β S. ἐν αὐτῷ (or ἐαντῷ) = בעצמו, which the translator should have rendered by αὐτός. הוֹצֵא defied translation into Greek, hence τὸν Ἀδάμ.
This third clause is wanting in A^{b*c*d*e*g} and corrupt in A^{a*b*h}.
For this primitive view of the Messianic kingdom as a visible Theocracy cf. 1 En. xxv. 3, lxxvii. 1. It will be on this earth, and the righteous dead will rise to share in it.
6. Cf. Luke x. 19, 20 'to tread . . . on every power of the enemy', 'the spirits are subject unto you'. Cf. T. L. xviii. 12. Based on Ps. xci. 13.
7. [Because God hath taken a body, &c.] Cf. a like Christian interpolation in T. A. vii. 3; also T. D. v. 13^d, vi. 9.
VII. 1. **and Judah** c: 'and in Judah shall ye ('we' A^{b*c*d*e*f*g}) be redeemed' h β A S.
be not lifted up. Cf. T. R. vi. 5.
from them shall arise . . . salvation. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note).
2. Levi's supremacy is here (with the text of N. viii. 2) alone in this work limited to the priesthood.
all the Gentiles. See T. B. ix. 2 (note).
VIII. 2. **wooden coffin** α A^{b*c*d*e*f*g}: 'coffin of incorruptible wood' β-g A^{a*b*h} S.
during a war of the Egyptians β A S. See T. B. xii. 3 (note).
3. **tombs** α: 'treasure-houses' β A β S. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. i. 26 says, 'they embalmed him and placed him in a coffin and sank him in the middle of the Nile of Egypt.' Cf. Exod. rabba xx. 17. R. Nathan says Joseph was buried in Pharaoh's palace.
4. Reason for the guarding of Joseph's bones. Why should the darkness be chosen for mention out of all the Plagues?
IX. 1. **their father** + 'according to the law of mourning' β S.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI, THE THIRD SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

1 1	The copy of the words of Levi, the things which he ordained unto his sons, according to all that		
2	they should do, and what things should befall them until the day of judgement. He was sound in		
	health when he called them to him; for it had been revealed to him that he should die. And when		
	they were gathered together he said to them:		
2 1, 2	I, Levi, was born in Haran, and I came with my father to Shechem. And I was young, about		
3	twenty years of age, when, with Simeon, I wrought vengeance on Hamor for our sister Dinah. And		
	when I was feeding the flocks in Abel-Maul, the spirit of understanding of the Lord came upon me,		
	and I saw all men corrupting their way, and that unrighteousness had built for itself walls, and law-		
4	lessness sat upon towers. And I was grieving for the race of the sons of men, and I prayed to the		
5	Lord that I might be saved. Then there fell upon me a sleep, and I beheld a high mountain, and		
6	I was upon it. And behold the heavens were opened, and an angel of God said to me, Levi, enter.		
	<i>a</i>	<i>A^a</i>	<i>β A^β S¹</i>
7	And I entered from the first heaven, and I saw there a great sea hanging.	7. And when I had entered into the first heaven, †and he escorted raised me† to the second. And I saw there a great sea hanging.	And I entered from the first 7 heaven into the second, and I saw there a sea hanging between the one and the other.
8	And further I saw a second heaven far brighter and more brilliant, for there was a bound- less light also therein.		And further I saw a third 8 heaven far brighter and more brilliant than these two; for there was also a boundless †height therein.
9	And I said to the angel, Why is this so? And the angel said to me, Marvel not at this, for thou shalt see another heaven more brilliant and incomparable.	9. And I said unto him: What is this, Lord? And he said unto me:	And I said unto the angel: 9 Wherefore is it so? And the angel said unto me: Marvel not at these; for thou shalt see four other heavens more brilliant and incomparable,

TITLE. So *a*: 'Testament of Levi concerning the priesthood' *β*-*a d e A S*: + 'and arrogance' *b d e f A^{b* c d e f g}*.

I. 1. **until the day of judgement.** This event is therefore conceived as near to the time of the writer.
revealed to him. Levi has several revelations.

II. 2. **about twenty years**; eighteen according to T. L. xii. 5. Jub. xxviii. 13, 14 makes Simeon two years older.

3. **Abel-Maul** = the Abel-meholah of the O.T. e.g. Judges vii. 22.
corrupting their way. Cf. Gen. vi. 12.
unrighteousness had built . . . towers *β A^{c d e g S¹}*: 'sin was built upon a wall and unrighteousness sat upon towers' *a*. Cf. 1 En. xci. 5 'unrighteousness will come to an end, . . . and its whole structure will be destroyed'. Cf. also Zech. v. 8-11.

After 3 *e* makes a long addition, describing the call and purifying of Levi.

5. **and I was upon it** *a*. 'This is the mountain of the shield in Abelmaul' *g A^{b* f g}*. See T. L. vi. 1.

II. 7-III. The original passage described three heavens, but it has been worked up to include seven. The first heaven really has the great sea, as *v. 8* in *a* shows, for the second heaven is further on. This second becomes the third in *β A^β S¹*. Again in 9, 10 *a* speaks of 'another heaven'. *β A^β S¹* makes 'four other heavens' of it. In 10 the word 'thither' and the general effect require no more than one heaven. In iii. 1-4 *a* once more gives us three heavens, and God dwelling in the highest. *β A^β S¹* makes four of the first two, and then passes at a leap to the highest, which in verses 5-8 we find has two or three others between it and the fourth or third heaven. *a* also has undergone alteration in verses 5-8 and mentions three other heavens.

The doctrine of the seven heavens was prevalent in Judaism before and after the time of Christ. See e.g. 2 En. iii-xxi; Talmud, *Chag.* 12^b; 4 Ezra vii. 81-7.

Christian apocalypses like Asc. Isa. followed Hebrew teaching on this point. Thus the redaction originated in Hebrew, and has been betrayed by the testimony of the first and better of the two independent Greek Versions—*a*. That they are independent is shown by iii. 2 *κρίσεως*, *a*: *προστάγματος*, *β*, iii. 6 *θυρίαν*, *a*: *προσφοράν*, *β*; iii. 9 *τρέμομεν*, *a*: *σαλευόμεθα*, *β*.

7. **a great sea**, i.e. the waters above the firmament, Gen. i. 7. Cf. Jub. ii. 4 and 1 En. liv. 8. For 'hanging' perhaps read 'in the firmament' *ברקיע* for *מוקיע*.

8. The 'second' in *a* becomes the 'third heaven' in *β*. Instead of the brightness iii. 3 mentions the avenging hosts in it.

light. Text = 'height' = *גבה* corrupt for *גנה*, 'light' or 'brightness'. So read *גנה* = *φέγγος* or *φῶς* instead of *גבה* = *ψος*.

9. Note that the one heaven in *a* becomes four in *β*.

THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI 1. 1—3. 3

<i>a</i>	<i>A^a</i>	<i>β A^β S¹</i>
10 And when thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand near the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And shalt declare His mys- teries to men, And shalt proclaim †concerning Him that shall redeem† Israel.	10. When thou hast ascended thither, Thou shalt stand before the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And his coming mysteries thou shalt declare unto men.	When thou hast ascended 10 thither. †Because† thou shalt stand near the Lord, And shalt be His minister, And His mysteries shalt thou declare to men, And shalt proclaim concern- ing the redemption of Israel.
11 And by thee and Judah shall the Lord appear among men, †Saving every race of men.†		
12 And from the Lord's portion shall be thy life, And He shall be thy field and vineyard, And fruits, gold, and silver.		
<i>a</i>	<i>A^a</i>	<i>β A^β S¹</i>
3 1 Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which have been shown to thee. The lowest is for this cause gloomy unto thee, in that it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men.	1. Hear, therefore, regarding the heavens which were shown to thee. The first heaven is for this cause gloomy unto thee, since it beholds the unrighteous deeds of men.	Hear, therefore, regarding the 1 seven heavens. The lowest is for this cause gloomier, since it beholds all the unrighteous deeds of men.
2 And it has fire, snow, and ice made ready for the day of judgement, in the righteous judgement of God; for in it are all the spirits of the retributions for vengeance on †men.	2. And the second hath fire and snow and ice made ready for the day of the ordinances.	The second has fire, snow, ice 2 ready for the day of the ordi- nance of the Lord in the righteous judgement of God. In it are all the spirits of the retri- butions for vengeance on the lawless.
3 And in the second are the hosts of the armies which are ordained for the day of judge- ment, to work vengeance on the spirits of deceit and of Beliar. And above them are the holy ones.		In the third are the hosts of 3 the armies which are ordained for the day of judgement, to work vengeance on the spirits of de- ceit and of Beliar. †And those in the fourth† who are above these are holy.

10–12. Levi has not yet ascended into the third heaven; in fact he does not do so till v. 1. The angel appears to anticipate in 10–12, and resumes his account in iii. 1. Otherwise 10–12 would follow naturally on iv. 2.

10. Levi is to be made priest on ascending into the third heaven. See v. 1, 2.

stand near the Lord, and shalt be His minister. Cf. Deut. x. 8, xviii. 11; Jub. xxxi. 14.

the redemption of Israel. *A^β* alone preserves the original reading. *a β S* are all modified by Christian influence to 'Him that shall redeem Israel'. > *A^a*.

11. by thee and Judah. See T. R. vi. 5–12 (note).

appear among men. That God Himself would appear and dwell with men was the older Jewish view in the second century B.C. Cf. T. S. vi. 5 (note); T. L. v. 2; 1 En. xxv. 3.

Saving every race of men > *A*. See T. S. vi. 5 (note).

12. from the Lord's portion. See viii. 16 (note). Cf. Deut. xxxii. 9; Sir. xvii. 17, where Israel is the Lord's portion.

III. 1. gloomy . . . in that it beholds, &c. Cf. 2 Bar. liii. 5, lvi. 5, 7 'the black waters'. Cf. also 3 Baruch viii; Apoc. Esdrae; Apoc. Pauli 4; and see James, *Texts and Studies*, V. i. 67.

2. The first (*a*) heaven contains the instruments of God's retribution for sin. 2 En. iii. 3; v. 1 also holds, like *a*, that the treasures of the ice and snow, and the great sea, are in the first heaven.

for the day of judgement. Cf. *eis êkdikhsen êkristai*, Sir. xxxix. 29. Cf. also Sir. xxxix. 28, 30 and xl. 9, 10.

spirits of the retributions. Natural phenomena are the agents of punishment, but they are under the control of spirits or angels. Cf. 1 En. lx. 12.

on the lawless, 'on men' *a*, by textual corruption. Cf. Sir. xl. 10.

3. In the second heaven are the angelic armies in readiness to destroy Beliar. 2 En. xvii gives us an armed host, but in the fourth heaven and for a different purpose.

†And those in the fourth†. The *β* recension here cannot be cleared up by *a*, as it was independently altered by the redactor. Verse 8 in *β* naturally refers to the fourth heaven, which therefore need not be mentioned here. Perhaps we should read 'and the four heavens' above these are holy', i.e. *והארבעה* for *ושברביעי*. This gives a point to the 'for' in v. 4 (*β*).

above them are the holy ones *a*. These are the angels. For the first passage in which the abode of the

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

<i>a</i>	<i>A^a</i>	<i>β A^β S¹</i>
4 And in the highest of all dwelleth the Great Glory, far above all holiness.	4. And †the Holy One of the holy ones† is above all holiness.	For in the Highest of all 4 dwelleth the Great Glory, in the holy of holies, far above all holiness.
5 In [the heaven next to] it are the archangels, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous;	5. And the hosts of the angels are ministering,	And in [the heaven next to] 5 it are the angels of the presence of the Lord, who minister and make propitiation to the Lord for all the sins of ignorance of the righteous.
6 Offering to the Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and a bloodless offering.	6. And praising the Lord,	And they offer to the 6 Lord a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and bloodless offering.
7 And [in the heaven below this] are the angels who bear †answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.	7. Who also are messengers of the Godhead.	And in [the heaven below] 7 are the angels who bear the answers to the angels of the presence of the Lord.
8 An †in the heaven next to this† are thrones and dominions, in which always they offer praise to God.		And in the heaven next to 8 this are thrones and dominions in which always praises are offered to God.
<i>aβ A^β S¹</i>		
9 When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon us, all of us are shaken; yea, the heavens, and the earth, and the abysses are shaken at the presence of His majesty.	9. When, therefore, the Lord looketh upon all creation, the heavens and the earth and the abysses are shaken.	
10 But the sons of men, having no perception of these things, sin and provoke the Most High.		
4 1 Now, therefore, know that the Lord shall execute judgement upon the sons of men. Because when the rocks are being rent, And the sun quenched, And the waters dried up,		

blesed even after judgement is heaven is in 1 En. civ. 2, ciii. 4, 6, xli. 2, li. 4, i.e. between 100 and 50 B.C. The intermediate abode of souls—even of the righteous—is Sheol at this date, 1 En. xxii. 4–9, li. 1, c. 5 (cf. 4 Ezra iv. 41); 2 Macc. vi. 23.

4. the Great Glory. 1 En. xiv. 20, cii. 3. Cf. 1 En. xxv. 3, 7, xlvii. 3.

5–8. Even *a* here has been interpolated. The sixth, fifth, and fourth heavens are introduced, but there is still a gap between *v.* 3 and *v.* 8, as there is no third heaven mentioned in 3 (*a*). The descending order is a witness to the original text, which thus enumerated the angels in the third heaven.

5. minister and make propitiation. A sacrificial service in heaven is suggested by the heavenly patterns spoken of in Exod. xxv. 9, 40; Num. viii. 4, and was already a familiar idea. See my Commentary *in loc.* The intercession of angels occurs in Zech. i. 12; Job v. 1, xxxiii. 23, and especially in 1 En. ix. 3, xv. 2, lxxxix. 76. See T. D. vi. 2. Cf. too 1 En. xxxix. 5, xlvii. 2, xl. 6, civ. 1. For λειτουργοῦντες cf. Heb. i. 14.

sins of ignorance. Cf. T. R. i. 6; T. Jud. xix. 3; T. Z. i. 5.

6. reasonable, λογικόν. Cf. Rom. xii. 1. Cf. Origen, *De Orat.* xi λογικὴν ἱερουργίαν, of Raphael offering on Tobit's behalf.

bloodless offering. Cf. Essenes' objection to bloody sacrifices. Cf. Philo ii. 457.

7. How 'answers'? These are a lower order of angels. Perhaps we should render 'bear the answers for the angels of the presence', or 'of the angels', &c. (as *g*). The analogy of Rev. v. 8, however, would suggest תפלות 'prayers' instead of תשובות 'answers'. Cf. 3 Bar. xi–xii; Apoc. Pauli vii–x; Origen, *De Princ.* i. 8. 1.

8. thrones and dominions. Cf. Col. i. 16; Eph. i. 21; 2 En. xx. 1.

they offer praise. Cf. 2 En. xvii, xviii.

9. This verse and Sir. xvi. 18, 19 are independent versions of a lost Hebrew original. Moreover *a* and *β* differ. Thus *a* has τρέμεμεν, *β* σαλευόμεθα, Greek of Sir. συνσείονται. For parallels cf. Judges v. 4; Isa. lxiv. 1; Judith xvi. 15; Ass. Mos. x. 4.

10. no perception . . . sin. Cf. 1 En. lxvii. 13.

IV. 1. sun quenched. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 29; Mark xiii. 24.

waters dried up. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 21; Ass. Mos. x. 6; 4 Ezra vi. 24.

THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI 3. 4—5. 7

- And the fire cowering,
And all creation troubled,
And the invisible spirits melting away,
And Hades taketh spoils through the visitations of the Most High,
Men will be unbelieving and persist in their iniquity.
On this account with punishment shall they be judged.
- 2 'Therefore' the Most High hath heard thy prayer,
To separate thee from iniquity, and that thou shouldst become to Him a son,
And a servant, and a minister of His presence.
- 3 The light of knowledge shalt thou light up in Jacob,
And as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel.
- 4 And there shall be given to thee a blessing, and to all thy seed,
Until the Lord shall visit all the Gentiles in His tender mercies for ever.
- 5 'And' therefore there have been given to thee counsel and understanding,
That thou mightst instruct thy sons concerning this ;
- 6 Because they that bless †Him shall be blessed,
And they that curse† Him shall perish.
- 5 1 And thereupon the angel opened to me the gates of heaven, and I saw the holy temple, and upon
2 a throne of glory the Most High. And He said to me : Levi, I have given thee the blessings of the
3 priesthood until I come and sojourn in the midst of Israel. Then the angel brought me down to the
4 earth, and gave me a shield and a sword, and said to me : Execute vengeance on Shechem because
5 of Dinah, thy sister, and I will be with thee because the Lord hath sent me. And I destroyed at
6 that time the sons of Hamor, as it is written in the heavenly tables. And I said to him : I pray
7 thee, O Lord, tell me Thy name, that I may call upon Thee in a day of tribulation. And he said :
I am the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel that they may not be smitten utterly,
7 for every evil spirit attacketh it. And after these things I awaked, and blessed the Most High,
and the angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel and for all the righteous.

And Hades taketh spoils. Cf. Isa. v. 14. Or a Christian addition—'and Hades is despoiled', σκυλευομένου being taken in a passive not middle sense.

visitations. A difficult but possible rendering of *πάθει*. If an interpolation, = 'passion'.

unbelieving and persist. Cf. Rev. xvi. 9, 11, 21; 1 En. lxvii. 12, 13. For ἀπιστοῦντες β-d A^β S we have ἀπειθοῦντες, 'disobedient' a d.

2. **become to Him a son.** Already in the second century B. C. we find the individual Israelite viewed as a son of God. Cf. Sir. xxiii. 1, li. 10 (Syriac); Jub. i. 24 (note).

minister of His presence. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 14.

3. **The light of knowledge.** See xviii. 3 (note).

4. This 'blessing' is probably God's blessing on Levi, as Jub. xxxi. 13, not that pronounced by the priests (T. R. vi. 10, note), or the priestly privileges, T. L. v. 2.

Until the Lord shall visit. Cf. v. 2.

in His tender mercies. a β A^β S read 'in His Son's tender mercies'.

A^a reads in 4 'And it shall come to pass in the last days that God shall send [His Son] to save the created things [and thy sons shall lay hands on and crucify Him]'. a β A^β S also have the last clause—an obvious Christian addition.

6. For 'Him' read 'thee', as in Isaac's blessing of Levi in Jub. xxxi. 17.

V. 1. **opened to me the gates.** Cf. the opened door in Rev. iv. 1. Levi now enters the third heaven of ii. 9 (a).

the holy temple. With xviii. 6 and perhaps iii. 4 (β A^β S¹), the earliest reference to the heavenly temple. Cf.

Rev. xi. 19, xvi. 17 and contrast Rev. xxi. 22.

and upon . . . Most High β A S : 'the Holy Most High One sitting upon a throne' a.

2. **until I . . . sojourn.** For the visible theocracy cf. iv. 4; T. S. vi. 5.

3. **a shield.** See vi. 1.

Execute vengeance. Yet Levi says 'we sinned' in vi. 7.

4. This verse interrupts the narrative.

heavenly tables β A^β S¹. See T. A. ii. 10, vii. 5 (β A S¹): 'tables of the fathers' a, perhaps better. Cf. Jub.

xxx. 23.

6. **angel who intercedeth for the nation of Israel.** See my Commentary *in loc.* παραιτούμενος τὸ γένος β-d : προϊστάμενος τοῦ γένους d : παρεπόμενος τοῦ γένους a : φύλαξ τοῦ γ. A : σώζων τὸ γ. S¹. a seems a bad rendering of *ἄγγελος*, as in D. vi. 2 a. d A S¹ = 'protector'. For β-d cf. Asc. Is. ix. 23 (Latin and Slavonic) 'Iste est magnus angelus Michael deprecans semper pro humanitate'.

This angel then appears to be Michael. Cf. Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1. Also see 1 En. xx. 7, which limits his good offices to the righteous in Israel, cf. T. L. v. 7. He intercedes for Israel, 1 En. lxxxix. 76, helps Israel, xc. 14 and opposes the angels of the heathen nations in Dan. x-xii. God Himself is Israel's Patron in Deut. xxxii. 8-9 (LXX); Sir. xvii. 17; Jub. xv. 31, 32; Hebrew T. Naph. ix. 5, and only the other nations have angel-patrons. Or it may be the angel of peace that is referred to here. Cf. T. D. vi. 5; Dan. x. 5-6, 11^a, 12-14, 19-21, xi-xii. See also T. A. vi. 6; T. B. vi. 1; 1 En. xl. 8, lii. 5, liii. 4, &c., for this angel as a guide. He is distinct from Michael, Dan. x. 13; 1 En. xl. 8-9.

utterly . . . attacketh it > a.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 6¹ And when I was going to my father, I found a brazen shield ; wherefore also the name of the
2 mountain is Aspis, which is near Gebal, to the south of Abila. And I kept these words in my
3 heart. And after this I counselled my father, and Reuben my brother, to bid the sons of Hamor
not to be circumcised ; for I was zealous because of the abomination which they had wrought on
4, 5 my sister. And I slew Shechem first, and Simeon slew Hamor. And after this my brothers
6 came and smote [that] city with the edge of the sword. And my father heard [these things] and
was wroth, and he was grieved in that they had received the circumcision, and after that had been
7 put to death, and in his blessings he †looked amiss upon us. For we sinned because we had done
8 this thing against his will, and he was sick on that day. But I saw that the sentence of God was for
evil upon Shechem ; for they sought to do to Sarah [and Rebecca] as they had done to Dinah our
9 sister, but the Lord prevented them. And they persecuted Abraham our father when he was a
stranger, and they vexed his flocks when they were big with young ; and Eblaen, who was born in his
10 house, they most shamefully handled. And thus they did to all strangers, taking away their
11 wives by force, and they †banished them. But the wrath of the Lord came upon them to the
uttermost.
- 7¹ And I said to my father Jacob : By thee will the Lord despoil the Canaanites, and will give
2 their land to thee and to thy seed after thee. For from this day forward shall Shechem be
3 called a city of imbeciles ; for as a man mocketh a fool, so did we mock them. Because also
4 they had wrought folly in Israel by defiling my sister. And we departed and came to Bethel.
- 8^{1, 2} And there again I saw a vision as the former, after we had spent there seventy days. And I saw seven
men in white raiment saying unto me : Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of right-
eousness, and the breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth, and the plate of faith, and the
3 turban of the †head, and the ephod of prophecy. And they severally carried (these things) and put
(them) on me, and said unto me : From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed for

VI. 1. **shield.** Prof. Sayce suggests this = מן שׁ, i.e. Mount Hermon (Deut. iii, 9) which is 10 miles SE. of Abilene, but 40 miles from Gebal.

wherefore δὲ. ἐν ᾧ a.

2. **I kept . . . heart.** Cf. Dan. iv. 25 LXX (contrast LXX in vii. 28) ; Luke ii. 19.

3. **my brother** > c.

not c only. Jub. xxx. 1-4 ; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 21. 1 omit the circumcision of the Shechemites. Levi was opposed to their circumcision as he intended to avenge the insult done to his sister.

on my sister a A^a : 'in Israel' β A³ S¹.

4-5. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 25-7, where the other sons of Jacob 'came upon the slain and spoiled the city'.

6. Cf. Gen. xxxiv. 30 ; Jub. xxx. 25. Gen. says Jacob reproached Simeon and Levi.

looked amiss. παρείδεν a : 'did inequitably', ἄλλως ἐποίησεν β-d g A^β S¹.

7. **he was sick** c b : 'I was sick' h β-b A S¹.

8. **upon Shechem** > a. **and Rebecca** > a. The Shechemites had done nothing to Sarah and Rebecca—for the incidents at Gerar see Gen. xx. 3, xxvi. 7.

9. Also not in Genesis.

10. **their wives** β-a f A S¹ : τὰς ξένας a a f, i. e. wives of guests or strangers.

banished, a mistranslation of יריות 'seduced them' (to idolatry), or 'forced them', as Prov. vii. 21. See Jub. xxx. 7-17, where intermarriage with heathen involves the death penalty, as in the case of the Shechemites. Marriage with a Gentile was considered equivalent to worship of the Gentile idols.

11. **of the Lord** β S¹ : 'of God' a. This verse, adopted by St. Paul in 1 Thess. ii. 16, seems to be based on Gen. xxxv. 5 and presupposes מן שׁ instead of מן שׁ. Jub. xxx. 26 reads the latter.

VII. 1. **Jacob** a : 'be not angry my (a f g : > A^a) lord Jacob (> d) ' β-b A S¹.

2. **a city of imbeciles.** Cf. Sir. l. 26—of Shechem.

3. **wrought folly in Israel.** Gen. xxxiv. 7 ; Jub. xxx. 5.

4. **And we** + 'took our sister' b e g.

came to Bethel. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 3 ; Gen. xxxv. 6.

VIII. 1. For this vision cf. Jub. xxxii. 1, where, however, Levi has already visited Isaac and returned to Bethel. See T. L. ix. 1.

2. **Seven men.** For the 'seven angels' cf. Ezek. ix. 2, and for their names see 1 En. xx.

robe of the priesthood, &c. See my Commentary *in loc.* Cf. Exod. xxviii. 4, 36-8, xxix. 5 ; Sir. xiv. 8-12 ; Philo, *de Vita Mos.* iii. 11-14 ; Josephus, *Ant.* iii. 7. 1-6.

robe = כִּתְּוֹן or tunic of every priest.

crown = כִּטְוֹן.

breastplate of understanding. Cf. 'breastplate of judgement', Exod. xxviii. 15 ; cf. Sir. xlv. 10.

garment—the long outer robe or ποδήρης.

plate = πέταλον or כִּטְוֹן. See *Encyc. Bib.* iii. 3157.

turban of the †head. The μίτρα should have some virtue or power associated with it. So for כִּטְוֹן (κεφαλῆς a),

and כִּטְוֹן (σημείου b d e g A^a, corrupted to στήθιον a f S¹), we must read כִּישׁוֹר, 'uprightness'.

ephod of prophecy. Cf. 1 Sam. xxiii. 9, 10.

3. **a priest . . . ever** β A S¹. 'A priest, thou and all thy seed' a. Cf. Jub. xxxii. 1, which supports β A S¹.

THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI 6. 1—9. 6

- 4, 5 ever. And the first anointed me with holy oil, and gave to me the staff of judgement. The second washed me with pure water, and fed me with bread and wine (even) the most holy things, and clad 6, 7 me with a holy and glorious robe. The third clothed me with a linen vestment like an ephod. The 8, 9 fourth put round me a girdle like unto purple. The fifth gave me a branch of rich olive. The sixth 10 placed a crown on my head. The seventh placed on my head a diadem of priesthood, and filled my 11 hands with incense, that I might serve as priest to the Lord God. And they said to me: Levi, thy 12 seed shall be divided into three offices, for a sign of the glory of the Lord who is to come. And the 13 first portion shall be great; yea, greater than it shall none be. The second shall be in the priest- 14 hood. And the third shall be called by a new name, because a king shall arise in Judah, and shall 15 establish a new priesthood, after the †fashion of the Gentiles [to all the Gentiles]. And His presence is beloved, as a prophet of the Most High, of the seed of Abraham our father.
- 16 Therefore, every desirable thing in Israel shall be for thee and for thy seed,
And ye shall eat everything fair to look upon,
And the table of the Lord shall thy seed apportion.
- 17 And some of them shall be high priests, and judges, and scribes;
For by their mouth shall the holy place be guarded.
- 18, 19 And when I awoke, I understood that this (dream) was like the first dream. And I hid this also in my heart, and told it not to any man upon the earth.
- 9 1, 2 And after two days I and Judah went up with our father Jacob to Isaac our father's father. And my father's father blessed me according to all the words of the visions which I had seen: And 3 he would not come with us to Bethel. 'And when we came to Bethel', my father saw a vision 4 concerning me, that I should be their priest unto God. And he rose up early in the morning, 5 and paid tithes of all 'to the Lord' through me. And 'so' we came to Hebron to dwell there. 6 And Isaac called me continually to put me in remembrance of the law of the Lord, even as the

4. of judgement > a.
5. bread and wine, (even) the most holy things c i β S¹: 'holy bread and wine' h A. Cf. Gen. xiv. 18. Is Christian influence apparent here?
9-10. So α β S¹: 'And the sixth filled my hands with incense that I might serve as priest before the Lord' A^c: 'And the sixth placed a diadem of priesthood on my head and the seventh filled,' &c. A^{b*}: 'And the sixth and the seventh gave me a diadem of priesthood and again filled,' &c. A^{c d e f g}.
filled my hands. This = ordination. Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41.
God α: > β A S.
11. These three offices filled by Moses (12), the Aaronitic priesthood (13), and the Maccabean princes (14, 15), are signs of the Messiah's coming.
12. the first portion, κληρος, is Moses. Text = α: + πιστεύσας (before πρῶτος) b d e g: 'And those who believe first shall have a great portion' A.
14. the third, the Maccabees, and in particular John Hyrcanus.
a new name: 'priests of the Most High God'. Cf. Gen. xiv. 18 (Melchizedek); also Ass. Mos. vi. 1; Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 6. 2; Jub. xxxii. 1, xxxvi. 16; T. L. viii. 15.
king. See 1 Macc. xiv. 41. Simon was ἀρχιερεύς, στρατηγός, and ἐθνάρχης.
in Judah, 'out of Judah' α β: 'in Judah' A, possibly.
new priesthood. Cf. xviii. 2.
after the fashion of the Gentiles, &c. α β-d A⁸ S: 'a new priesthood to all the Gentiles' d. The bracketed words may go back to a dittography in the Hebrew. For 'after the fashion' read perhaps as in the note in my Commentary 'for a mediator'.
15. Verses 14-15 date this work in the time of the Maccabean dynasty. Verse 15 dates it under John Hyrcanus, who alone of the Maccabees is credited with the gift of prophecy, Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* i. 2. 8. Cf. refs. in T. L. xviii. 6 (note). Moreover, it must be earlier than his struggle with the Pharisees.
beloved α a f S²: 'unutterable' β-a f A.
16. Cf. Isaac's blessing of Levi in Jub. xxxi. 16; also T. Jud. xxi. 5; Sir. xlv. 21.
17. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 15.
guarded β-a f A⁸: 'taken' a f (ch imply).
by their mouth = 'at their word'.
18-ix. 9. Cf. Aramaic Fragment, Appendix II in Commentary.
19. The first dream vision is also kept secret by Levi. Cf. vi. 2.
- IX. 1. Here the visit to Isaac follows the dream vision of T. L. viii. In Jub. xxxi. 13-17 the visit and Isaac's blessing precede the vision at Bethel in xxxii. 1.
to Isaac. Isaac was living in Abraham's house (Jub. xxxi. 5) in Hebron (v. 5, Gen. xxxv. 27). Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. v. 11.
2. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 13-17.
he would not come. Cf. Jub. xxxi. 27.
3. and when . . . Bethel α b e g. In Jub. xxxii. 1 Levi, not Jacob, has this vision. If 'Jacob' be read there for 'Levi', the difference in order mentioned in ix. 1 (note) would be removed.
unto God β S¹: 'before the Lord' A: > α.
4. Cf. Jub. xxxii. 2.
5. At Hebron Isaac was living.
6-14. These instructions Abraham gives to Isaac in Jub. xxi. 1-23.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 7 angel of the Lord showed unto me. And he taught me the law of the priesthood, of sacrifices,
8 whole burnt-offerings, first-fruits, freewill-offerings, peace-offerings. And each day he was instructing
9 me, and was busied on my behalf before the Lord, and said to me: Beware of the spirit of
10 fornication; for this shall continue and shall by thy seed pollute the holy place. Take, therefore,
to thyself a wife without blemish or pollution, while yet thou art young, and not of the race of
11 strange nations. And before entering into the holy place, bathe; and when thou offerest the
12 sacrifice, wash; and again, when thou finishest the sacrifice, wash. Of twelve trees having leaves
13 offer to the Lord, as Abraham taught me also. And of every clean beast 'and bird' offer a
14 sacrifice to the Lord. And of all thy first-fruits and of wine offer the first, as a sacrifice to the
Lord God; and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt.
- 10 1 Now, therefore, observe whatsoever I command you, children; for whatsoever things I have
2 heard from my fathers 'I have declared unto you. And behold' I am clear from your ungodliness
and transgression, which ye shall commit in the end of the ages [against the Saviour of the
world, Christ, acting godlessly], deceiving Israel, and stirring up against it great evils from the
3 Lord. And ye shall deal lawlessly together with Israel, so He shall not bear with Jerusalem
because of your wickedness; but the veil of the temple shall be rent, so as not to cover your
4 shame. And ye shall be scattered as captives among the Gentiles, and shall be for a reproach
5 and for a curse there. For the house which the Lord shall choose shall be called Jerusalem,
as is contained in the book of Enoch the righteous.
- 11 1, 2 Therefore when I took a wife I was twenty-eight years old, and her name was Melcha. And
she conceived and bare a son, and I called his name Gersam, for we were sojourners in our land.
3, 4 And I saw concerning him, that he would not be in the first rank. And Kohath was born in the
5 thirty-fifth year 'of my life', towards sunrise. And I saw in a vision that he was standing on high
6 in the midst of all the congregation. Therefore I called his name Kohath [which is, beginning of
7 majesty and instruction]. And she bare me a third son, in the fortieth year of my life; and since
his mother bare him with difficulty, I called him Merari, that is, 'my bitterness,' because he also was

7. law of the priesthood, i.e. לִשְׁמִינִי 'custom' or 'prerogatives' of the priests. Cf. Deut. xviii. 3. Cf. the peace-offerings and thank-offerings in Jub. xxi. 7-9.

8. before the Lord > a.

9. beware of . . . fornication. Cf. Jub. xxi. 21-2; Aram. and Gk. Frag. 14, 16; T. R. i. 6, &c.
holy place, or 'holy things'.

10. Take . . . a wife. Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 17.

11. For these ablutions cf. Jub. xxi. 16; Aram. and Gk. Frag. 19, 21, 53.

wash, *νίπτου*, i.e. the hands and the feet, whereas 'bathe', *λούου*, refers to the whole body.

12. trees having leaves a g; 'evergreen trees' β-g A. See Aram. and Gk. Frag. 23-4; Jub. xxi. 12.

13. and bird > A.

14. of . . . first fruits . . . the first. Cf. Ezek. xlv. 30 (Heb.); Sir. xlv. 20 (Gk.).

as a sacrifice to the Lord God a: 'a sacrifice unto the Lord' a f; 'unto the Lord' d e g A^β S¹; > b.

and every sacrifice thou shalt salt with salt > a. Cf. Jub. xxi. 11; Lev. ii. 13; Mark ix. 49, 50.

X. This chapter belongs to the first century B.C., and is an attack on the later Maccabean high-priests. See xiv-xv (note).

1. I have declared unto you > d A.

2. And behold > β A.

[against the Saviour . . . godlessly.] A Christian addition. 'Christ' c only: 'acting godlessly' β A S¹.

stirring up . . . evils. Cf. Isa. x. 26, &c.

3. together with Israel β A S¹; 'in Israel' c.

the veil, *καταπέτασμα* c (h plur.); cf. Mark xv. 38. *ἐνδύμα* β-d A S suggests that *τοῦ ναοῦ* is an interpolation, and that the rending of garments is spoken of; cf. Isa. xxii. 8. A^a inserts *κόσμου* before *τοῦ ναοῦ*.

4. there + 'and a trampling under foot' β A S. Cf. Isa. xxviii. 18.

5. This verse seems to be an addition or at least an afterthought.

the house which the Lord shall choose. 1 En. lxxxix. 54 calls Jerusalem 'the house of the Lord'.

which the Lord shall choose. Deut. xii. 5, &c.

the book of Enoch. The references to Enoch in the Testaments are suspicious. See my Commentary, pp. 49-50. References occur in T. S. v. 4; T. L. x. 5, xiv. 1 (> a), xvi. 1 (> a); T. Jud. xviii. 1 (> a); T. D. v. 6; T. N. iv. 1; T. B. ix. 1 (> A). Four of these belong to the first century B.C., and only in two, T. S. v. 4, T. N. iv. 1, of the others do all our authorities agree. S² further refers to Enoch in T. A. ii. 10, vii. 1, 5.

XI. 1. See xii. 5.

Melcha. Gk. and Syr. Frag. 62 and Jub. xxxiv. 20.

2. Gersam. Cf. Gen. xlv. 11.

sojourners. Cf. Exod. ii. 22: 'in a land of sojourning' a.

3. Cf. Gk. Frag. 64, 65. Gersam was born at sunset, and so was not to rise to honour.

4. thirty-fifth: 'thirty-fourth' Aram. (and Gk. ?) Frag.

5-6. Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 67, which also suggests a paronomasia of קהת and קהל 'congregation'. The brackets indicate a gloss. The Gk. Frag. 67 adds 'and his seed shall be ἀρχὴ βασιλείων ἱεράρευμα.' Cf. here ἀρχὴ μεγάλειου καὶ συμβιβασμός.

7. my bitterness > 'my' a. Cf. Aram. and Gk. Frag. 69.

THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI 9. 7—13. 9

- 8 like to die. And Jochebed was born in Egypt, in my sixty-fourth year, for I was renowned then in the midst of my brethren.
- 12 ^{1, 2} And Gersam took a wife, and she bare to him Lomni and Semei. And the sons of Kohath, ^{3, 4} Amram, Issachar, Hebron, and Ozeel. And the sons of Merari, Mooli, and Mouses. And ⁵ in the ninety-fourth year¹ Amram took Jochebed my daughter to him to wife, for they were born in one day, he and my daughter. Eight years old was I when I went into the land of Canaan, and eighteen years when I slew Shechem, and at nineteen years I became priest, and at twenty-eight years I took ⁶ a wife, and at forty-eight I went into Egypt. And behold, my children, ye are a third generation. ⁷ In my hundred and eighteenth year Joseph died.
- 13 ¹ And now, my children, I command you:
 Fear the Lord your God ¹with your whole heart¹,
 And walk in simplicity according to all His law.
² And do ye also teach your children letters,
 That they may have understanding all their life,
 Reading unceasingly the law of God.
³ For every one that knoweth the law of the Lord shall be honoured,
 And shall not be a stranger whithersoever he goeth.
⁴ Yea, many friends shall he gain more than his parents,
 And many men shall desire to serve him,
 And to hear the law from his mouth.
⁵ Work righteousness, ¹therefore¹, my children, upon the earth,
 That ye may have (it) as a treasure in heaven.
⁶ And sow good things in your souls,
 That ye may find them in your life.
 But if ye sow evil things,
 Ye shall reap every trouble and affliction.
⁷ Get wisdom in the fear of God with diligence;
 For though there be a leading into captivity,
 And cities and lands be destroyed,
 And gold and silver and every possession perish,
 The wisdom of the wise nought can take away,
 Save the blindness of ungodliness, and the callousness (that comes) of sin.
⁸ ¹For if one keep oneself from these evil things¹,
 Then even among his enemies shall wisdom be a glory to him,
 And in a strange country a fatherland,
 And in the midst of foes shall prove a friend.
⁹ Whosoever teaches noble things and does them,
 Shall be enthroned with kings,
 As was also Joseph my brother.

8. Jochebed . . . renowned, a play on the name in Hebrew. Cf. the Frag. 71.

XII. 1-3. Cf. Exod. vi. 17-19.

5. Eight years. Cf. Syr. Frag. 'eighteen' Aram. Frag. 78: 'nine' Jub. xxviii. 14, xxix. 14. eighteen years. So Syr. Frag. and Aram. Frag., also Jub. xxx. 2 with xxviii. 14, 23.

forty-eight: 'forty' text, 'forty-eight' Aram. Frag. 79. Cf. T. Jud. xii. 12 (note).

7. hundred and eighteenth. For a different calculation see Jub. xxviii. 14, 24.

XIII. 1. A poem in praise of the wise. Cf. Sir. xxxix. 9-11.

2. teach . . . letters. Cf. T. R. iv. 1. This verse > a.

4. desire to serve him. Cf. Sir. x. 25.

5. righteousness = alms. Cf. LXX in Deut. vi. 25, xxiv. 13; Ps. xxiv. 5.

have (it) as a treasure emended. 'find' $\beta A^{\beta} S$: 'be healed' a. Both תמצאו and תרפאו corrupt for תאצרו. Cf. Matt. vi. 20; Tobit iv. 8-9; Pea 15^b; B. Bathra 11^a; Pss.-Sol. ix. 6, 9; 1 En. xxxviii. 2. The treasure of good works occurs also in 4 Ezra vii. 77; 2 Bar. xiv. 12; Shabbath 31^b; and is the measure of the righteous' final reward, 4 Ezra viii. 33; 2 Bar. xxiv. 1.

6. sow evil. Cf. Prov. xxii. 8.

7. with diligence $\beta A^{\beta} S$: > a A^a.

nought, οὐδείς, text.

the blindness of ungodliness. Cf. xiv. 4.

8. For if . . . things a: 'But if one keep these' d: > β -d A S.

9. teaches . . . and does. Cf. Matt. v. 19, vii. 24, 26.

noble a: 'these' βA .

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

<i>a</i> , A ^a		<i>β</i> , A ^β S ¹	
14 1	Therefore, my children, I have learnt that at the end of the ages ye will transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to wickedness [against Him]; and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn.		And now, my children, I have learnt from the 1 writing of Enoch that in the end ye will transgress against the Lord, stretching out hands to all wickedness; and your brethren shall be put to shame because of you, and to all the Gentiles shall ye become a scorn.
2	For our father Israel is pure from the transgressions of the chief priests [who shall lay their hands upon the Saviour of the world].		
<i>a</i> , A ^a		<i>β</i> S ¹	A ^β
3	For as the heaven is purer in the Lord's sight than the earth, so also be ye, the lights of Israel, (purer) than all the Gentiles.	3. The heaven is purer than the earth, and ye, the lights of Israel, are †as sun and moon.	My children, be ye pure as 3 the heaven is (purer) than the earth: and ye who are the lights of Israel, shall be as the sun and moon.
4	But if ye be darkened through transgressions, what, therefore, will all the Gentiles do living in blindness? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given for to lighten every man this ye desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.	4. What will all the Gentiles do, if ye be darkened through transgressions? Yea, ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given to lighten every man, this ye shall desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.	What will all the Gentiles do, 4 if ye be darkened through transgression? Yea, curses will come upon your race, and the light which was given through the law to lighten you and every man ye shall desire to destroy, and teach your commandments contrary to the ordinances of God.
5	The offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, and from His portion shall ye steal choice portions,		
6	eating (them) contemptuously with harlots. And out of covetousness ye shall teach the command-		

XIV-XVI. The groundwork and indeed the main narrative of the Testaments is pro-Maccabean, and exalts Levi and his posterity. Unquestioning obedience to them is required. But in x, xiv-xvi words fail to denounce the lewdness and baseness of the priests. The chief priests transgress, are covetous, corrupt the law, teach contrary to God's ordinances, profane the priesthood, and pollute the sacrifices. For this reason the Temple shall be laid waste and they shall go into captivity, a scorn to the Gentiles.

The date is not after A. D. 70, as the Temple prediction might seem to suggest, for the Sadducees, who are in view in xiv. 4 and xvi. 2, disappear after that date as a party. The Pharisees, moreover, were not the subjects of persecution after 63 B. C. when the Pharisaic Hyrcanus became a vassal king under the Romans. Nor were the high-priests immoral in the first century A. D. The sack of Jerusalem, if already enacted, would be more than a vague prophecy.

The charges of gross immorality and profanation and of persecuting the righteous apply alike to the Hellenistic priests of 200-170 B. C., and the Sadducean priests of 100-60 B. C. But the eating of sacrifices with harlots in public can refer only to Jannaeus. See xiv. 5 (note). As he died in 78 B. C., this passage cannot be much later. In any case it is later than Dan. ix. 24, which is the source of the interpretation of Jeremiah's seventy years as weeks of years in xvi. 1, and later too than 1 En. lxxxix. 54, which cannot be dated before 164 B. C.

XIV. 1. **learnt** + 'from the writing of Enoch' *β* A S¹. The following words do not occur in Enoch; yet cf. 1 En. xci. 6, xciii. 9. See T. L. x. 5 (note).

transgress . . . wickedness + 'against Him' *a*, a Christian addition: > 'all' *a*. We might render *β* A^β S¹ 'stretching out hands against the Lord in all wickedness'.

2. **pure**, &c. Cf. T. S. vi. 1. The **chief-priests** are the Maccabean prince-priests, in particular Jannaeus. [**who shall lay**, &c.], a Christian addition.

3. *a* gives the clearest version. Yet *β* S¹ and A^β lead us to correct 'sun' into 'heaven', and 'on' to 'than'. 'Sun and moon' in *β* A^β S¹ also may be original, and 'than all the Gentiles' may be due to *a*'s drawing upon the next verse.

4. The author connects sin closely with darkness of mind. Cf. T. R. iii. 8; T. L. xiii. 7, xiv. 4, xix. 1; T. Jos. vii. 5; also T. Jud. xviii. 3, 6; T. D. ii. 4; T. G. iii. 3, vi. 2.

the light of the law. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 4; Prov. vi. 23; T. L. xviii. 3; Ps. cxix. 105.

light . . . to lighten every man. John i. 9.

teaching commandments contrary. Cf. incident of Jannaeus, Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 13. 5; *Bell. Iud.* i. 4. 3, together with Talmud, Sukka 48^b. See also Pss. Sol. viii. 12, 13 for the Maccabean robbery of temple gifts, and approach when unclean to the altar. See also Jub. xv. 1.

5. This verse and 6 up to 'defile and' > A^a.

the offerings . . . rob. Cf. Pss. Sol. viii. 12 τὰ ἄγια τοῦ θεοῦ διήρπασον. For the case of Simon ben Shetach see my Commentary, p. 57.

steal choice portions *a* af. 'steal: and before sacrificing to the Lord ye shall take the choice portions,' b d e g A^β.

eating them contemptuously with harlots. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 14. 2, of Jannaeus' savage celebration of his victory over the Pharisees: 'Εορτιώμενος ἐν ἀπόπτῳ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων.

6. **out of covetousness**. Cf. Mic. iii. 11, 'the priests teach for hire.' Cf. 1 Pet. v. 2.

THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI 14. 1—17. 2

ments of the Lord, wedded women shall ye pollute, and the virgins of Jerusalem shall ye defile¹; and with harlots and adulteresses shall ye be joined, and the daughters of the Gentiles shall ye take to wife, purifying them with an unlawful purification; and your union shall be like unto Sodom and Gomorrah. And ye shall be puffed up because of your priesthood, lifting yourselves up against men, and not only so, but also against the commands of God. For ye shall condemn the holy things with jests and laughter.

15 ¹ Therefore the temple, which the Lord shall choose, shall be laid waste through your uncleanness, ² and ye shall be captives throughout all nations. And ye shall be an abomination unto them, and ye ³ shall receive reproach and everlasting shame from the righteous judgement of God. And all who hate ⁴ you shall rejoice at your destruction. And if you were not to receive mercy through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, our fathers, not one of our seed should be left upon the earth.

16 ¹ And now I have learnt that for seventy weeks ye shall go astray, and profane the priesthood, and ² pollute the sacrifices. And ye shall make void the law, and set at nought the words of the prophets by evil perverseness. And ye shall persecute righteous men, and hate the godly; the words of the ³ faithful shall ye abhor. [And a man who reneweth the law in the power of the Most High, ye shall call a deceiver; and at last ye shall rush (upon him) to slay him, not knowing his dignity, taking ⁴ innocent blood through wickedness upon your heads.] And your holy places shall be laid waste ⁵ even to the ground because of †him. And ye shall have no place that is clean; but ye shall be among the Gentiles a curse and a dispersion until He shall again visit you, and in pity shall receive you [through faith and water].

17 ¹ And whereas ye have heard concerning the seventy weeks, hear also concerning the priesthood. ² For in each jubilee there shall be a priesthood. And in the first jubilee, the first who is anointed to the priesthood shall be great, and shall speak to God as to a father. And his priesthood shall be

wedded women, &c. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 5, 6, 11, 12, 15, 23, for like charges against the Sadducees.

and the virgins of Israel (Jerusalem bg) shall ye defile. β only. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14.

with harlots and adulteresses. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 23.

daughters of the Gentiles . . . wife. The prohibition of marriage with Canaanites in Deut. vii. 3 (cf. Gen. xxiv. 3, &c.) was suspended in the case of captives during war, Deut. xxi. 10–13. After Ezra (Ezra ix. 1–2, x. 10–11; Neh. x. 30) the prohibition was extended to all Gentiles. Contrast 1 Macc. i. 15 (the Hellenizing Jews), and the reaction again in Jub. xxx. 7, 10.

purifying . . . purification β A : > α. Lax observance of customary purifications may be meant, or it may be that any purification is unlawful, i.e. the prohibition is absolute.

like unto Sodom. Cf. Jude 7.

7. lifting . . . men α β A^α : > A^β.

XV. 1–2. I take this to be a bona fide prediction.

1. shall be laid waste (cf. xvi. 4), as under Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Macc. i. 39, iv. 38.

3. hate α α e f S : 'see' b d g A^β.

shall rejoice at your destruction α : 'shall flee from you' β A^β.

4. our seed c¹ A^α : 'your seed' h c² d A^β : 'my seed' β–d S.

XVI. 1. I have learnt + 'in the book of Enoch' β A^β S : 'and . . . that' > A^α. The seventy weeks come from Dan. ix. 24. Cf. the seventy shepherd periods of 1 En. lxxxix. 59.

profane the priesthood. Cf. Neh. xiii. 29.

pollute the sacrifices, i.e. approach the altar when unclean. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 3, viii. 13, 26; Ass. Mos. vi. 1.

sacrifices. 'altars' α, cf. 1 Macc. iv. 38.

2. make void the law, &c. Cf. 1 En. xcix. 2; civ. 9, 10.

persecute righteous men. A charge against the Sadducees in 1 En. ciii. 14, 15.

3. Is this verse a Christian interpolation, or is it recast by Christian scribes? If the latter, the Onias of Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 2. 1, 2 may be meant, who refused to pray for Hyrcanus II against Aristobulus II. Or possibly Onias III, alluded to in Dan. ix. 26, xi. 22; 2 Macc. iv. 33–6. Cf. 1 En. xc. 8.

in the power of the Most High α β S¹ : 'of the Most High' A^β : > A^α.

a deceiver. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 63, of our Lord.

rush (upon him) to slay him α. Cf. Acts vii. 57, 58. 'slay as ye suppose' β A^β S : 'ye shall slay him' A^α.

These variants seem to point to a dittography in the Hebrew.

dignity, ἀνάστημα, α β S¹ : 'resurrection', ἀνάστασις A^β* e d e.

taking innocent blood . . . heads. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 24, 25.

4. And β–b A : > b S¹ : 'and I say unto you' α.

†him. 'it' g.

laid waste α A^α : 'polluted' β A^β S.

5. [through faith and water] α β–e¹ A S : > e¹ A^α. Probably a Christian addition. But baptism was already in use among the Jews by the Christian era, while 4 Ezra ix. 7, xiii. 23, insist on the need and value of faith. See also 2 Bar. liv. 16, 21, lvii. 2, &c.

XVII. This chapter is unintelligible. Verses 1–9 seem to be an intrusion, or defective. Possibly they were added with x, xiv–xvi, or at a later time. Levi was apparently not the speaker.

1. There was no account of the seventy weeks in xvi: only a bare mention.

2. jubilee, should be forty-nine or fifty years. Where the seven begin or end is uncertain, also the duration of each.

the first who is anointed, Levi or Moses. For Levi cf. v. 2, vi. 2 ff.

speak to God as to a father. Cf. xviii. 6. Moses spoke with God as a friend. Exod. xxxiii. 11.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- perfect with the Lord, [and in the day of his gladness shall he arise for the salvation of the world].
3 In the second jubilee, he that is anointed shall be conceived in the sorrow of beloved ones; and his
4 priesthood shall be honoured and shall be glorified by all. And the third priest shall be taken hold
5 of by sorrow. And the fourth shall be in pain, because unrighteousness shall **gather itself against**
6 him exceedingly, and all Israel shall hate each one his neighbour. The fifth shall be taken hold of
7 by darkness. Likewise also the sixth and the seventh. And in the seventh shall be such pollution
8 as I cannot express before men, for they shall know it who do these things. Therefore shall they
9 be taken captive and become a prey, and their land and their substance shall be destroyed.
10 And in the fifth week they shall return to their desolate country, and shall renew the house of the
11 Lord. And in the seventh week shall become priests, (who are) idolaters, adulterers, lovers of money,
proud, lawless, lascivious, abusers of children and beasts.
18 1 And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, the priesthood shall fail.
2 Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest.
And to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed;
And he shall execute a righteous judgement upon the earth for a multitude of days.
3 And his star shall arise in heaven as of a king.
Lighting up the light of knowledge **as the sun the day**,
And he shall be magnified in the world.
4 He shall shine forth as the sun on the earth,
And shall remove all darkness from under heaven,
And there shall be peace in all the earth.
5 The heavens shall exult in his days,
And the earth shall be glad,
And the †clouds shall rejoice;
[And the knowledge of the Lord shall be poured forth upon the earth, as the water of the seas;]
And the angels of the glory of the presence of the Lord shall be glad in him.
6 The heavens shall be opened,
And from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification,
With the Father's voice as from Abraham to Isaac.
7 And the glory of the Most High shall be uttered over him,
And the spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon him [in the water].
8 For he shall give the majesty of the Lord to His sons in truth for evermore;

perfect with the Lord. Cf. 1 Kings viii. 61, &c.

[and in the day . . . arise, &c.] An intrusion.

3. Aaron apparently, born during the oppression in Egypt.

5. **shall gather itself against him.** Restored from 'shall add to him' text. Perhaps should be 'shall be added unto him'. The references are most obscure.

10-11. Part of the original text, containing a division of some period into seven weeks. Their duration is uncertain, but the events referred to are clear.

10. Return of Ezra and Nehemiah, and re-dedication of the temple, about 516 B.C. Cf. 1 En. lxxxix. 72.

11. The Hellenizing chief-priests who with Antiochus Epiphanes opposed Judaism.

seventh β A^β S: 'seventieth' α.

adulterers α: 'contentious' β A^β S¹.

XVIII. The new priesthood, to follow the immoral Hellenizers of the Zadokite line.

2-15. A Messianic hymn.

2. **a new priest.** Cf. viii. 14.

3. **his star.** Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1, also derived from Num. xxiv. 17.

in heaven. In T. Jud. xxiv. 1, same passage recurs with 'in peace.'

lighting up the light of knowledge = Hos. x. 12 (LXX). Cf. Syr. and Targ. Jon. The Hebrew there reads 'till ye the untill ground'. For our text cf. iv. 3; T. B. xi. 2; also Jer. iv. 3.

as the sun the day. So emended from texts, all corrupt. Cf. iv. 3.

in the world + 'until his ascension' β A^β S¹.

5. **And the †clouds,** perhaps read 'because of him' and omit 'shall be glad'. The bracketed words spoil the parallelism. Cf. 1 En. li. 4 (as emended).

6. **heavens shall be opened.** Cf. ii. 6, v. 1; T. Jud. xxiv. 2; also Ezek. i. 1. The voice from the opened heaven resembles Matt. iii. 16, 17, &c.

With the Father's voice. This seems to refer to Hyrcanus, whose receiving of a Bath Qol is mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 3; Jer. Talmud, Sotah. ix. 12. Probably Hyrcanus had some attestation, at least in popular belief, such as Simon had in Ps. cx.

as from Abraham to Isaac, i. e. as son, in a Messianic sense.

7. **spirit of understanding.** Cf. Isa. xi. 2; 1 En. xlix. 3.

[in the water] > e only. A Christian addition.

8. **For** α only.

he, probably John Hyrcanus, and not God. Hence 'of the Lord' and not 'His own majesty'. On the other hand in *vv.* 10-12 'he' seems to mean God.

sons in truth = true sons, T. Jud. xxiv. 3.

THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI 17. 2—19. 5

- And there shall none succeed him for all generations for ever.
- 9 And in his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth,
And enlightened through the grace of the Lord :
In his priesthood shall sin come to an end,
And the lawless shall cease to do evil.
[And the just shall rest in him.]
- 10 And he shall open the gates of paradise,
And shall remove the threatening sword against Adam.
- 11 And he shall give to the saints to eat from the tree of life,
And the spirit of holiness shall be on them.
- 12 And Beliar shall be bound by him,
And he shall give power to His children to tread upon the evil spirits.
- 13 And the Lord shall rejoice in His children,
And be well pleased in His beloved ones for ever.
- 14 Then shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob exult,
And I will be glad,
And all the saints shall clothe themselves with joy.
- 19 1 And now, my children, ye have heard all ; choose, therefore, for yourselves either the light or the
2 darkness, either the law of the Lord or the works of Beliar. And his sons answered him, saying,
3 Before the Lord we will walk according to His law. And their father said unto them, The Lord is
4 witness, and His angels are witnesses, and ye are witnesses, and I am witness, concerning the word
of your mouth. And his sons said unto him : We are witnesses. And thus Levi ceased commanding
his sons ; and he stretched out his feet 'on the bed', and was gathered to his fathers, after he had
5 lived a hundred and thirty-seven years. And they laid him in a coffin, and afterwards they buried
him in Hebron, with Abraham. Isaac, and Jacob.

THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH, THE FOURTH SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

- 1 1, 2 The copy of the words of Judah, what things he spake to his sons before he died. They gathered
3 themselves together, therefore, and came to him, and he said to them : 'Hearken, my children, to
Judah your father'. I was the fourth son born to my father Jacob ; and Leah my mother named
4 me Judah, saying, I give thanks to the Lord, because He hath given me a fourth son 'also'. I was
5 swift in my youth, and obedient to my father in everything. And I honoured my mother and my
6 mother's sister. And it came to pass, when I became a man, that my father blessed me, saying,
Thou shalt be a king, prospering in all things.

none succeed him, i.e. the office is secured to him and his descendants. Cf. Ps. cx; 1 Macc. xiv. 41 'a priest for ever', of Simon.

9. **grace of the Lord** + 'But Israel shall be minished through ignorance, and darkened through grief', all MSS. except b e. A Christian addition.

sin come to an end. For a gradual renewing of heaven and earth, ethically conditioned by Israel's conduct cf. Isa. lxxv. 17, lxxvi. 22; Jub. i. 29, iv. 26, xxiii. 26-8. Also 1 En. lxix. 29; Pss. Sol. xvii. 29; and 1 En. xcii. 5, xci. 8, 14, c. 5 for the disappearing of sin.

[**And the just . . . him**] > e. An interpolation.

10. **open . . . paradise.** If 'he' = the Messiah, this passage alone in Jewish literature ascribes the act to him. For the opening cf. 4 Ezra viii. 52; Sib. Or. iii. 769 ff.; also 4 Ezra vii. 36; 2 En. x.; 2 Bar. li. 11.

Adam, or 'man'.

11. **tree of life**, in Paradise, 4 Ezra viii. 52; eaten by the righteous, 1 En. xxvi. 5, 6; 4 Ezra vii. 123. Cf. Rev. xxii. 2.

12. **Beliar . . . bound.** In Isa. xxiv. 22, 23 God imprisons certain of the host of heaven. In Matt. xii. 29; Luke x. 19 Christ binds the strong man. In Rev. xx. 2, 3 an angel binds Satan. If the Messiah here binds Beliar, cf. his position in 1 En. lxii. 5 ff.; lxix. 27.

power . . . to tread upon the evil spirits. Cf. T. S. vi. 6, also Luke x. 19, and T. Z. ix. 8 (b d g).

His children = the righteous.

14. **joy** b e g A^b: 'righteousness' a a f S¹.

XIX. 1. **choose**, &c. Cf. Deut. xxx. 19.

the light . . . Beliar. Cf. T. N. ii. 6, and especially 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15 *τίς κοινωνία φωτὶ πρὸς σκότος; τίς δὲ συμ-φώρησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαρ;*

2. **his sons.** Several MSS. here and in v. 3 have the 1st person, 'we', &c.

4. **on the bed** a: > β-d A S¹.

TITLE a + 'concerning courage and love of money (> e S¹) and fornication' (> f S¹) b e f S¹, also A generally.

1. 3. **hearken . . . father** a: > β-d A.

Judah . . . give thanks to the Lord. Cf. Gen. xxix. 35 for the play on words.

6. **blessed**, *ἐπεύχαιο*. Cf. xvii. 5.

Thou shalt be a king. Cf. xxi. 5, xxii. 3; Ber. rab. lxxxiv. 16.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 2** ^{1, 2} And the Lord showed me favour in all my works both in the field and in the house. I know that
³ I raced a hind, and caught it, and prepared the meat for my father, and he did eat. And the roes
I used to master in the chase, and overtake all that was in the plains. A wild mare I overtook, and
⁴ caught it and tamed it. I slew a lion and plucked a kid out of its mouth. I took a bear by its paw
⁵ and hurled it down the cliff, and it was crushed. I outran the wild boar, and seizing it 'as I ran',
⁶ I tore it in sunder. A leopard in Hebron leaped upon my dog, and I caught it by the tail, and
⁷ hurled it on the rocks, and it was broken in twain. I found a wild ox feeding in the fields, and
seizing it by the horns, and whirling it round and stunning it, I cast it from me and slew it.
- 3** ¹ And when the two kings of the Canaanites came sheathed in armour against our flocks, and much
people with them, single-handed I rushed upon the king of Hazor, and smote him on the greaves
² and dragged him down, and so I slew him. And the other, the king of Tappuah, as he sat upon his
³ horse, [I slew, and so I scattered all his people. Achor the king] a man of giant stature 'I found',
hurling javelins before and behind as he sat on horseback, and I took up a stone of sixty pounds
⁴ weight, and hurled it and smote his horse, and killed it. And I fought with (this) **other** for two
⁵ hours; and I clave his shield in twain, and I chopped off his feet, and killed him. And as I was
⁶ stripping off his breastplate, behold nine men his companions began to fight with me. And I wound
my garment on my hand; and I slung stones at them, and killed four of them, and the rest fled.
⁷ And Jacob my father slew †Beelesath, king of all the kings, a giant in strength, twelve cubits high.
^{8, 9} And fear fell upon them, and they ceased warring against us. Therefore my father was free from
¹⁰ anxiety in the wars when I was with my brethren. For he saw in a vision 'concerning me' that an
angel of might followed me everywhere, that I should not be overcome.
- 4** ¹ And in the south there came upon us a greater war than that in Shechem; and I joined in battle
array with my brethren, and pursued a thousand men, and slew of them two hundred men and

II. 2. and he did eat > β-g S.

3. A wild mare . . . tamed it β-a e S¹: > a (defective).

4. hurled g A: 'let go' a a: both = שלחתי: 'rolled' b d e f.

and it was crushed a: 'and it was broken in pieces on them' d: 'and any beast that turned on me, I rent it
like a dog' β A S¹.

6. on the rocks and it was broken in twain a: 'and it was broken on the coasts of Gaza' β-d A S¹. Gaza is
37 miles from Hebron. But cf. Judges xvi. 1-3. Was there a Hebron near Gaza? For the feat cf. T. G. i. 2.

III-VII. These chapters contain an ancient legend which tells of Jacob's conquest of Shechem. Cf. Gen. xlviii. 22
'which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow'. See Jub. xxxiv. 2-8, which tells of an
attack by seven Amorite kings. Cf. also Targ. Jon. on Gen. xlviii. 22, the Midrash Wajjissau (Jellinek, *Bet ha-
Midrasch*, iii. 1-3), the Chronicles of Jerahmeel xxxvi, and especially the Book of Jashar (see French trans. *Dict. des
Apocr.* ii. 1173-84).

III. Fighting near Shechem, according to Midr. Wajjis. and Book of Jashar.

1-5. Judah's slaughter of two kings, those of Hazor and Tappuah. 'Achor', *v.* 3, is corrupt.

1. > later accounts.

Canaanites, in Jub., &c. 'Amorites': Jashar 'Canaanite and Amorite kings'.
against our flocks. Cf. Jub. Other authorities give as motive to exterminate Jacob's sons.
of Hazor. 'the other' a. See iv. 2 (note). This Hazor is near Shechem.

2-6. The Midr. Wajjis. gives 'And he slew at the outset Jashub king of Tappuah who was . . . riding on a horse
and could hurl his javelins . . . from horseback in front and behind. When Judah saw . . . he took up a stone . . .
weighing sixty shekels and hurled it . . . he (Jashub) clave the shield in twain . . . (Judah) cut off his feet . . . And
while he was stripping him of his armour there came against him nine of his companions.' See my Commentary,
pp. 70, 71 for full quotation.

2-5. There were seven kings in all (Jub. xxxiv. 2; Midr. Wajjis.) = king of Hazor, iii. 1; of Tappuah, iii. 2-5;
four kings, iv. 1; of Shilo, iv. 7. Thus Achor is one too many. Besides, iii. 1 mentions two kings, not three. The
Midr. Wajjis. and Jashar (ii. 1174-75) give the details in *vv.* 3 and 4 and assign them to Jashub.

2. [I slew . . . people]. An addition, necessitated by the corrupt reading 'Achor the king'.

3. [Achor the king], i.e. 'the other (אֲחֹר) king' a dittography of *v.* 2.

I found a: > β A S¹.

before and . . . horseback β A S¹, Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., Jashar: > a.

smote A S¹: 'have given' a a f g.

4. > a, through hmt.

other. Emended from 'Αχώρ β-e, Ναχώρ Aβ.

clave his shield. The Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., and Jashar make Jashub cleave Judah's shield.

5. **nine** A^{e f g}: Midr. Wajjis., Chron. Jer., and Jashar: 'eight' a β-g S¹: 'seven' A^{e f g}.

6. **four of them**; he killed the other eight, according to the Hebrew authorities, while Levi slew the king of Gaash.

7. **Jacob . . . slew**. The Midr. Wajjis. and Jashar say Jacob slew four other kings.

†Beelesath e: corrupt for 'lord of Shiloh', given by Hebrew authorities.

9. **I should not be overcome** β A S¹: 'none shall touch me' a = עני differently pointed.

IV. The fighting is now near Hazor, as Midr. Wajjis. explains.

1. **and four kings** β A S¹: > a. Cf. Jub. xxxiv. 2-8. They are the kings of Sartan, Gaash, Beth-horon, and
Mahanaïm. The Hebrew authorities ascribe the slaughter to Jacob, and give a different list.

THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH 2. 1—7. 3

2, 3 four kings. And I went up upon the wall, and I slew four **mighty men**. And so we **captured Hazor**, and took all the spoil.

5 ¹ On the next day we departed to Aretan, a city strong and walled and inaccessible, threatening us ² with death. But I and Gad approached on the east side of the city, and Reuben and Levi on the ³ west. And they that were upon the wall, thinking that we were alone, †were drawn down† against ⁴ us. And so my brothers secretly climbed up the wall on both sides by stakes, and entered the city, ⁵ while the men knew it not. And we took it with the edge of the sword. And as for those who had taken refuge in the tower, we set fire to the tower and took both it and them.

a

6 And as we were departing the men of Tappuah seized our spoil, and seeing (this) we fought with ⁷ them. And we slew them all and recovered our spoil.

β A S¹

And as we were departing the men of Tappuah ⁶ set upon our spoil, and delivering it up to our sons we fought with them as far as Tappuah. And we slew them and burnt their city, and ⁷ took as spoil all that was in it.

6 ^{1, 2} And when I was at the waters of Kozeba, the men of †Jobel came against us to battle. And we fought with them and routed them; †and their allies from Shiloh we slew†, and we did not leave ³ them †power† to come in against us. And the men of †Makir came upon us the fifth day, to seize our spoil; and we attacked them and overcame them in fierce battle: for there was a host of mighty ⁴ men amongst them, and we slew them before they had gone up the ascent. And when we came to ⁵ their city their women rolled upon us stones from the brow of the hill on which the city stood. And I and Simeon hid ourselves behind the town, and seized upon the heights, and destroyed this city also.

7 ¹ And the next day it was told us that the king of the city of Gaash with a mighty host was coming ² against us. I, therefore, and Dan feigned ourselves to be Amorites, and as allies went into their ³ city. And in the depth of night our brethren came and we opened to them the gates; and we destroyed all the men and their substance, and we took for a prey all that was theirs, and their three

2. upon the wall. Midr. W. adds 'of Hazor'.
four mighty men. So I restore from the Hebrew authorities. 'still other four kings' A: 'two other kings' *β S¹*: 'their king' (i. e. of Hazor) *a*. These four mighty men are distinct from the 'four kings' of iv. 1. See Midr. W., Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 6; Jashar (ii. 1176).

3. captured Hazor Midr. W.: 'freed Hebron' text. 'Hebron' is out of the context, and 'freed' = חפש for תפש. all the spoil + 'of the kings' *β-d A S¹*.

V. The destruction of Sartan and Tappuah.

1. Aretan *b e¹*: Areta *d A*: ἐρέταν *a a e² f S¹*. Hebrew authorities give Sartan, cf. Saregan, Jub. xxxiv. 4, 7.

walled and inaccessible *β-d g A S¹*. Cf. Midr. W. 'mighty' *a*.

2. I and Gad . . . on the east, &c. The Midr. W., &c., give quite different dispositions.

3-4. Not in Hebrew authorities.

3. were drawn down *a β S¹*: 'prolonged the war' A. Perhaps emend to 'set themselves in array', i. e. ערכו misread as ארכו.

4. climbed > *a A*.

by stakes > *a*.

while the men knew it not > *a*.

5. we set fire . . . it and them *β*: 'we burnt (them) with fire and so we took them all and all their possessions' *a*. Midr. W. makes Judah slay 200 on the tower. Cf. Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 7; Jashar gives two towers, ii. 1177.

6-7. *a* is more accurate but less full than *β A S¹*. In *a* we have a successful raid, and a recovery of the spoil: in *β A S¹* an attempted raid, and the destruction of the city.

seized *a e*. Hebrew authorities. 'set upon' *β-a e A S*.

VI. The rout of the men of Arbela, and the destruction of Shiloh and Shakir.

1-2. > *a*: while *A β* omits 1.

Kozeba. Cf. 1 Chron. iv. 22, and Gen. xxxviii. 5.

the men of †Jobel *b*: 'Arbelians', Jashar ii. 1178. Cf. 'Arbael', Midr. W.

2. their allies from Shiloh we slew *β-f*. Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 8.

power = δειξοδου, a dittography, or a rendering of the 71 in Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.

3. †Makir. 'Shabir' Midr. W.: 'Shakir' Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 9: 'camp of Shakir' Jub. xxxiv. 4 (Maanisakir).

to seize our spoil > *a*.

battle *β-d f A S¹*: 'sword' *a f*.

for there was . . . amongst them > *a*.

4. women. Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. mention only men.

rolled, 'hurled' Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.

VII. 1. king of the city of Gaash with a mighty host *a d*: 'Gaash the city of the kings with a great host' *a e f*: 'the cities of the two kings with a great host' *b S¹*: 'Gaash a city with a powerful king' A.

2. I therefore . . . allies *β-d e S¹*: 'and I and Gad also proceeded to the Amorites and feigning ourselves to be their allies' *a*.

3. all that was . . . down > *a*.

three walls. Cf. Hebrew authorities.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 4 walls we cast down. And we drew near to Thamna, where was all the substance of the hostile kings.
5 Then being insulted by them, I was therefore wroth, and rushed against them to the summit; and
6 they kept slinging against me stones and darts. And had not Dan my brother aided me, they would
7 have slain me. We came upon them, therefore, with wrath, and they all fled; and passing by
8 another way, they besought my father, and he made peace with them. And we did to them no hurt,
9 and they became tributary to us, and we restored to them their spoil. And I built Thamna, and my
10 father built Pabael. I was twenty years old when this war befell. And the Canaanites feared me
and my brethren.
- 8^{1, 2} And I had much cattle, and I had for chief herdsman Iram the Adullamite. And when
I went to him I saw Parsaba, king of Adullam; 'and he spake unto us', and he made us a feast;
3 and **when I was heated** he gave me his daughter Bathshua to wife. She bare me Er, and Onan
and Shelah; and two of them the Lord smote: for Shelah lived, and his children are ye.
- 9¹ And eighteen years my father abode in peace with his brother Esau, and his sons with us, after
2 that we came from Mesopotamia, from Laban. And when eighteen years were fulfilled, in the
fortieth year of my life, Esau, the brother of my father, came upon us with a mighty and strong
3 people. And Jacob smote Esau with an arrow, and he was taken up **wounded** on Mount Seir, and
4 as he went he died at Anoniram. And we pursued after the sons of Esau. Now they had a city
with walls of iron and gates of brass; and we could not enter 'into it', and we encamped around, and
5 besieged it. And when they opened not to us in twenty days, I set up a ladder 'in the sight of all'
and with my shield upon my head I went up, sustaining the assault of stones, upwards of three
6, 7 talents weight; and I slew four of their mighty men. And Reuben and Gad slew six others. Then
they asked from us terms of peace; and having taken counsel with our father, we received them as
8 tributaries. And they gave us five hundred cors of wheat, five hundred baths of oil, five hundred
measures of wine, 'until the famine', when we went down into Egypt.
- 10¹ And after these things my son Er took to wife Tamar, from Mesopotamia, a daughter of Aram.
2 Now Er was wicked, and he †was in need concerning Tamar, because she was not of the land
3 of Canaan. And on the third night an angel of the Lord smote him. 'And he had not known her
4 according to the evil craftiness of his mother, for he did not wish to have children by her. In the

4. **Thamna**, i. e. Timneh. Cf. 1 Macc. ix. 50.
substance: 'refuge' b g.
5-6. These incidents are told of Gaash, not Thamna, in the Hebrew authorities.
5. The Hebrew authorities give the occasion of the insult.
against them to the summit = לראש עליומה. Midr. W. 'upon the wall the first' = ראשון לחומה
kept slinging. Cf. Midr. W.
6. Jacob rescues Judah in Chron. Jer. xxxvi. 11.
7. **he made peace with them** β-a f S¹ Midr. W.: 'they made peace with him' a a f.
8. **they became tributary to us** a. Cf. Midr. W.: 'we made a truce with them' β A S¹.
we restored. Midr. W. and Jashar make the Amorites restore the spoil to Jacob's sons. Cf. Jub. xxxiv. 7-9.
9. β A S¹: 'and we built also their city' a. See Jub. xxxiv. 8 'Robel (i. e. Arbela, cf. 1 Macc. ix. 2) and
Tamnatares', also Midr. W.
10. **twenty years**. Cf. Jub. xxviii. 15, xxxiv. 1.
VIII. 1. **Iram**. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 1.
2. **he spake unto us** a only.
when I was heated. Conjectured for παρακαλέσας. Cf. Isa. lvii. 5 (LXX). Cf. T. Jud. xi. 2, xiii. 5-7, xiv. 3. For
the offence of this Canaanite marriage cf. Jub. xxxiv. 20.
IX. 1. The war between Jacob and Esau. For fuller accounts see Jub. xxxvii-xxxviii. 1-14; Midr. W., and Chron.
Jer. xxxvii, and a different one in Jashar, ii. 1235-6.
2. **in the fortieth year of my life**. Cf. Jub. xxviii. 15, xxxvi. 21, xxxvii. 14. > a.
3. **Jacob smote Esau**, &c., a. Jub. xxxviii. 2; Midr. W. and Chron. Jer.: 'he fell by the bow of Jacob' b g A S¹.
wounded. So I restore in accordance with Midr. W. for text = 'dead'. But cf. Jub. xxxviii. 8 'slain'.
and as he went . . . Anoniram > c h.
Anoniram β-b d A: 'Aduram' Jub. xxxviii. 9: 'Arodin' Midr. W. This is the Adora which Hyrcanus took and
forced to accept circumcision, Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 9. 1, xxii. 15. 4.
4. **with walls of iron and gates of brass** β-d A: 'strong' a. Cf. v. 1.
5. **sustaining . . . stones**. Midr. W. and Chron. Jer. assign this feat to Naphtali and Gad as well.
upwards . . . weight > a.
7. **as tributaries**. Cf. vii. 8 and Midr. W. > a.
8. **five hundred** a a f S¹: 'two hundred' b d e A.
baths, 'ephahs' seem to be implied by a a f.
the famine when a: > β S¹.
X. 1. **daughter of Aram**, i. e. a Semite. Cf. Jub. xli. 1, and *Opus Imperfectum* on Matt. i. 3.
2. **he was . . . night** > a.
†was in need, or 'difficulty', perhaps corrupt in Hebrew for 'put to shame'. Cf. Jub. xli. 2.
3. > A through hmt.
for . . . by her > a. The *Opus Imperf.* says: 'Mater autem eius cum esset Chananaea hortaretur eum accipere
ex genere suo: ille consilio matris usus non contigit eam. Propter quod percussit eum Deus malignantem.'

THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH 7. 4—13. 3

- days¹ of the wedding-feast I gave Onan to her in marriage; and he also in wickedness knew her not,
5 though he spent with her a year. And when I threatened him he went in unto her, but he spilled
the seed on the ground, according to the command of his mother, and he also died through wickedness.
6 And I wished to give Shelah also to her, but his mother did not permit it; ¹for she wrought evil
against Tamar¹, because she was not of the daughters of Canaan, as she also herself was.
- 11 ¹ And I knew that the race of the Canaanites was wicked, but the impulse of youth blinded my
² mind. And when I saw her pouring out wine, owing to the intoxication of wine I was deceived, and
³ took her although my father had not counselled (it). And while I was away she went and took for
⁴ Shelah a wife from Canaan. And when I knew what she had done, I cursed her in the anguish of
⁵ my soul. And she also died through her wickedness together with her sons.
- 12 ¹ And after these things, while Tamar was a widow, she heard after two years that I was going up
² to shear my sheep, and adorned herself in bridal array, and sat in the city Enaim by the gate. ¹For
it was a law of the Amorites, that she who was about to marry should sit in fornication seven days
³ by the gate¹. Therefore being drunk with wine, I did not recognize her; and her beauty deceived
⁴ me, through the fashion of her adorning. And I turned aside to her, and said: Let me go in unto
thee. And she said: What wilt thou give me? And I gave her my staff, and my girdle, and the
⁵ diadem of my kingdom ¹in pledge¹. And I went in unto her, and she conceived. And not knowing
⁶ what I had done, I wished to slay her; but she privily sent my pledges, and put me to shame. And
when I called her, I heard also the secret words which ¹I spoke¹ when lying with her in my drunken-
⁷ ness; and I could not slay her, because it was from the Lord. For I said, Lest haply she did it in
⁸ subtlety, having received the pledge from another woman. But I came not again near her while
⁹ I lived, because I had done ¹this¹ abomination in ¹all¹ Israel. Moreover, they who were in the city
said there was no harlot in the gate, because she came from another place, and sat for a while in the
^{10, 11} gate. And I thought that no one knew that I had gone in to her. And after this we came into
¹² Egypt ¹to Joseph¹, because of the famine. And I was forty and six years old, and seventy and three
years lived I in Egypt.
- 13 ¹ And now I command you, my children, hearken ¹to Judah your father¹, and keep my sayings to
² perform all the ordinances of the Lord, and to obey the commands of God. And walk not after your
lusts, nor in the imaginations of your thoughts in haughtiness of heart; and glory not in the deeds
³ and strength of your youth, for this also is evil in the eyes of the Lord. Since I also gloried that
in wars no comely woman's face ever enticed me, and reproved Reuben my brother concerning
Bilhah, the wife of my father, the spirits of jealousy and of fornication arrayed themselves against

4. β A S¹: 'And I gave her to Aunan my second son, and behold the Lord slew him' ^a.

5. > ^a.

6. **his mother** ^a: 'my wife Bathshua' β A S. Cf. Jub. xli. 7.
against Tamar b d e S.

XI. 2. **pouring out wine** > A S¹.

owing to the intoxication > ^a.

took her ^a: 'had intercourse with her' β S¹.
not counselled. Cf. xiii. 3.

3. Jub. xli. 7 only says that Bathshua stopped Shelah's marrying.

5. **through her . . . sons** ^a: 'through the wickedness of her sons' β A S¹.

XII. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 12-26; Jub. xli. 8-23.

1. **adorned.** Jub. xli. 9; also LXX, Syr., Onkelos of Gen. xxxviii. 14. Mass. has 'enwrapped'.

Enaim c.e. A proper name as in Gen. xxxviii. 14 (LXX, not Targums or Syriac).

gate + 'of the inn' ^a.

2. **about to marry** β S¹: 'a widow' ^a. Cf. the bride's sacrifice to Mylitta, Herod. i. 199.

seven days by the gate > ^a.

3. + 'at the waters of Kozeba' β-d f A ^a h b * c d e f g S¹ at the beginning of verse.

4. **staff . . . girdle . . . diadem.** Gen. xxxviii. 18 has also 'signet' as ^a here.

girdle > ^a, wrongly, see xv. 3. Cf. Jub. xlv. 11.

diadem, is not in Gen.

in pledge > β A S¹.

5. **wished to slay her** > ^a d g.

but she . . . shame. 'I sent to receive the pledge' ^a.

6-10. > ^a, but substitutes an abbreviation of Gen. xxxviii. 20, 24-30, LXX.

7. Explains 6^a.

9. **harlot,** lit. 'temple prostitute'. Cf. Gen. xxxviii. 21, 22; Deut. xxiii. 18.

12. **forty-six.** 'forty-three' in Jub. xxviii. 15, xlv. 1. Cf. T. L. xii. 5 (Aram. Frag.).

XIII. 1. Text = ^a. Other MSS. vary.

2. **walk not** β A S¹: 'be not evil' ^a.

nor in the imaginations of your thoughts > ^a a g. Cf. 1 Chron. xxviii. 9. See T. A. i. 3 (note).

3. **enticed** β A: 'met' ^a S¹, i.e. ἐπέτησε for ἡπάτησε.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

4 me, until I lay with Bathshua the Canaanite, and Tamar, who was espoused to my sons. For I said to my father-in-law: I will take counsel with my father, and so will I take thy daughter. And he was unwilling, but he showed me a boundless store of gold in his daughter's behalf; for he was 5 a king. And he adorned her with gold and pearls, and caused her to pour out wine for us at the 6 feast †with the beauty of women.† And the wine turned aside my eyes, and pleasure blinded my 7 heart. And I became enamoured of and I lay with her, and transgressed the commandment of the 8 Lord and the commandment of my fathers, and I took her to wife. And the Lord rewarded me according to the imagination of my heart, inasmuch as I had no joy in her children.

14 1 And now, my children, †I say unto you†, be not drunk with wine; for wine turneth the mind away 2 from the truth, and inspires the passion of lust, and leadeth the eyes into error. For the spirit of fornication hath wine as a minister to give pleasure to the mind; for these two also take away the 3 mind of man. For if a man drink wine to drunkenness, it disturbeth the mind with filthy thoughts †leading to fornication†, and heateth the body to carnal union; and if the occasion of the lust be 4 present, he worketh the sin, and is not ashamed. Such is the **inebriated** man, my children; for he 5 who is drunken reverenceth no man. For, lo, it made me also to err, so that I was not ashamed of the multitude in the city, in that before the eyes of all I turned aside unto Tamar, and I wrought 6 a great sin, and I uncovered the covering of my sons' shame. After I had drunk wine I revered 7 not the commandment of God, and I took a woman of Canaan to wife. For much discretion needeth the man who drinketh wine, my children; and herein is discretion in drinking wine, a man 8 may drink so long as he preserveth modesty. But if he go beyond this limit the spirit of deceit attacketh his mind, and it maketh the drunkard to talk filthily, and to transgress and not to be ashamed, but even to glory in his shame, and to account himself honourable.

15 1 He that committeth fornication is not aware when he suffers loss, and is not ashamed when put 2 to dishonour. For even though a man be a king and commit fornication, he is stripped of his 3 kingship by becoming the slave of fornication, as I myself also suffered. For I gave my staff, that is, the stay of my tribe; and my girdle, that is, my power; and my diadem, that is, the glory of my 4 kingdom. And indeed I repented of these things; wine and flesh I eat not until my old age, nor 5 did I behold any joy. And the angel of God showed me that for ever do women bear rule over 6 king and beggar alike. And from the king they take away his glory, and from the valiant man his 7 might, and from the beggar even that little which is the stay of his poverty.

16 1 Observe, therefore, my children, the (right) limit in wine; for there are in it four evil spirits—of 2 lust, of hot desire, of profligacy, of filthy lucre. If ye drink wine in gladness, be ye modest in the fear of God. For if in (your) gladness the fear of God departeth, then drunkenness ariseth and 3 shamelessness stealeth in. But if ye would live soberly do not touch wine at all, lest ye sin in words of outrage, and in fightings and slanders, and transgressions of the commandments of God, 4 and ye perish before your time. Moreover, wine revealeth the mysteries of God and men, even as

I lay with, *συνέπεσα εἰς*, β A S¹: *συνετέλεσα εἰς*, *a*.

4. he was unwilling, but > β-d A S¹.

5. †with the beauty of women† > c A^b. Read 'with the ornaments of women', or the words may be corrupt for 'in the women's apartment'.

7. lay with, *συνέπεσα εἰς*. See xi. 2, xiii. 3 (notes). fathers. 'father' *a*.

XIV. 1. I say unto you h: 'I say' c: > β A S¹.

be not drunk with wine. Cf. xvi. 1 and Eph. v. 18.

2. mind of man *a* A^a h: 'might of man' β A^b b* c d e g S.

3. The translation follows β A S¹. *a* has 'thou drinkest . . . thy mind . . . and to fornication heateth, &c.'

carnal union, 'pleasure' *a*.

and if . . . present > *a*.

4. the inebriated man, *πάρουπος*, emended from *πυνηρός*, *a* a f: *πόρπος*, *e*: *οἶνος*, b A S.

7. much > β A S¹.

a man may, 'that a man should' β-d g A S¹.

8. glory in his shame. Cf. Phil. iii. 19.

XV. 1-2. Cf. T. R. iv. 7.

2. stripped of + 'and goes forth from' β A.

3. girdle *a* a d f: omit next seven words through hmt.

4. joy, 'folly' c.

5. for ever > *a*.

alike + 'and in them there is no advance of life' *a*.

XVI. 1. For this verse and xix. 1 cf. Col. iii. 5 'covetousness is idolatry'; Eph. v. 5; also Eph. v. 5 for 'profligacy' or 'excess'. See xiv. 1, xxi. 1.

2. For if . . . departeth e f A S¹: 'for if ye drink without modesty and the fear of God departeth' b: > *a*.

3. if ye would live soberly *a*: 'what say I?' a e f: 'I tell you, if it is possible for you' d: 'it is a good thing (not to)' A.

before your time. Cf. T. R. iv. 6.

4. God and men + 'to aliens' b A^a b* d.

THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH 13. 4—19. 3

I also revealed the commandments of God and the mysteries of Jacob my father to the Canaanitish woman Bathshua, which God bade me not to reveal. And wine is a cause both of war and confusion.

17 ¹ And now, I command you, my children, not to love money, nor to gaze upon the beauty of women; because for the sake of money and beauty I was led astray to Bathshua the Canaanite. 2, 3 [For I know that because of these two things shall my race fall into wickedness. For even wise men among my sons shall they mar, and shall cause the kingdom of Judah to be diminished, which 4 the Lord gave me because of my obedience to my father. For I never caused grief to Jacob, my 5 father; for all things whatsoever he commanded I did. And Isaac, the father of my father, blessed 6 me to be king in Israel, and Jacob further blessed me in like manner. And I know that from me shall the kingdom be established.

18 ¹ And I know what evils ye will do in the last days.]	^a ^{β A S¹}	For I have also read in the books of Enoch the righteous what evils ye will do in the last days.]
---	--	---

2 Beware, therefore, my children, of fornication, and the love of money, and hearken to Judah your father.

3 For these things withdraw you from the law of God,
And blind the inclination of the soul,
And teach arrogance,
And suffer not a man to have compassion upon his neighbour.

4 They rob his soul of all goodness,
And oppress him with toils and troubles,
[And drive away sleep from him],
And devour his flesh.

5 And he hindereth the sacrifices of God;
[And he remembereth not the blessing of God],
He hearkeneth not to a prophet when he speaketh,
And resenteth the words of godliness.

6 [For he is a slave to two contrary passions,
And cannot obey God,
Because they have blinded his soul,
And he walketh in the day as in the night].

19 ¹ My children, the love of money leadeth to idolatry; because, when led astray through money, men name as gods those who are not gods, and it causeth him who hath it to fall into madness. 2 For the sake of money I lost my children, and had not my repentance, [and my humiliation], and 3 the prayers of my father been accepted, I should have died childless. But the God of my fathers

5. > ^a.

XVII. 1. **nor to gaze upon.** Cf. T. R. iv. 1.

XVII. 2—XVIII. 1. Bracketed as a later addition. xviii. 2 resumes xvii. 1.

2. **wickedness** β S¹: 'perdition of fornication' ^a: 'fornication' A.

3. **because of my obedience.** See *Jewish Encyc.* vii. 328 for various reasons for Judah's headship.

4. **caused grief to Jacob** ^{a a} β^b: 'caused grief to the word of Jacob' β—^a g S¹. Perhaps the Hebrew original was 'I disobeyed the word of J.'

5–6. For Judah's kingship cf. T. S. vii. 2; T. Jud. xxi. 5, xxii. 3.

5. **Isaac** d A: 'Abraham' ^a β—d S (and therefore c reads 'great-grandfather').

blessed me to be king. Supply λέγων after 'blessed me' and render 'saying I should be king.' Cf. i. 6.

Jacob ^a d: 'Isaac' β—d A S¹.

XVIII. 1. **the books of Enoch**, an interpolation. See T. L. x. 5 (note), and cf. T. A. vii. 2 for 'I know'.

2. Resumes xvii. 1.

3. **blind**, &c. Cf. xiii. 7.

4. **drive away sleep from him** ^a: 'put away his sleep' β—d g S¹. Sir. xlii. 9. Cf. T. S. iv. 8.

6. **For . . . obey God** ^a f: 'for being a slave to the passions contrary to the commandments of God' ^a e S¹. Cf. Matt. vi. 24.

walketh in the day. Cf. Rom. xiii. 13.

XIX. 1. **love of money . . . idolatry.** Cf. Col. iii. 5; Eph. v. 5; Shem. rab. 121 'qui opes suas multiplicat per fœnus, ille est idolatra'; cf. Philo, *De Mon.* i. 2 and Matt. vi. 24 for Mammon as a god.

2. **my repentance** ^a: 'the repentance of my flesh' β—f A S.

my humiliation ^a: 'the humiliation of my soul' β S¹.

prayers of my father. Cf. T. R. i. 7, iv. 3; T. G. v. 9.

been accepted, †συνέδραμον, ^a: > β S¹: ἔσθω, A^{-b}. Probably Heb. was עזרו 'helped', or נרצו 'were acceptable'.

See T. G. v. 9 (note).

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 4 had mercy on me, because I did it in ignorance. And the prince of deceit blinded me, and I sinned as a man and as flesh, being corrupted through sins; 'and I learnt my own weakness while thinking myself invincible'.
- 20** 1 Know, therefore, my children, that two spirits wait upon man—the spirit of truth and the spirit
2 of deceit. And in the midst is the spirit of understanding of the mind, to which it belongeth to turn whithersoever it will.
- 3 And the works of truth and the works of deceit are written upon the hearts of men, and each one of them the Lord knoweth.
- 4 And there is no time at which the works of men can be hid; for on the heart itself have they been
5 written down 'before the Lord'. And the spirit of truth testifieth all things, and accuseth all; and the sinner is burnt up 'by his own heart', and cannot raise his face 'to the judge'.
- 21** 1 And now, my children, I command you, love Levi, that ye may abide, and 'exalt not yourselves
2 against him', lest ye be utterly destroyed. 'For to me the Lord gave the kingdom, and to him the
3 priesthood, and He set the kingdom beneath the priesthood. To me He gave the things upon the
4 earth; to him the things in the heavens. As the heaven is higher than the earth, so is the priesthood
of God higher than the earthly kingdom, unless it falls away through sin from the Lord and is
5 dominated by the earthly kingdom'. For 'the angel of the Lord said unto me': The Lord chose
him rather than thee, to draw near to Him, and to eat of His table 'and to offer Him the first-fruits'
of the choice things of the sons of Israel; but thou shalt be king of Jacob.
- 6 And thou shalt be amongst them as the sea. For as, on the sea, just and unjust are tossed about,
'some taken into captivity while some are enriched', so also shall every race of men be in thee: some
shall be **impoverished**, being taken captive, 'and others grow rich by plundering the possessions of
others'.
- 7 For the kings shall be as sea-monsters.
They shall swallow men like fishes:
The sons and daughters 'of freemen' shall they enslave;
Houses, lands, flocks, money shall they plunder:
- 8 And with the flesh of many shall they 'wrongfully' feed the ravens and the cranes;
'And they shall 'advance in evil, in covetousness uplifted,†'
- 9 And there shall be false prophets 'like' tempests,
And they shall persecute all righteous men.
- 22** 1 And the Lord shall bring upon them divisions 'one against another'.

3. **had mercy on me** *a*: 'the compassionate and merciful pardoned me' β S¹. Cf. Jub. xli. 25, and 1 Tim. i. 13 *ἡλεήθην ὅτι ἀγνοῶν ἐποίησα*. Cf. Pss. Sol. iii. 9, xvii. 6.

4. **as flesh**. Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.

XX. 1–3. Here *a* is without *v*. 1, has four words in 2, and last clause of 3.

1. **the spirit of truth**. Cf. John xv. 26; also T. A. i. 4.

2–5. A striking description of man's attitude to good and evil. He can will either (*v*. 2), and the results are written on his heart or character, ever open to the eyes of God (3–4).

2. The 'understanding' seems to mean the will: *a* reads 'conscience'.

3. **written upon the hearts**. God (Jer. xxxi. 33) and man (Prov. iii. 3) can write thus on the heart.

4. Text as β -a g A⁸ S¹.
on the heart itself = *ἐν στήθει ὁστέων αὐτοῦ*, a Hebraism. **on** > *a*.

5. **testifieth all things and** > *a*. Cf. John xv. 26.
testifieth . . . accuseth. Cf. Rom. ii. 15, where the conscience is still the judge of past actions, and not the deciding power as to present policy.

burnt up . . . heart. Cf. T. G. v. 3.

XXI. Levi's pre-eminence is enforced as in T. R. vi. 5–12, &c.

1. **exalt . . . him**. Cf. T. R. vi (note).

4. **As the heaven is higher than the earth** > *a*. Cf. T. L. xiv. 3.

5. **the angel . . . unto me** > β A S¹.
to eat of His table. Cf. T. L. viii. 16 (note).
to offer Him > β A S¹.
king of Jacob. Cf. xvii. 5–6.

XXI. 6–XXIII. An alien section, possibly a polemic against the kings (xxi. 6–8) Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II (70–40 B. C.). Cf. xxii. 1–2. But the visitations of xxiii. 3–5 suit the Babylonian or Syrian conquests of 588 and 168 B. C.

XXI. 6. **amongst** *a* e f g: 'to' a b.
and unjust > *a* a f.
impoverished. Text reads 'in danger', owing to wrong punctuation in the original Hebrew.
the possessions of others > β A S¹.

7. Cf. 1 Sam. viii. 11–17.

8. **†advance in evil**. Cf. 2 Tim. ii. 16, iii. 13.

XXII. 1. **divisions one against another**, i. e. the civil wars of Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II, 70–40 B. C. Cf. T. Z. ix. 2–4.

THE TESTAMENT OF JUDAH 19. 3—24. 1

- And there shall be 'continual' wars in Israel ;
2 And among men of another race shall my kingdom be brought to an end,
Until the salvation of Israel shall come,
'Until the appearing of the God of righteousness',
That Jacob [and all the Gentiles] may rest in peace.
3 And He shall guard the might of my kingdom for ever ;
For the Lord sware to me with an oath that He would not destroy the kingdom from my seed
for ever.
23 1 Now I have much grief, my children, because of your lewdness and witchcrafts, and idolatries
which ye shall practise 'against the kingdom', following them that have familiar spirits, diviners, and
2 demons of error. Ye shall make your daughters singing girls and harlots, and ye shall mingle in
3 the abominations of the Gentiles. For which things' sake the Lord shall bring upon you famine and
pestilence, death and the sword, beleaguering by enemies, and revilings of friends, the slaughter of
children, the rape of wives, the plundering of possessions, [the burning of the temple of God,] the
4 laying waste of the land, the enslavement of yourselves among the Gentiles. And they shall make
some of you eunuchs for their wives.
a
5 Until the Lord visit you, when with perfect
heart ye repent and walk in all His command-
ments, and He bring you up from captivity
among the Gentiles.
a β S¹
24 1 And after these things shall a star arise to you
from Jacob in peace,
And a man shall arise [from my seed], like
the sun of righteousness,
Walking with the sons of men in meekness and
righteousness ;
And no sin shall be found in him.

β A S¹
Until ye turn unto the Lord with perfect heart 5
repenting and walking in all the commandments
of God, and the Lord visit you with mercy and
bring you up from captivity among the Gentiles.
A
And after these things shall arise the star of 1
peace,
And he shall walk with men in meekness and
righteousness.

- continual wars. From Alexander's death to Herod's accession this holds good.
2. my kingdom . . . end, i. e. in 40 B. C., with Herod's accession.
[and all the Gentiles] > A. An interpolation, as this section is not universalistic.
3. He would not . . . for ever a A (>'from my seed' c). The other MSS. vary much. For the idea cf. xvii.
5-6, and Gen. xlv. 10.
XXIII. A general denunciation of Israel as a whole and its future judgements, if 'against the kingdom' is an
interpolation.
1. them that have familiar spirits, ἐγγαστριμυθοί, cf. Lev. xix. 31, xx. 6, 27 ; Isa. xix. 3.
2. your daughters . . . harlots. Cf. Pss. Sol. ii. 14, 15.
the abominations of the Gentiles. Cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8, ii. 13, 14, viii. 14.
3. famine, &c. Cf. Jer. xiv. 12, xv. 2.
sword A + 'avenging' a β.
beleaguering by enemies. Cf. Jer. xix. 9. + καὶ κύνας εἰς διασπασμόν, a β-a before ἐχθρῶν, added from Jer. xv.
3 (LXX).
friends + 'destruction and blighting of the eyes' text: > hi A: emend to 'destruction of bribes', or
possibly to 'destruction of children' (dittography of next phrase). Or, like κύνας, &c., regard it as an intrusion.
the rape of wives > a.
[the burning of the temple of God], not realized in Maccabean times (cf. Ps. lxxiv. 7 (gates only consumed);
1 Macc. iv. 38) or in the first century B. C.
enslavement . . . Gentiles. Cf. the captivities of Apollonius, 1 Macc. i. 29-40; 2 Macc. v. 23-6: and of
Pompey, Philo, *De leg. ad Caium*, 23; Pss. Sol. ii. 6, xvii. 14; T. Z. ix. 6: of Cassius Longinus in 49 and 43 B. C.,
Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 11. 2.
4. eunuchs. Cf. 2 Kings xx. 18. Herod also had some, but we are not told that the Seleucids had any.
5. the Lord visit you, when . . . ye repent. National repentance is the condition of Israel's restoration. Cf.
Jub. i. 15-17, 23; Ass. Mos. i. 18; 1 Bar. iv. 28-37; 2 Bar. lxxviii. 6, 7; also Dan. ix. 4-19.
from captivity. Cf. v. 3 (note); 1 En. xc. 33; Sir. xxxvi. 11; Pss. Sol. xvii. 28, 50.
XXIV. Two Messianic fragments. Verses 1-3 speak of a Messiah, probably from Levi, as 'from my seed' is an
interpolation. Cf. both for diction and matter, T. L. xviii, the hymn in honour of John Hyrcanus. Thus cf. 1^a here
with 3^a there, 2 with 6, 1^b with 4^a, 1^c with 9^a, 3^a with 8^a. Verses 5, 6 start afresh and refer directly to a Messiah from
Judah. Verse 4 is a marginal gloss.
1. a star . . . from Jacob. Cf. Num. xxiv. 17; T. L. xviii. 3.
in peace. Cf. T. L. xviii. 3 'in heaven'.
a man shall arise. Cf. LXX of Num. xxiv. 17 ('a sceptre shall arise' Hebrew).
sun of righteousness. Mal. iv. 2. Cf. T. L. xviii. 4; T. Z. ix. 8.
Walking with the sons of men. See T. Iss. vii. 7; T. D. v. 13; and especially 1 En. lxii. 14.
meekness and righteousness. Ps. xlv. 4, interpreted of the Messiah by Targum and LXX. Cf. too Zech. ix. 9

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

<i>a β S</i> ¹	A
2 And the heavens shall be opened unto him, To pour out the spirit, (even) the blessing of the Holy Father ;	And the heavens shall be opened unto him, 2 And the blessings of the Holy Father shall be poured down upon him.
3 And He shall pour out the spirit of grace upon you ; And ye shall be unto Him sons in truth, And ye shall walk in His commandments first and last.	And He will pour down upon us the spirit of 3 grace. And ye shall be His true children by adoption, And ye shall walk in His commandments first and last.
4 [This Branch of God Most High, And this Fountain giving life unto all.]	[Then a branch shall go forth from me.] 4
5 Then shall the sceptre of my kingdom shine forth ; And from your root shall arise a stem ;	And the sceptre of my kingdom shall shine 5 forth ; And from your root shall arise a stem ;
6 And from it shall grow a rod of righteousness to the Gentiles, To judge and to save all that call upon the Lord.	And from it shall grow up the rod of righteous- 6 ness unto the Gentiles, To judge and to save all that call upon the Lord.
25 1 And after these things shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob arise unto life, and I and my brethren shall be chiefs of the tribes 'of Israel': Levi first, I the second, Joseph third, Benjamin fourth, 2 Simeon fifth, Issachar sixth, and so all in order. And the Lord blessed Levi, and the Angel of the Presence, me ; the powers of glory, Simeon ; the heaven, Reuben ; the earth, Issachar ; the sea, Zebulun ; the mountains, Joseph ; the tabernacle, Benjamin ; the luminaries, Dan ; Eden, Naphtali ; the sun, Gad ; the moon, Asher.	
3 And ye shall be the people of the Lord, and have one tongue ; And there shall be there no spirit of deceit of 'Beliar', For he shall be cast into the fire for ever.	
4 And they who have died in grief shall arise 'in joy', 'And they who were poor for the Lord's sake shall be made rich', And they who are put to death for the Lord's sake shall awake 'to life'.	
5 And the harts of Jacob shall run 'in joyfulness', And the eagles of Israel shall fly 'in gladness', And all the people shall glorify the Lord for ever.	
26 1 Observe, therefore, my children, all the law of the Lord, for there is hope for all them who hold 2 fast unto His ways. And 'he said to them : Behold', I die before your eyes this day, a hundred and	

'Thy king cometh to thee, righteous and lowly', and Zeph. ii. 3. Meekness is not an attribute of the Messiah in Jewish literature 200 B.C.—A.D. 100. See T. D. vi. 9.

2. See T. L. xviii. 6 (note).

And the heavens. Cf. 1 En. xi. 1.

3. pour . . . grace. Cf. Ps. xlv. 2.

And ye shall be . . . walk. 'in truth' *a*.

sons in truth. Cf. T. L. xviii. 8.

first and last. Cf. e.g. 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

4. A marginal gloss.

This Branch. Cf. Isa. xi. 1 ; Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15.

this Fountain, &c. *a* (*β S*¹): > A. Cf. John iv. 14. Cf. Prov. xiii. 14, &c.

5-6. A new Messianic fragment, added by the inserter of xxi. 6-xxiii.

5. a stem. 'a fountain' *a*, corruptly. Cf. Isa. xi. 1.

6. rod of righteousness. Cf. Ps. xlv. 6.

XXV. A Resurrection to a renewed life on the present earth.

1. tribes, *σάμπτρωον*, i.e. שבטים. Cf. Matt. xix. 28 'In the regeneration . . . judging the twelve tribes of Israel'.

2. Eden. Text ἡ τρυφή = עֵדֶן. Cf. Gen. ii. 15 (LXX).

3. one tongue, i.e. Hebrew. Ber. rabba 18 ; Shabb. 12^b ; Jub. iii. 28 (note).

be there *a*: 'be no more' *β S*¹ ; 'be among you' A.

4. rich + 'and they who have been in want shall be filled, and they who have been weak shall be strong' *a b a f S*¹. Cf. Matt. v. 6.

5. Jacob *a b g A S*¹: 'Joseph' *a d e f*.

And the eagles . . . gladness *a β S*¹: 'And the heifers of Israel shall leap' A + 'But the ungodly shall lament and the sinners shall weep' *a β S*¹.

XXVI. 1. hold fast unto *a*: 'direct' *β S*¹, i.e. מישרים for שומרים.

2. Behold > *β A S*¹.

before your eyes > *a*.

THE TESTAMENT OF ISSACHAR 1. 1—2. 5

3 nineteen years old. Let no one bury me 'in costly apparel', nor tear open my bowels, 'for this
4 shall they who are kings do'; and carry me up to Hebron with you. And Judah, when he had said
these things, fell asleep; and his sons did according to all whatsoever he commanded them, and
they buried him in Hebron, with his fathers.

THE TESTAMENT OF ISSACHAR, THE FIFTH SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

- 1** ¹ The copy of the words of Issachar. For he called his sons and said to them:
Hearken, my children, to Issachar your father;
Give ear to the words of him who is beloved of the Lord.
- 2, 3** ² I was born the 'fifth son to Jacob', by way of hire for the mandrakes. For Reuben 'my brother'
³ brought in mandrakes from the field, and Rachel met him and took them. And Reuben wept, and
⁴ at his voice Leah my mother came forth. Now these (mandrakes) were 'sweet-smelling' apples
⁵ which were produced in the land of Haran below a ravine of water. And Rachel said: I will not
⁶ give them to thee, but they shall be to me instead of children. 'For the Lord hath despised me,
⁷ and I have not borne children to Jacob'. Now there were two apples; and Leah said 'to Rachel':
⁸ Let it suffice thee that thou hast taken my husband: wilt thou take these also? And Rachel said
⁹ 'to her': Thou shalt have Jacob this night for the mandrakes 'of thy son'. And Leah said to her:
¹⁰ Jacob is mine, for I am the wife of his youth. But Rachel said: Boast not, and vaunt not thyself;
for he espoused me before thee, and for my sake he served our father fourteen years.
- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>a</i> | <i>β A S</i> |
| <p>11 ¹¹ And had not craft increased on the earth and
the wickedness of men prospered, thou wouldst
not now see the face of Jacob.</p> | <p>What shall I do to thee? for the craft and 11
the subtlety of men are increased, and craft pros-
pereth on the earth—if it were not so, thou
wouldst not now see the face of Jacob.</p> |
- 12, 13** ¹² For thou art not his wife, but in craft wert taken to him in my stead. And my father deceived
me, 'and removed me on that night', and did not suffer 'Jacob to see me; for' had I been
¹³ there, this had not happened 'to him'. Nevertheless, for the mandrakes I am hiring Jacob to thee
¹⁴ for one night. And Jacob knew Leah, and she 'conceived and' bare me, and on account of the hire
I was called Issachar.
- 2** ¹ Then appeared to Jacob an angel of the Lord, saying: Two children shall Rachel bear, inasmuch
² as she hath refused company with her husband, and hath chosen continency. And had not Leah
my mother paid the two apples for the sake of his company, she would have borne eight sons;
for this reason she bare six, and Rachel bare the two: for on account of the mandrakes the Lord
³ visited her. For He knew that for the sake of children she wished to company with Jacob, and
⁴ not for lust of pleasure. For on the morrow also she again gave up Jacob. Because of the man-
⁵ drakes, therefore, the Lord hearkened to Rachel. For though she desired them, she eat them not,
but offered them in the house of the Lord, presenting them to the priest of the Most High who
was at that time.

nineteen *β A S*¹: 'eighteen' *a*, wrongly.
3. nor tear open . . . kings do > *a*.
with you. 'where are my fathers also' *a*.

- I. 1. TITLE *a*: + 'concerning simplicity' *b f S*¹: 'concerning goodness' *e*.
the words of him who is beloved *c i a e f A*: 'the words beloved' *h d S*¹: '(my) words, ye beloved' *b g*.
2-14. Cf. Gen. xxx. 14-18.
3. my brother > *β A S*¹.
5. which were . . . Haran *a* ('Canaan' *h i*): 'which the land of Aram produced on a height' *β S*¹: 'and they
were produced in the wood in Aram' *A*.
6. For the Lord . . . to Jacob *a*: > *β A S*¹.
7. to Rachel > *β A S*¹.
8. to her > *β A S*¹.
9. Jacob is mine, for I *a*: 'Boast not nor vaunt thyself; for Jacob is mine, and I' *β A S*¹.
10. Boast . . . thyself: 'How so?' *β A S*¹.
11. *β A S* version is due to dittography.
13. Jacob *a* only. to him *a* only.
14. Nevertheless . . . mandrakes *a*: 'And Rachel said: Take one mandrake and for the other' *β-d g S*¹:
*β A S*¹ mention the second mandrake in ii. 4; *d* after i. 15: Leah gave Rachel both, ii. 2.
II. 1. Two *b A a b * c d S*¹: > *a a e f*: *d* omits the clause: *g* omits the entire chapter.
4. Jacob + 'in order that she might receive the other ('still another' *A a b * c d*) mandrake' *β d g A a b * c d f S*¹.
5. priest of the Most High *β A a b * c d f S*¹ + 'God' *A b*: 'priest' *a*.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 3** ¹ When, therefore, I grew up, my children, I walked in uprightness of heart, and I became a husbandman for my father and my brethren, and I brought in fruits from the field according to
^{2, 3} their season. 'And my father blessed me, for he saw that I walked in rectitude before him'. And
⁴ I was not a busybody in my doings, 'nor envious and malicious against my neighbour. I never slandered any one, nor did I censure the life of any man, walking as I did in singleness of eye'.
⁵ Therefore, when I was thirty-'five' years old, I took to myself a wife, for my labour wore away my strength, and I never thought upon pleasure with women; 'but owing to my toil, sleep overcame me'.
⁶ And my father 'always' rejoiced in my rectitude, 'because I offered through the priest to the Lord
⁷ all first-fruits; then to my father also. And the Lord increased ten thousandfold His benefits in my
⁸ hands; and also Jacob, my father, knew that God aided my singleness. For on all the poor and oppressed I bestowed the good things of the earth in the singleness of my heart'.
4 ¹ And now, hearken to me, my children,
And walk in singleness 'of your heart',
For I have seen in it 'all' that is well-pleasing to the Lord.
² 'The single-(minded) man coveteth not gold,
He overreacheth not his neighbour,
He longeth not after manifold dainties,
He delighteth not in varied apparel.
³ He doth not desire to live a long life,
But only waiteth for the will of God'.
⁴ And the spirits of deceit have no power against him,
For he looketh not on the beauty of women,
'Lest he should pollute his mind with corruption'.
⁵ There is no envy in his thoughts,
[No malicious person maketh his soul to pine away,]
Nor **worry** with insatiable desire in his mind.
⁶ For he walketh in singleness 'of soul',
And beholdeth all things in uprightness 'of heart',
Shunning eyes (made) evil through the error of the world,
Lest he should see the perversion of any of the commandments of the Lord.
5 ¹ Keep, therefore, my children, the law of God,
And get singleness,

III-VI. Issachar is here held up as the single-hearted husbandman (iii. 1, v. 3, 5) who scorns luxuries and wealth (iv. 2), is free from envy, malice, and greed (iii. 3, iv. 5), shuns lust (iv. 4), offers freely to God and his father (iii. 6), and to the poor (iii. 8). Cf. LXX of Gen. xlix. 15 *ἐγενήθη ἀνὴρ γεωργός*, 'he bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant under taskwork' (Heb.). The Targums interpret this labour as in the law; cf. 1 Chron. xii. 32.

III. 1. **uprightness**, *εὐθύτητι*, **יָשׁוּעַ**. As this work was translated into Greek between the completion of the LXX and A.D. 50 it employs more frequently than the LXX the late Greek word *ἀπλότης* = **תָּה**. The MSS. waver between the two at times, probably because *ἀπλότης* was not yet so popular a term as it later became. See my Commentary, p. 103, and cf. T. G. vii. 7, T. Iss. iv. 6.

according to their season > a a f.

2. > A.

rectitude, *ἀπλότης* = wholeness, integrity. Cf. Eph. vi. 5; Col. iii. 32.

3. **busybody**. Cf. 1 Tim. v. 13.

4. **singleness of eye**. Cf. Matt. vi. 22; T. Iss. iv. 6 (note).

5. **five** > b d g A.

sleep. Perhaps read 'old age'. Cf. T. Z. x. 6.

6. **because**, 'for on whatsoever I laboured' β S¹.

all first-fruits + 'all the choicest fruit and all the firstfruits' β S¹.

7. **ten thousandfold** a: 'twofold' β S¹.

8. **bestowed . . . singleness of heart**. Cf. Rom. xii. 8. Hence the meaning 'disinterested generosity' in 2 Cor. ix. 13, *ἀπλότητι τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς αὐτοὺς*.

IV. 1. **heart** c g: 'soul' h i a e f.

in it b d g A: 'in you' a a e f S¹.

2. **coveteth not . . . neighbour** b d e g S¹: 'gaineth not gold wrongfully' a a f.

3. **doth not desire to live** S¹: *οὐκ ἐπιγράφει τοῦ ζῆν* a β S², i.e. **תִּשְׁמַח**, perhaps corrupt for **תִּשְׁמַח**.

4. **looketh not on the beauty**, *οὐ γὰρ εἶδεν ἐπιδέξασθαι* (*ἐπιλέξασθαι* f g A: > S¹) *κάλλος*. Perhaps there was a ditto-graphy in the original Hebrew **בְּהָרַג בְּהָרַג** = *ἐπιλέξασθαι* *κάλλος*. Cf. T. R. iv. 1.

5. **is . . . in a**: 'can . . . invade' β S.

[No malicious person, &c.] An interpolation > A: 'malice . . . not' b d g S.

Nor worry . . . his mind, emended from *οὐδὲ περισπασμὸν ἐν ἀπληστείᾳ ἐννοεῖ* a β S¹ to . . . *περισπασμὸς . . . ἐν νοῒ*.

6. **singleness of soul** a: > 'of soul' A: β S read 'uprightness of soul' and so 'singleness of heart' below.

eyes . . . evil. Cf. Matt. vi. 22, 23 'eye . . . single; eye . . . evil', i.e. ethically unsound. In Matt. xx. 15 = 'envious,'

THE TESTAMENT OF ISSACHAR 3. 1—7. 5

- 1 And walk in guilelessness,
 Not playing the busybody with the business of your neighbour,
 2 But love the Lord and your neighbour,
 Have compassion on the poor and weak.
 3 Bow down your back unto husbandry,
 And toil in labours in all manner of husbandry,
 Offering gifts to the Lord with thanksgiving.
 4 For with the first-fruits of the earth will the Lord bless you, even as He blessed all the saints
 5 from Abel even until now. For no other portion is given to you than of the fatness of the earth,
 6 whose fruits are raised by toil. For our father Jacob blessed me with blessings of the earth and of
 7 first-fruits. And Levi and Judah were glorified by the Lord even among the sons of Jacob; for the
 Lord gave them an inheritance, and to Levi He gave the priesthood, and to Judah the kingdom.
 8 And do ye therefore obey them, and walk in the singleness of your father; [for unto Gad hath it
 been given to destroy the troops that are coming upon Israel].
 6 1 Know ye therefore, my children, that in the last times
 Your sons will forsake singleness,
 And will cleave unto insatiable desire;
 And leaving guilelessness, will draw near to malice;
 And forsaking the commandments of the Lord,
 They will cleave unto Beliar.
 2 And leaving husbandry,
 They will follow after their own wicked devices,
 And they shall be dispersed among the Gentiles,
 And shall serve their enemies.
 3 And do you therefore give these commands to your children, that, if they sin, they may the more
 4 quickly return to the Lord; For He is merciful, and will deliver them, even to bring them back into
 their land.
- | | |
|--|--|
| <p> 7 1 Behold, therefore, as ye see, I am a hundred
 and twenty-six years old and am not conscious of
 committing any sin. </p> | <p style="text-align: right;">β A S¹</p> <p> I am a hundred and twenty-two years old, and
 I am not conscious of having committed any sin
 unto death. </p> |
|--|--|
- 2 Except my wife I have not known any woman. I never committed fornication by the uplifting
 of my eyes.
 3 I drank not wine, to be led astray thereby;
 I coveted not any desirable thing that was my neighbour's.
 4 Guile arose not in my heart;
 A lie passed not through my lips.
 5 If any man were in distress I joined my sighs with his,

- V. 1. busybody with + 'the commands of God and' β S¹.
 3. Bow . . . husbandry. Gen. xlix. 15 (Heb.).
 labours a + 'of the earth' β A S¹.
 5. to you g A: 'to thee' β-a g S: 'to us' a: > a.
 whose fruits are raised by toil b g S¹: 'through the toils of fruits' a a e f: > d.
 6-7. A is defective and confused.
 7. to Levi . . . to Judah c: 'to the one . . . to the other' h β.
 8. [for (β A S¹: 'and' a) unto Gad . . . Israel.] Probably out of place, and belonged to T. Gad originally,
 preceded by a phrase like 'and she called his name Gad'. Cf. Gen. xlix. 19.
 VI. 1. in the last times. Cf. T. L. x. 2, xiv. 1; T. G. viii. 2 (β A S); T. Z. ix. 5 (b d g); T. D. v. 4; T. Jos.
 xix. 10 (c β S); also T. Z. viii. 2, ix. 9. The phrase = the close of the present age—present, that is, from the writer's
 standpoint.
 2. dispersed. Cf. T. L. xvi. 5; T. A. vii. 2, 6; T. Jos. xix. 2.
 serve their enemies. Cf. T. Jud. xxiii. 3; T. N. iv. 2.
 4. bring them back. Cf. T. D. v. 9; T. A. vii. 7.
 VII. hundred and twenty-two β A S = Midrash Tadshe. See T. R. i. 1 (note).
 am not conscious, &c. Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 4; T. Z. i. 4.
 sin unto death β A S. Cf. Num. xviii. 22; Jub. xxi. 22, xxxviii. 18; 1 John v. 16.
 2. a omits οὐκ ἔγνω through hmt. It reads 'woman except my wife'.
 the uplifting, μετεωρισμός Cf. T. B. vi. 3; Sir. xxiii. 4, xxvi. 9; Prov. vi. 25.
 4. A has 'And guile arose not through my lips, and I lied not to my neighbour'.
 5. Cf. Sir. vii. 34; Rom. xii. 15.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- And I shared my bread with the poor.
I wrought godliness, all my days I kept truth.
- | | α | β S ¹ | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | I loved the Lord ;
Likewise also every man with all my heart. | 「The Lord I loved with all my strength :
Likewise also every man I loved more than my
own children, | 6 |
| 7 | So do you also these things, my children,
And every spirit of Beliar shall flee from you,
And no deed of wicked men shall rule over you ;
And every wild beast shall ye subdue,
Since you have with you the God of heaven and earth
(And) walk with men in singleness of heart ¹ . | | |
| 8 | And having said these things, he commanded his sons that they should carry him up to Hebron,
9 and bury him there in the cave 「with his fathers ¹ . And he stretched out his feet and died, at a good
old age ; with every limb sound, and with strength unabated, he slept the eternal sleep. | | |

THE TESTAMENT OF ZEBULUN, THE SIXTH SON OF JACOB AND LEAH.

- 1** ₁ The copy of the words of Zebulun, which he enjoined on his sons 「before he died¹ in the
₂ hundred and fourteenth year of his life, two years after the death of Joseph. And he said to them :
₃ Hearken to me, ye sons of Zebulun, attend to the words of your father. I, Zebulun, was born a good
gift to my parents. For when I was born my father was increased very exceedingly, both in flocks
₄ and herds, when with the straked rods he had his portion. I am not conscious that I have sinned
₅ all my days, 「save in thought¹. Nor yet do I remember that I have done any iniquity, except the
sin of ignorance which I committed against Joseph ; for I **covenanted** with my brethren not to tell
₆ my father what had been done. But I wept 「in secret¹ many days on account of Joseph, for I feared my
brethren, 「because they had all agreed that if any one should declare the secret, he should be slain¹.
₇ But when they wished to kill him, I adjured them much 「with tears¹ not to be guilty of this sin.
- 2** _{1, 2} For Simeon and Gad came against Joseph 「to kill him¹, and he said unto them with tears : Pity
me, my brethren, have mercy upon the bowels of Jacob our father : lay not upon me your hands
₃ 「to shed innocent blood¹, for I have not sinned against you. And if indeed I have sinned, with
chastening chastise me, 「my brethren¹, but lay not upon me your hand, for the sake of Jacob our
₄ father. And as he spoke these words, 「wailing as he did so¹, I was unable to bear his lamentations,
and 「began to weep¹, and my liver was poured out, and all the substance of my bowels was †loosened.

- shared my bread. Cf. Prov. xxii. 9.
with the poor + ‘I never eat alone, I moved no landmark ’ β S¹.
kept truth a : ‘did truth ’ β -b e S¹ : ‘and I walked in holiness ’ A + ‘I loved godliness ’ c.
7. shall flee. Cf. T. N. viii. 4.
walk with men . . . heart hief (‘his heart ’ h i) : ‘walking with men in the singleness of His heart ’ c
(= Messiah, cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1) : ‘walking with men of (or ‘in ’) singleness of heart ’ β -e f.
8. in the cave > a g.
9. and died . . . sleep. ‘and slept at a good old age the eternal sleep ’ a.
the eternal sleep. This does not preclude Resurrection. T. Jud. xxv. 1 ; T. B. x. 6 ff.
TITLE a + ‘compassion and mercy ’ (‘almsgiving ’ d g) β -a S¹.
1. 1. before he died c d.
fourteenth h i β -a S¹, cf. Jashar ii. 1248 : ‘fourth ’ c : ‘fiftieth ’ a : ‘twenty-fourth ’ A.
two years. See Jub. xxviii. 11-24 (notes).
3. Zebulun, a good gift. Gen. xxx. 20.
straked rods. Cf. Gen. xxx. 37 ff.
he had : ‘I had ’ a d.
4. am not conscious, &c. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 1.
5. sin of ignorance. Cf. T. R. i. 6 ; T. L. iii. 5 ; T. Jud. xix. 3.
which I committed > a .
covenanted with = כרתִי emended from כסִיתִי ‘concealed for ’ b g A : ‘confirmed to ’ a β -b g S¹.
7. I adjured : ‘I summoned ’ h i : c omits rest of verse and ii. 1^a to ‘kill him ’ through hmt.
II. 1. Simeon + ‘and Dan ’ h. Cf. iii. 2.
against Joseph : ‘with anger ’ g. + ‘with anger ’ d e S¹.
and he said . . . tears : ‘and falling on his face Joseph said to them ’ β -a f S¹.
2. upon me > a .
3. upon me : ‘to slay your brother ’ a .
4. wailing as he did so > β A S¹.
I was . . . lamentations a : ‘I pitied him ’ β S¹.
poured out d g. Cf. Lam. ii. 11 : ‘melted ’ a β -d g S¹.
was †loosened a + ‘within my soul ’ β A S¹. Perhaps emend to ‘was troubled ’, as Lam. i. 20, ii. 11.

THE TESTAMENT OF ZEBULUN 1. 1—4. 9

5 And I wept with Joseph, and my heart sounded, 'and the joints of my body trembled', and I was
6 not able to stand. And when 'Joseph' saw me weeping with him, and them coming against him to
7 slay him, he fled behind me, beseeching them. But meanwhile Reuben arose and said: 'Come', my
brethren, let us not slay him, but let us cast him into one of these dry pits, which our fathers digged
8 and found no water. For for this cause the Lord forbade that water should rise up in them, in order
that Joseph should be preserved. And they did so, until they sold him to the Ishmaelites.
3 1, 2 For in his price I had no share, my children. But Simeon and Gad and six other of our brethren
took the price of Joseph, and bought sandals for themselves, and their wives, 'and their children',
3 saying: We will not eat of it, for it is the price of our brother's blood, but we will assuredly tread
it under foot, because he said that he would be king over us, 'and so let us see what will become of
4 his dreams'. Therefore it is written in the writing of the law of Moses, that whosoever will not raise
5 up seed to his brother, his sandal should be unloosed, and they should spit in his face. And the
brethren of Joseph wished not that their brother should live, and the Lord loosed from them the
6 sandal which they wore against 'Joseph their brother'. For when they came into Egypt 'they were
unloosed by the servants of Joseph outside the gate, and so they made obeisance to Joseph after the
7 fashion of King Pharaoh. And' not only did they make obeisance to him, but 'were spit upon also,
8 falling down before him forthwith, and so' they were put to shame before the Egyptians. For after
this the Egyptians heard all the evils that they had done to Joseph.

4 1 And after he was †sold my brothers sat down
2 to eat and drink. But I, through pity for Joseph,
did not eat, but watched the pit, since Judah
feared lest Simeon, Dan, and Gad should rush
3 off and slay him. But when they saw that I did
not eat, they set me to watch him, till he was
5 sold to the Ishmaelites. And when Reuben came
and heard that while he was away (Joseph) had
been sold, he rent his garments, (and) mourning,
said: How shall I look on the face of my father
6 Jacob? And he took the money and ran after
the merchants, but as he failed to find them he
returned grieving. But the merchants had left
the broad road and marched through the Tro-
glodytes by a short cut.

β A S¹
And after they had cast him into the pit 'my 1
brethren' sat down to eat. 'For I through two 2
days and two nights eat nothing, through pity
for Joseph'. And Judah eat not with them, but
watched 'the pit'; for he feared lest Simeon and
Gad should run off and slay him. And when 3
they saw that I also eat not, they set me to
watch him until he was sold. And he spent in 4
the pit three days and three nights, and so was
sold famishing. And when Reuben heard that 5
while he was away (Joseph) had been sold, he
rent his clothes, and mourned, saying: How shall
I look in the face of Jacob my father? And he 6
took the money and ran after the merchants, and
found no one; for they had left the main road,
and journeyed through the Troglodytes by a
short cut.

7 'But Reuben was grieved', and eat no food that day. Dan therefore came to him and said:
8, 9 Weep not, neither grieve; for we have found what we can say to our father Jacob. Let us slay

5. my heart sounded. Cf. Jer. iv. 19.
- joints of my body, &c. Cf. Dan. v. 6.
6. beseeching them: 'beseeching (me) to help him' a.
7. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 22.
- found no water. See Jub. xxiv. 25 (note).
9. they did so a d g A: 'the Lord did so' β-d g S¹.
- III. 2. Gad . . . brethren: 'Dan and Gad and their children' a.
- bought sandals. Cf. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 28; Pirke R. El. xxxviii; also Amos ii. 6.
3. the price of . . . blood. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 6.
- let us see, &c. Gen. xxxvii. 20.
- 4-7. An attempt to explain certain customs of the Levirate Law.
4. law of Moses a: 'law of Enoch' β S¹.
- whosoever will not, &c. Cf. Deut. xxxv. 10; Ruth iv. 4.
7. forthwith, παραχρημα, b d f S: παρα σχημα, a a e g.
- before β-d A S¹: 'by' a d.
- β S¹: 'for they heard the evils that they had done unto him' a.
- IV. 1. 'sold a: παθῆναι corrupt for βληθῆναι.
- sat down a d only. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 25.
2. Dan (a). See ii. 1.
3. to the Ishmaelites (a). Cf. T. S. ii. 9; T. Z. ii. 9.
4. > a, possibly through hmt.
5. How shall I look . . . Jacob? So Ps.-Jon. and Targ. Jer. on Gen. xxxvii. 30.
6. Troglodytes: 'Indokolpitaē' in T. Jos. xi. 2. See LXX of 2 Chron. xii. 3.
9. slay b d A + 'with the sword' a β-b d S¹.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 10 a kid of the goats, and dip in it the coat of Joseph; and let us send it to Jacob, saying: Know, is
 11 this the coat of thy son? And they did so. 'For they stripped off from Joseph his coat when they
 were selling him, and put upon him the garment of a slave'. Now Simeon took the coat, and would
 not give it up, 'for he wished to rend it with his sword', as he was angry that Joseph lived and that
 12 he had not slain him. Then we 'all' rose up and said unto him: If thou givest not up the coat, we
 13 will say 'to our father' that thou alone didst this evil thing in Israel. And so he gave it unto them,
 and they did even as Dan had said.
- 5¹ And now, my children, I bid you to keep the commands of the Lord, 'and to show mercy to your
 neighbours, and to have compassion towards all, not towards men only, but also towards beasts.
 2 For all this thing's sake the Lord blessed me', and when all my brethren were sick, I escaped with-
 3 out sickness, for the Lord knoweth the purposes of each. Have, therefore, compassion in your hearts,
 my children, because even as a man doeth to his neighbour, even so also will the Lord do to him.
 4 For the sons of my brethren were sickening and were dying on account of Joseph, 'because they
 5 showed not mercy in their hearts'; but my sons were preserved without sickness, as ye know. And
 when I was in the land of Canaan, by the sea-coast, I made a catch of fish for Jacob my father; and
 when many were choked in the sea, I continued unhurt.
- 6¹ I was the first to make a boat to sail upon the sea, for the Lord gave me understanding 'and
 2 wisdom therein'. And I let down a rudder behind it, and I stretched a sail upon another upright
 3 piece of wood in the midst. And I sailed therein along the shores, catching fish for the house of my
 father until we came to Egypt.

Verses 4-6 found only in b d g.

- 4, 5 [And through compassion I shared my catch with every stranger. And if a man were a stranger,
 or sick, or aged, I boiled the fish, and dressed them well, and offered them to all men, as every man
 6 had need, grieving with and having compassion upon them. Wherefore also the Lord satisfied me
 with abundance of fish when catching fish; for he that shareth with his neighbour receiveth manifold
 7 more from the Lord.] For five years I caught fish [and gave thereof to every man whom I saw,
 8 and sufficed for all the house of my father]. And in the summer I caught fish, and in the winter
 I kept sheep with my brethren.

vii-viii. 3 found only in b d g.

- 7¹ [Now I will declare unto you what I did. I saw a man in distress through nakedness in winter-
 time, and had compassion upon him, and stole away a garment secretly from my father's house, and
 2 gave it to him who was in distress. Do you, therefore, my children, from that which God bestoweth
 upon you, show compassion and mercy without hesitation to all men, and give to every man with
 3 a good heart. And if ye have not the wherewithal to give to him that needeth, have compassion for
 4 him in bowels of mercy. I know that my hand found not the wherewithal to give to him that
 needed, and I walked with him weeping for seven furlongs, and my bowels yearned towards him in
 compassion.
- 8¹ Have, therefore, yourselves also, my children, compassion towards every man with mercy, that the
 2 Lord also may have compassion and mercy upon you. Because also in the last days God will send
 3 His compassion on the earth, and wheresoever He findeth bowels of mercy He dwelleth in him. For
 in the degree in which a man hath compassion upon his neighbours, in the same degree hath the

let us send . . . saying a: 'and we will say' β A S¹.

10. his coat a: 'the coat of our father' β-d g S¹.

11. Joseph lived and > a.

12. to our father a g.

in Israel. a only.

V. 3. even as a man, &c. Cf. viii. 3; Judges i. 7; Matt. vii. 2.

4. in their hearts β S¹: 'to them' c.

VI. 1. the first to make a boat. Cf. Gen. xlix. 13.

2. rudder, lit. 'a piece of wood'.

3. catching fish g: 'and I caught fish' b d A: 'in' a f: > a.

4-6. The sections peculiar to b d g, i.e. vi. 4-6, 7^b, vii-viii, go back probably to a Hebrew original. viii. 3, though
 a saying attributed to Gamaliel II or Gamaliel of Jabneh (80-105 A.D.), is virtually the same as v. 3.

6. satisfied, ἐνέπλησε, d: ἐποίησε, b g, wrongly.

neighbour + 'with all willingness' d.

7. [and gave . . . father] b d g only.

whom I saw b g: 'what sufficed' d.

VII. 1. my father's house d: 'my house' b g.

2. show . . . mercy without hesitation. Cf. Jude 22, if μή is restored before διακρινόμενοι there.

3. needeth, or 'asketh', χροῖζοντι. Cf. Matt. v. 42.

VIII. 2. last days. See T. Iss. vi. 1 (note).

3. See v. 3 (note) and vi. 4-6 (note). Cf. Sifre, Deut. 96; Shabb. 151^b.

THE TESTAMENT OF ZEBULUN 4. 9—9. 8

4, 5 Lord also upon him.] And when we went down into Egypt, Joseph bore no malice against us. To whom taking heed, do ye also, my children, 'approve yourselves without malice, and¹ love one another; and do not set down in account, each one of you, evil against his brother. For this breaketh unity and divideth 'all kindred, and troubleth the soul', and weareth away the countenance.
9¹ Observe, 'therefore', the waters, and know when they flow together, they sweep along stones, trees, earth, and other things. But if they are divided into many streams, the earth swalloweth them up, and they **vanish away**. So shall ye also be if ye be divided. Be not ye, therefore, divided into two heads, for everything which the Lord made hath but one head, and two shoulders, two hands, two feet, and all the remaining members. For I have learnt in the writing of my fathers, that
Ye shall be divided in Israel,
And ye shall follow two kings,
And shall work every abomination.
6 And your enemies shall lead you captive,
And ye shall be evil entreated among the Gentiles,
With many infirmities and tribulations.

a
7 And after these things ye shall remember the Lord and repent,
And He shall have mercy upon you, for He is merciful and compassionate.
And He setteth not down in account evil against the sons of men,
Because they are flesh, and are deceived through their own wicked deeds.

a a e f A S¹
8 And after these things shall there arise 'unto you' the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness,

β A S¹
And after these things ye shall remember the Lord, and repent,
[And He shall cause you to return]; for He is merciful and compassionate.
And He setteth not down in account evil to the sons of men, because they are flesh,
And the spirits of deceit deceive them in all their deeds.

b d g
And after these things there shall arise unto 8 you the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness, [And healing and compassion shall be in His wings.
He shall redeem all the captivity of the sons of men from Beliar;
And every spirit of deceit shall be trodden down];
And he shall bring back all the Gentiles into zeal for Him.

4. Resumes vi. 3.
And when. *b d g* read 'for when', which supports the originality of vii-viii. 2.
against us + 'but when he saw me he had compassion' *b g*.
5. approve . . . malice and > *a a e f A*.
set not down in account, &c. Cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 5.
evil against *c A*: 'the evil of' *β S¹*.
6. and weareth away the countenance ('possessions' *a e f A (?) S¹*) *a*: 'for he who beareth malice hath no bowels of mercy' *b d g*.

IX. Written at a time of national divisions, e.g. Hyrcanus II's struggles with Aristobulus II.
1. and other things *a*: 'sand' *β-b d A*.
2. vanish away. So I emend with Perles; the text has 'become of no account', i.e. *לֹא מֵחֵשֶׁב* corrupt for *לֵבָשׁ*. See 1 Sam. xv. 9.
4. 5. two heads = Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II.
5. writing of my fathers. See T. L. x. 5 (note). + 'that in the last days ye will depart from the Lord and' *b d g*.
kings: 'kingdoms' *a a e f S²*.
abomination + 'and worship every idol' *h i β S¹*.
6. be evil entreated: 'dwell' *c b d*.
tribulations + 'and anguish of soul' *b d g*.
7. repent: *ἐπιστρέψετε a*: *μετανοήσετε β A S¹*: both = *תשובו*.
cause . . . to return *β A S¹*. Or *ἐπιστρέψει* may be rendered 'return' if we omit *ὑμᾶς*. Cf. T. D. v. 9^a.
setteth not down in account. Cf. Ps. xxxii. 2.
Because . . . flesh. Cf. Gen. vi. 3; T. Jud. xix. 4.
8. *b d g* appear to be a Jewish expansion of *a a e f A S¹*. Thus 8^b comes from Mal. iv. 2, suggested by 'light of righteousness', 8^c = T. D. v. 11^a, 8^d = T. L. xviii. 12 or T. S. vi. 6.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>a a e f A S¹</i></p> <p>And ye shall return unto your land.
And ye shall see Him in Jerusalem, ¹for His name's sake¹.</p> <p>9 And again ¹through the wickedness of your works¹ shall ye provoke Him to anger,
And ye shall be cast away ¹by Him¹ unto the time of consummation.</p> <p>10 ¹ And now, my children, grieve not that I am dying, nor be cast down in that I am coming to my
² end. For I shall rise again in the midst of you, ¹as a ruler in the midst of his sons¹; and I shall
rejoice in the midst of my tribe, as many as shall keep the law of the Lord, ¹and the commandments
³ of Zebulun their father¹. But upon the ungodly shall the Lord bring eternal fire, and destroy them
^{4, 5} throughout all generations. But I am now hastening away to my rest, as did also my fathers. But
⁶ do ye fear the Lord ¹our God with all your strength all the days of your life¹. And when he had
⁷ said these things he fell asleep, ¹at a good old age¹. And his sons laid him in a ¹wooden¹ coffin. And
afterwards they carried him up and buried him in Hebron, with his fathers.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>b d g</i></p> <p>And ye shall see [God in the fashion of a man]
(the place) which the Lord shall choose, Jerusalem
is its name.</p> |
|---|---|

THE TESTAMENT OF DAN, THE SEVENTH SON OF JACOB AND BILHAH.

- 1 ¹ The copy of the words of Dan, which he spake to his sons in his last days, in the hundred and
² twenty-fifth year of his life. For he called together his family, and said: Harken to my words, ye
³ sons of Dan; and give heed to the words ¹of your father¹. I have proved in my heart, and in my
whole life, that truth with just dealing is good and well pleasing to God, and that lying and anger
⁴ are evil, because they teach man all wickedness. I confess, therefore, this day to you, my children,
⁵ that in my heart I resolved on the death of Joseph ¹my brother¹, the true and good man. [And
⁶ I rejoiced that he was sold, because his father loved him more than us.] For the spirit of jealousy
⁷ and vainglory said to me: Thou thyself also art his son. And one of the spirits of Beliar **stirred me**
up, saying: Take this sword, and ¹with it¹ slay Joseph: so shall thy father love thee when he is dead.
⁸ Now this is the spirit of anger that persuaded me to **crush** Joseph as a leopard **crusheth** a kid.
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>a</i></p> <p>9 But the God of my fathers did not suffer him
to fall into my hands, so that I should find him
alone and slay him, and cause a second tribe to
be destroyed in Israel.</p> <p>2 ¹ And now, my children, behold I am dying, and I tell you of a truth, that unless ye keep yourselves
from the spirit of lying and of anger, and love truth and longsuffering, ye shall perish.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>c</i></p> <p>2 For anger is blindness, and does not suffer one
to see the face of any man with truth.</p> <p>3 For though it be a father or a mother, ¹he behaveth towards them as enemies¹; though it be
a brother, he knoweth him not; though it be a prophet of the Lord, he disobeyeth him; though</p> | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>β A S¹</i></p> <p>But the God of Jacob our father did not deliver ⁹
him into my hands that I should find him alone,
nor suffer me to work this iniquity, lest two tribes
should be destroyed in Israel.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>β A S¹</i></p> <p>There is blindness in anger, my children, and ²
no angry man seeth the face with truth.</p> |
|--|---|

see Him *a*: 'see the Lord' *a e f A S¹*.
(the place) . . . its name *b*: 'whom the Lord shall choose in Jerusalem for His name's sake' *g*: 'and His name shall be called the angel of great counsel' *d*.
9. by Him *a*: > *β S¹*: 'among the Gentiles' *A*.
X. 1. be cast down, *συμπιπτετε*. Cf. T. Jos. vii. 1.
2. Cf. T. Jud. xxv. 1; T. B. x. 7.
3. Cf. Ps. xi. 6.
throughout all generations: 'from the children of Israel' *A*.
6. good old age: 'good sleep' text. שינה was misread for שיבה. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 9; T. D. vii. 1, &c.
wooden *a*: > *β A S¹*. Cf. T. S. vii. 2.
TITLE *a*: + 'concerning anger ('wrath' *d g*) and lying' *b d e f g S¹*: + 'concerning arrogancy and hatred' *A*.
1. 3. just dealing. We expect longsuffering here, as in ii. i, vi. 8.
4. resolved *a*: rejoiced *β (A) S¹*: i.e. שמחתי for שמתי. For Dan's design, see T. Z. ii. 1.
5. Bracketed, as it breaks the connexion of 4 and 6.
7. Cf. T. Z. ii. 1, iii. 2.
stirred me up = יעיר. Text = 'helped me' = עזר.
8. to crush . . . a kid *β-a d f A*: *a* has the order different.
crush = ריצץ: emended from 'suck' = מצץ.
9. Why 'a second tribe'? *β A S¹* seems to have the better reading.
II. 2. angry man: > 'angry' *a e f A S¹*.

THE TESTAMENT OF DAN 1. 1—5. 2

4 a righteous man, he regardeth him not ; 'though a friend, he doth not acknowledge him'. For the spirit of anger encompasseth him with the net of deceit, and blindeth his eyes, and through lying
5 darkeneth his mind, and giveth him its own peculiar vision. And wherewith encompasseth it his eyes? With hatred of heart, so as to be envious of his brother.

<p>3 ¹ For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it troubleth even the soul itself.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">^a β-a A S¹</p> <p>For anger is an evil thing, my children, for it becomes a soul to the soul itself.</p>
--	---

2 And the body of the angry man it maketh its own, and over his soul it getteth the mastery, and
3 it bestoweth upon the body 'power that it may work all' iniquity. And when the body does all
4 these things, the soul justifieth what is done, since it seeth not aright. Therefore he that is wrathful, if he be a mighty man, hath a threefold power in his anger: one by the help of his servants; and
5 a second by his wealth, whereby he persuadeth and overcometh wrongfully; and thirdly, having his own natural power he worketh thereby the evil. And though the wrathful man be weak, yet hath
6 he a power twofold of that which is by nature; for wrath ever aideth such in lawlessness. This spirit goeth always with lying 'at the right hand of Satan, that with cruelty and lying' his works may be wrought.

4 ^{1, 2} Understand ye, therefore, the power of wrath, that it is †vain. For it first of all giveth provocation by word; then by deeds it †strengtheneth him who is angry, and with sharp losses disturbeth his
3 mind, and so stirreth up with great wrath his soul. Therefore, when any one speaketh against you, be not ye moved to anger, [and if any man praiseth you as holy men, be not uplifted: be not moved
4 either to delight or to disgust]. For first †it pleaseth the hearing†, and so maketh the mind keen to perceive the grounds for provocation; and then being enraged, he thinketh that he is justly angry.
5 If ye fall into any loss or ruin, my children, 'be not afflicted'; for this very spirit maketh (a man) desire that which is perishable, in order that he may be enraged through the affliction. And if ye
6 suffer loss voluntarily, or involuntarily, be not vexed; for from vexation ariseth wrath 'with lying'.
7 Moreover, a twofold mischief is wrath with lying; and they assist one another in order to disturb the heart; and when the soul is continually disturbed, the Lord departeth from it, and Beliar ruleth over it.

5 ¹ Observe, therefore, my children, the commandments of the Lord,
And keep His law;
Depart from wrath,
And hate lying,
That the Lord may dwell among you,
And Beliar may flee from you.
2 Speak truth each one with his neighbour.
So shall ye not fall into wrath and confusion;
But ye shall be in peace, having the God of peace,
So shall no war prevail over you.

4. **spirit of anger . . . deceit**: 'spirit of deceit . . . nets of luxury' A.
5. **And . . . his eyes**. A reads 'And then it encompasses (him) with its own eye, and surrounds .
with hatred . . . brother' a: 'with hatred of heart and it giveth him its own heart ('a heart hostile' A: 'a heart' S¹) so as to be envious of his brother' b e A S¹. Cf. d f.

III. 1. **it troubleth even** a: 'it becometh a soul to' β -a g S¹, perhaps better.

2. **power** a g: 'its own power' β -g S¹.

3. **when the body . . . aright** a: 'when it doeth aught, the soul justifieth . . . seeth not' β A S¹.

4. **a mighty man** + 'in body' a.

having . . . evil: 'having the natural power of his body and of his own agency working' β A S¹.

5. **yet hath he . . . by nature** β A S¹: 'the passion of anger springeth up in him with twofold power' a.

6. Bracketed words > a A.

IV. 1. †vain. Read 'a destroyer'.

2. **giveth provocation**: 'is provoked' a a e f.

†strengtheneth. Read 'embittereth' or 'inciteth'.

3. The bracketed words are out of the context.

4. †it pleaseth the hearing†. Read 'the thing said giveth provocation'.

the grounds for provocation, reading τὸ ἐρεθίσαν for τὸ ἐρεθισθέν a β -d g S¹.

5. This spirit deceives in order to irritate. B¹ A reads, 'the spirit of error desired to do this thing, and to accomplish the ruin.'

affliction, πάθος, a. 'longing', πόθον, β S¹.

7. **Moreover . . . lying**: > a f g through hmt.

V. 2. **Speak truth**, &c.: from Zech. viii. 16. Cf. T. R. vi. 9; Eph. iv. 25.

God of peace. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 23; Rom. xv. 33; Phil. iv. 9.

war. Perles suggests 'enemy' πολέμιος for πόλεμος. Cf. Jer. i. 19; xv. 20.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 3 Love the Lord through all your life,
And one another with a true heart.
- 4 I know that in the last days ye shall depart from the Lord,
And ye shall provoke Levi unto anger,
And fight against Judah ;
But ye shall not prevail against them,
For an angel of the Lord shall guide them both ;
For by them shall Israel stand.
- 5 And whensoever ye depart from the Lord, ye shall walk in all evil and work the abominations of
the Gentiles, going a-whoring after women of the lawless ones, while with all wickedness the spirits
6 of wickedness work 'in you'. [For I have read in the book of Enoch, the righteous, that your prince
is Satan, and that all the spirits of wickedness and pride will **conspire** to attend constantly on the
sons of Levi, to cause them to sin before the Lord.
- 7 And my sons will draw near to Levi,
And sin with them in all things ;
And the sons of Judah will be covetous,
Plundering other men's goods like lions.]
- 8 Therefore shall ye be led away [with them] into captivity,
And there shall ye receive all the plagues of Egypt,
And all the evils of the Gentiles.
- 9 And so when ye return to the Lord ye shall obtain mercy,
And He shall bring you into His sanctuary,
And He shall give you peace.
- 10 And there shall arise unto you from the tribe of [Judah and of] Levi the salvation of the Lord ;
And he shall make war against Beliar.
And execute an **everlasting** vengeance on our **enemies** ;
- 11 And the captivity shall he take from Beliar [the souls of the saints],
And turn disobedient hearts unto the Lord,
And give to them that call upon him eternal peace.
- 12 And the saints shall rest in Eden,
And in the New Jerusalem shall the righteous rejoice,

3. Earliest literary authority for conjoining love to God and love to one's neighbour. Cf. Matt. xxii. 37, 39.
through all your life : 'with all your soul' h d. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 6 ; Sir. vii. 29, 30.

4. **Levi . . . Judah, &c.** Cf. T. R. vi. 5-12 ; T. S. v. 5.

5. **spirits of wickedness** a f : 'spirits of fornication' b e A S¹, i.e. *πορνείας* for *πνοηρίας*. Cf. *z.* 6.

6-7. Contradict *z.* 4, where Dan opposes Levi and Judah, who are led of God. These two verses refer to the demoralization under the later Maccabees, like T. L. x, xiv-xvi ; T. Jud. xxi. 6-xxxiii ; T. Z. ix.

6. The earliest authority we have for the connexion of Dan and the Antichrist. Dan in the O.T. was idolatrous, Judges xviii. 30 ; 1 Kings xii. 29 ; according to Ps.-Jon. on Deut. xxv. 18 Dan was the 'hindmost' and 'feeblest', referred to in that verse ; while Jer. viii. 16 is interpreted by Irenaeus v. 30. 2 of the Antichrist (and so Dan is omitted Rev. vii. 5-8). Cf. Ber. rab. xliii on Jer. viii. 16.

book of Enoch. See T. L. x. 5 (note).

righteous + 'and I have known' ('found' h i) c h i.

is a β : 'will be' A S¹.

all > a f.

conspire = יקשרו, emended from יקשיבו = 'obey' in the text.

7. **sin with them.** Levi was to lead Israel astray, T. L. x. 2.

sons of Judah, &c. Cf. T. Jud. xxi. 6, 7.

8. **led away.** Cf. T. L. x. 4 ; T. Z. ix. 6.

[**with them**], added by interpolator of 6-7.

evils of the Gentiles. Cf. T. Z. ix. 6 ; T. N. iv. 2.

9. **when ye return . . . mercy.** Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.

He shall bring you, &c. Cf. T. Jud. xxiii. 5 ; T. Iss. vi. 3 ; T. A. vii. 7.

give you peace. Cf. Haggai ii. 9 ; 1 En. lxxi. 17.

10. **arise . . . salvation of the Lord.** Cf. T. L. xviii. 3 ; T. Jud. xxiv. 1 ; T. Z. ix. 8, &c.

the tribe of [Judah and of] Levi : The singular, 'tribe,' necessitates one name only. Only T. G. viii. 1 (corrupt) puts Judah before Levi, and only T. Jud. xxiv. 5-6 (first century B. C.) and T. N. viii. 2 (corrupt) derive the Messiah from Judah.

war against Beliar. Cf. T. L. xviii. 12.

everlasting. So I emend text = 'of victory', which is due to a wrong rendering of נצח in Hebrew.

our enemies = אֹיְבֵינוּ. So I emend from text = 'our fathers' = אֲבוֹתֵינוּ.

11. **the captivity** = 'disobedient hearts' enslaved through sin. Brackets show a Christian addition.

turn disobedient, &c. Cf. Luke i. 17 ; and T. Z. ix. 8 (b d g).

12. **Eden.** Cf. T. L. xviii. 10.

the New Jerusalem b g A S¹ : 'the kingdom of J.', c ; 'the new Holy J.', h i. This is the earliest occurrence of

THE TESTAMENT OF DAN 5. 3—7. 3

- And it shall be unto the glory of God for ever.
- 13 And no longer shall Jerusalem endure desolation,
Nor Israel be led captive;
For the Lord shall be in the midst of it [living amongst men],
And the Holy One of Israel shall reign over it [in humility and in poverty; and he who believeth
on Him shall reign amongst men in truth].
- 6 1, 2 And now, fear the Lord, my children, and beware of Satan and his spirits. Draw near unto God
and unto the angel that intercedeth for you, for he is a mediator between God and man, and for the
3 peace of Israel he shall stand up against the kingdom of the enemy. Therefore is the enemy eager
4 to destroy all that call upon the Lord. For he knoweth that upon the day on which Israel shall
5 repent, the kingdom of the enemy shall be brought to an end. For the very angel of peace shall
6 strengthen Israel, that it fall not into the extremity of evil. And it shall be in the time of the law-
lessness of Israel, that the Lord will **not** depart from them, but **will transform them into** a nation
7 that doeth His will, for none of the angels will be equal unto him. And His name shall be in every
place in Israel, and among the Gentiles¹.
- 8 Keep, therefore, yourselves, my children, from every evil work,
And cast away wrath and all lying,
And love truth and long-suffering.
- 9 And the things which ye have heard from your father, do ye ^{also} impart to your children [that
the Saviour of the Gentiles may receive you; for he is true and long-suffering, meek and lowly, and
10 teacheth by his works the law of God]. Depart, therefore, from all unrighteousness, and cleave unto
the righteousness of God, and your race will be saved for ever. And bury me near my fathers.
- 7 1, 2 And when he had said these things he kissed them, and fell asleep at a good old age. And his
sons buried him, And after that they carried up ^{his bones}, and placed them near Abraham, and
3 Isaac, and Jacob. [Nevertheless, ^{Dan} prophesied unto them that they should forget their God,
and should be alienated from the land of their inheritance ^{and from the race of Israel}, and from the
family of ^{their seed}.[†]]

THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, THE EIGHTH SON OF JACOB AND BILHAH.

- 1 1 The copy of the testament of Naphtali, which he ordained at the time of his death in the hundred
2 and thirtieth year of his life. When his sons were gathered together in the seventh month, on the
3 first day of the month, while still in good health, he made them a feast of food and wine. And after
the expression in Jewish literature. Cf. 1 En. xc. 29; also Ezek. xl, xlviii; Isa. liv. 11, 12, lx. 1; Rev. iii. 12, xxi. 2.
Here it is Jerusalem rebuilt, v. 13.
and it shall be unto: 'which is' a.
13. Brackets indicate Christian additions, though for the Messiah's humility cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1 (note).
VI. 1-7. A section complete in itself. Israel is between the opposing spiritual forces of God and of Satan. The
reign of evil will end when Israel repents, therefore Satan seeks to destroy those who call upon God. Even in Israel's
lawlessness, the angel of peace is with them, to transform them into a nation doing the will of God.
2. **intercedeth for you**: 'followeth with you' c: 'followeth us' h i. Cf. T. L. v. 6 (note).
mediator between God and man. Cf. 1 Tim. ii. 5. Here of Michael cf. Jub. i. 29; Apoc. Mos. (ed.
Tischendorf, p. 1); Jellinek, *Beṭ ha-Midrash*, vi. 75; Jalk. Chad., f. 120. Later, about the time of Christ, Moses
was regarded as mediator, Ass. Mos. i. 14, iii. 12.
stand up. Cf. Dan. xii. 1.
against the kingdom of the enemy b g (A) S¹: 'before the kingdom of God' a d e f.
4. **repent** a: 'believe' β (A) S¹. If all Israel repent, redemption will come, Pesikt. 163^b, &c. See my Comm., p. 132.
5. **angel of peace**. Cf. T. A. vi. 6; T. B. vi. 1; 1 En. xl. 8, lii. 5. See T. L. v. 6 (note).
strengthen: 'convert and strengthen' c.
that it fall not, &c. Cf. T. L. v. 6.
6. Two corrections have been made: i. 'not' restored before 'depart'; ii. 'will go over to' (= יהפך intransitive)
emended to 'will transform them into' = יהפך (transitive).
doeth: 'seeketh' c.
7. **Gentiles** + 'Saviour' β S¹.
8. **all**: > a.
9. **that the Saviour . . . receive you**. A Christian addition. The rest may be Jewish. Cf. T. Jud. xxiv. 1.
10. **the righteousness of** + 'the law of' β S¹.
and your race > b.
VII. 1. **old age**: 'sleep' c. See T. Z. x. 6. For 'eternal sleep' β A S¹, cf. T. Iss. vii. 9.
3. A later addition.
their God a S¹: 'the law of their God' b d A.
†their seed† a: 'and so it came to pass' β.
TITLE a: + 'concerning natural goodness' b d e f A^a f.
I. 1. **hundred and thirtieth** h a e f A S¹: 'hundredth' c g; 'hundred and thirty-second' b d. Cf. T. R. i. 1
Jub. xxviii. 11-24 (note in large edition).
2. **while . . . health** > a.
and wine > a.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

4 he was awake in the morning, he said to them, I am dying ; and they believed him not. And as he
5 glorified the Lord, he grew strong and said that after yesterday's feast he should die. And he began
6 then to say : Hear, my children, ye sons of Naphtali, hear the words of your father. I was born from
Bilhah, 'and' because Rachel dealt craftily, and gave Bilhah in place of herself to Jacob, and she
7 conceived and bare me upon Rachel's knees, 'therefore she called my name Naphtali. For Rachel
loved me very much because I was born upon her lap' ; and when I was still young she was wont
8 to kiss me, and say : May I have a brother of thine from mine own womb, like unto thee. Whence
9 also Joseph was like unto me 'in all things', according to the prayers of Rachel. Now my mother
was Bilhah, daughter of Rotheus the brother of Deborah, Rebecca's nurse, who was born on one and
10 the self-same day with Rachel. And Rotheus was of the family of Abraham, a Chaldean, God-
11 fearing, free-born, and noble. And he was taken captive and was bought by Laban ; and he gave
him Euna his handmaid to wife, and she bore a daughter, and called her name Zilpah, after the name
12 of the village in which he had been taken captive. And next she bore Bilhah, saying : My daughter
hastens after what is new, for immediately that she was born she seized the breast and hastened to
suck it.
2 1 And I was swift 'on my feet' like the deer, and my father Jacob appointed me for all messages,
2 and as a deer did he give me his blessing. For as the potter knoweth the vessel, how much it is to
contain, and bringeth clay accordingly, so also doth the Lord make the body after the likeness of
3 the spirit, and according to the capacity of the body doth He implant the spirit. And the one does
not fall short of the other by a third part of a hair ; for by weight, and measure, and rule was all the
4 creation made. And as the potter knoweth the use of each vessel, what it is meet for, so also doth
the Lord know the body, how far it will persist in goodness, and when it beginneth in evil. For
5 there is no inclination or thought which the Lord knoweth not, for He created every man after His
own image.

α	β -a g A
6 For as a man's strength, so also is his work ; as his \dagger eye, so also is his sleep ; as his soul, so also is his word either in the law of the Lord or in the law of Beliar.	As a man's strength, so also is his work ; and 6 as his mind, so also is his skill ; 'and as his purpose, so also is his achievement ; and as his heart, so also is his mouth ;' as his \dagger eye, so also is his sleep ; as his soul, so also is his word, either in the law of the Lord or in the works of Beliar.

7 And as there is a division between light and darkness, between seeing and hearing, so also is there
a division between man and man, and between woman and woman ; and it is not to be said that the
8 one is like the other either in face or in mind. 'For' God made all things good in their order, the
five senses in the head, and He joined on the neck to the head, adding to it the hair also for
comeliness and glory, then the heart for understanding, the belly for excrement, and the stomach for

4. grew strong α : 'affirmed' β S¹.
that . . . he should die β S¹ : 'after . . . my body died' α .
5. > S¹.
6. For the play on the words cf. Gen. xxx. 8.
conceived and > β S¹.
7. May I have A : 'may I see' β -g S¹ : α is corrupt.
prayers b d A : 'blessings' α a e f S¹.
9-11. The aim is to show that Bilhah was of Semitic descent. Cf. e.g. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxix. 24, 29.
11. Zilpah, here a sister of Bilhah, as in Jub. xxviii. 9, and Ps.-Jon., &c.
12. Bilhah . . . hastens, i.e. בלהה נבהלה.
for . . . to suck it > α a d g.
II. 1. as a deer . . . blessing. See Gen. xlix. 21.
2. accordingly h a e f : 'unto it' c d.
3. was all the creation made α : 'was every creature of the Most High' b A : 'was every creature exalted' d e f.
For the weighing and measuring of all, cf. Job xxviii. 25 ; Isa. xl. 12 ; 1 En. xliii. 2 ; 4 Ezra iv. 36 ; also Wisd. xi. 20 ;
Pss. Sol. v. 6.
4. beginneth b d A : 'cometh' α e f.
5. inclination, πλάσμα = נִצָּר. See T. A. i. 3 (note).
created . . . after His own image. Cf. Sir. xvii. 3. Earliest quotation (with Sirach) of Gen. i. 26, 27.
6. as his \dagger eye, so also is his sleep. Something is wrong. Perhaps for 'eye' read 'maw', as in Berach. 61^b.
8. the five senses. See T. R. ii. 3-iii. 1 (note).
and He joined . . . head > α S¹. Compare the lists of man's powers and faculties in (1) Berach. 61^{ab}, (2) and
(3) Othioth of 'R. Akiba' (ed. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash*, iii. 42, 43), (4) Hebrew T. Naph. x. 6, least akin to our text.
heart for understanding, in (1) (2) (3) and practically (4).
belly for excrement, in (2). I read διαχώρησιν for διάκρισιν. Perles neatly suggests that the Heb. was לִפְרֹשׁ =
'for excrement', which the translator took for = לִפְרֹשׁ = εἰς διάκρισιν.

THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI 1. 4—5. 1

⟨grinding⟩, the windpipe for taking in (the breath), the liver for wrath, the gall for bitterness, the spleen for laughter, the reins for prudence, the muscles of the loins for power, the lungs for drawing in, the loins for strength, and so forth. So 'then', my children, let all your works be done in order with good intent in the fear of God, and do nothing disorderly in scorn or out of its due season. For if thou bid the eye to hear, it cannot; so neither while ye are in darkness can ye do the works of light.

- 3 1 Be ye, therefore, not eager to corrupt your doings through covetousness or with vain words to beguile your souls; because if ye keep silence in purity of heart, ye shall understand how to hold fast the will of God, and to cast away the will of Beliar. Sun and moon and stars change not their order; so do ye also change not the law of God in the disorderliness of your doings. The Gentiles went astray, and forsook the Lord, and changed their order, and obeyed stocks and stones, spirits of deceit. But ye shall not be so, my children, recognizing in the firmament, in the earth, and in the sea, and in all created things, the Lord who made all things, that ye become not as Sodom, which changed the order of nature. In like manner the Watchers also changed the order of their nature, whom the Lord cursed at the flood, on whose account He made the earth without inhabitants and fruitless.
- 4 1 These things I say unto you, my children, for I have read in the writing of Enoch that ye yourselves also shall depart from the Lord, walking according to all the lawlessness of the Gentiles, and ye shall do according to all the wickedness of Sodom. And the Lord shall bring captivity upon you, and 'there' shall ye serve your enemies, and ye shall be bowed down with every affliction and tribulation, until the Lord have consumed you all. And after ye have become minished and made few, ye shall return and acknowledge the Lord your God; and He shall bring you back into your land, according to His abundant mercy. And it shall be, that after that they come into the land of their fathers, they shall again forget the Lord and become ungodly. And the Lord shall scatter them upon the face of all the earth, until the compassion of the Lord shall come, a man working righteousness and working mercy unto all them that are afar off, and to them that are near.
- 5 1 For in the fortieth year of my life, I saw a vision on the Mount of Olives, on the east of Jerusalem,

stomach for ⟨grinding⟩ ('grinding' supplied from (2)) = (1) (2) (3).
windpipe for taking in (text, = 'reed for health', corrupt) = (2) (3). Cf. (1) (4), 'sending out.'
liver for wrath (1) (2) (3) (4). Cf. T. R. iii. 4.
gall for bitterness > (2) (4): (1) (3) 'the gall sprinkles on it a drop and quiets it.'
spleen for laughter (1) (2) (3) (4).
reins for prudence (πανουργία, as Prov. i. 4, viii. 5, LXX): 'reins for counsel' (2). Cf. (1) (3) (4). (1) and (2) tell us that the reins give both good and bad counsel. Cf. Eccles. x. 2.
muscles of the loins for power. No parallel; a dittography.
lungs for drawing in (2). Cf. (1) (3) (4). But our text is corrupt. πλευράν εἰς τὸ καθεύδειν α: πλευράν εἰς θήκην β-g S¹. Read πλευρύμωα, רִיאוֹה לְשִׁאוֹב.
loins for strength. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 11.
9. while in darkness . . . light. Cf. John iii. 9.
works of light. Cf. Eph. v. 9, 'fruits of light.'

- III. 1. with vain words to beguile. Cf. Eph. v. 6.
Beliar α d: 'the devil' β-d A^{a b}.
2. Cf. Sir. xvi. 26-8, xliii. 6 ff.; 1 En. ii. 1; Pss. Sol. xviii. 11-14.
change β S¹: 'hide' α: 'hinder' A.
3. stones α + 'having followed after' β A S¹. α regards the stocks and stones as spirits of deceit.
4. as Sodom. Cf. iv. 1; T. B. ix. 1; Jude 7; 2 Pet. ii. 6. Jude 6 speaks of the angels who kept not τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀρχήν.
5. the Watchers. Cf. 1 En. vi ff.
without inhabitants. 1 En. ix. 2 (not Gk.), lxvii. 2, lxxxiv. 5.

- IV. A first-century B.C. passage like Zeb. ix. The reference to Enoch and v. 4 support this view.
1. I have read b d g A S¹: 'I have known' α a e f. So α did not at first mention Enoch. See T. L. x. 5 (note).
2. there. Cf. T. Dan. v. 8: > d A S¹.
be bowed down A: 'be covered' b g S: 'dwell' α a d e f.
affliction and tribulation. Cf. T. Z. ix. 6; T. D. v. 8; Ps. cvii. 39.
3. become minished and > α.
bring you back. Cf. 2 Chron. vi. 25; T. Z. ix. 7.
4. again forget. Cf. T. Z. ix. 9. Renewed apostasy under Seleucids or later Maccabees.
5. the compassion of the Lord: 'the Lord' A^{a b} (+ 'with compassion' A^{b* c d}). Cf. T. Z. ix. 7.
a man working righteousness, the Messiah, not a Maccabee.
afar off. Isa. lvii. 19.

V-VII. The hatred of Joseph here reflects Jewish hatred of Samaria.
V. 1-5. This vision is hardly intelligible. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. ii.
1. a vision > β A S¹.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- ² that the sun and the moon were standing still. And behold Isaac, the father of my father, said to us; Run and lay hold of them, each one according to his strength; and to him that seizeth them will the sun and moon belong.¹ And we all of us ran together, and Levi laid hold of the sun, and Judah outstripped the others and seized the moon, and they were both of them lifted up with them.
- ⁴ And when Levi became as a sun, [lo], a certain young man gave to him twelve branches of palm; and Judah was bright as the moon, and under their feet were twelve rays. [And the two, Levi and Judah, ran, and laid hold of them.] And lo, a bull upon the earth, with two great horns, and an eagle's wings upon its back; and we wished to seize him, but could not. But Joseph came, and seized him, and ascended up with him on high. And I saw, for I was there, and behold a holy writing appeared to us, saying: Assyrians, Medes, Persians, [Chaldeans,] Syrians, shall possess in captivity the twelve tribes of Israel.
- 6** ¹ And again, after seven days, I saw our father Jacob standing by the sea of Jamnia, and we were with him. And behold, there came a ship sailing by, without sailors or pilot; and there was written upon the ship, The Ship of Jacob. And our father said to us: Come, let us embark on our ship. And when he had gone on board, there arose a vehement storm, and a mighty tempest of wind; and our father, who was holding the helm, departed from us. And we, being tost with the tempest, were borne along over the sea; and the ship was filled with water, (and was) pounded by mighty waves, until it was broken up. And Joseph fled away upon a little boat, and we were all divided upon nine planks, and Levi and Judah were together. And we were all scattered unto the ends of the earth.
- ^{8, 9} Then Levi, girt about with sackcloth, prayed for us all unto the Lord. And when the storm ceased, the ship reached the land as it were in peace. And, lo, our father came, and we all rejoiced with one accord.
- 7** ¹ These two dreams I told to my father; and he said to me: These things must be fulfilled in their season, after that Israel hath endured many things.
- ² Then my father saith unto me: I believe God that Joseph liveth, for I see [always] that the Lord numbereth him with you.
- ³ And he said, weeping: Ah me, my son Joseph, thou livest, though I behold thee not, and thou seest not Jacob that begat thee.
- ⁴ He caused me also, therefore, to weep by these words, and I burned in my heart to declare that [Joseph] had been sold, but I feared my brethren.
- 8** ¹ And lo! my children, I have shown unto you the last times, how everything shall come to pass in Israel. Do ye also, [therefore], charge your children that they be united to Levi and to Judah; For through **them** shall salvation arise unto Israel, And in **them** shall Jacob be blessed.

- ²⁻³. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. ii. 2-4, which adds 'nine stars'. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 9.
- ⁴. This obscure verse is given differently in Heb. T. Naph. ii. 4-6.
- ⁵. Dittography of ^{3a b c}. $\beta A S^1$ read 'ran to each other and laid hold of each other'.
- ⁶⁻⁸. In the Heb. T. Naph. Joseph holds aloof (ii), but finally (iii) mounts a great bull and rides for four hours (the 400 years until the division of the kingdoms). In the end a storm disperses the tribes (the captivity). Our text in ⁷. 8 goes on to the Syrian (Seleucid) rule.
- ⁶. **a bull**, &c. Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 17.
- eagle's wings**: like a stork's, according to Heb. T. Naph. iii. 1.
- ⁷. **came and seized a**: 'got ahead and took' β .
- ⁸. **for I was there** $a\beta-d S^1$: 'for we were ('that he was' A) in paradise' d A.
- Persians** + 'Elamites, Gelachians' ('Chelkaeans' a e f) β .
- [Chaldeans]. In the wrong order. It should be before 'Medes'.
- VI. 1. **days a**: 'months' $\beta A^a b S^1$.
- ². **sailing by** + 'full of salt fish' βA = מלא מלוחים, a corrupt dittography in Heb. of בלא מלחים = 'without sailors'.
- ⁴. **departed** $a\beta-b g S^1$: 'flew away' b g A: 'was hidden' Heb. T. Naph. vi. 1.
- ⁵. **pounded . . . waves** $\beta-d f A S^1$: 'borne along' a: 'and the waves of the sea smote it to the rock' Heb. T. Naph. v. 5.
- until**: text has 'so that'.
- ⁶. **Joseph** = Samaria.
- nine a**: 'ten' βS^1 .
- ⁷. **of the earth** $> \beta-d S^1$.
- ⁸. **for us all** $> a$: 'for us' A.
- VII. 1. The repeated dream showed the matter was established, Gen. xli. 32; Heb. T. Naph. vii. 1-5.
- ³. **Ah me** $> \beta A S^1$.
- ⁴. **me**: 'us' $\beta A S^1$.
- Joseph** $> \beta A S^1$.
- VIII. 2. **united to Levi and to Judah**. Cf. Heb. T. Naph. i. 8. Cf. T. D. v. 10 (note).
- through them . . . in them**: text = 'through Judah . . . in him'. But salvation comes through Levi and Judah jointly. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note).

THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI 5. 2—9. 3

- 3 For through their tribes shall God appear [dwelling among men] on earth,
To save the race of Israel,
And to gather together the righteous from amongst the Gentiles.
- 4 If ye work that which is good, my children,
[Both¹ men and angels shall bless you;
And God shall be glorified among the Gentiles through you,
And the devil shall flee from you,
[And the wild beasts shall fear you],
And the Lord shall love you,
[And the angels shall cleave to you].
- 5 As a man who has trained a child well is kept in kindly remembrance;
So also for a good work there is a good remembrance before God.
- 6 But him that doeth not that which is good,
[Both¹ angels and men shall curse,
And God shall be dishonoured among the Gentiles through him,
And the devil shall make him as his own peculiar instrument,
And every wild beast shall master him,
And the Lord shall hate him.
- 7 For the commandments of the law are twofold,
[And¹ through prudence must they be fulfilled.
- 8 For there is a season for a man to embrace his wife,
And a season to abstain therefrom for his prayer.
- 9 So, then, there are two commandments; and, unless they be done in due order, they bring [very
10 great¹ sin [upon men]. So also is it with the other commandments. Be ye therefore wise in God,
[my children], and prudent, understanding the order of His commandments, and the laws of every
word, that the Lord may love you.
- 9¹ And when he had charged them with many such words, he exhorted them that they should
2 remove his bones to Hebron, and that they should bury him with his fathers. And when he had
3 eaten and drunken with a merry heart, he covered his face and died. And his sons did according to
all that Naphtali their father had commanded them.

THE TESTAMENT OF GAD, THE NINTH SON OF JACOB AND ZILPAH.

- 1¹ The copy of the testament of Gad, what things he spake unto his sons, in the hundred and twenty-
2 fifth year of his life, saying unto them: [Hearken, my children], I was the ninth son born to Jacob,
3 and I was valiant in keeping the flocks. Accordingly I guarded [at night] the flock; and whenever
the lion came, [or the wolf], or any wild beast against the fold, I pursued it, and [overtaking (it)]
4 I seized its foot with my hand and hurled it about a stone's throw, and so killed it. Now Joseph
[my brother] was feeding the flock with us for upwards of thirty days, and being young, he fell sick

3. **their tribes**: text = 'his tribe', a Christian alteration.
God appear. Cf. T. S. vi. 4; T. Z. ix. 8.
[dwelling among men]: a Christian interpolation?
the righteous from amongst the Gentiles, or 'the righteous of the Gentiles', i.e. conversion of the Gentiles.
Cf. I En. x. 21, xc. 9-16, 18, 30. See T. B. ix. 2 (note).
4-6. Verses 4 and 6 are antithetic, so bracket 4^g.
4. **Both** > a A.
devil . . . flee: James iv. 7.
And the Lord shall love you: eg A^{b*} c d e f S: > a a b d f. But cf. 6^f, while 4^g looks like a dittography in the Hebrew.
6. **And God . . . through him** > a.
8. Cf. Eccles. iii. 5 and I Cor. vii. 5—'a season . . . unto prayer'.
9. **there are two commandments**: 'the two (commandments) of God are' a e f.
very . . . men a: 'sin' β A S¹.

- TITLE a: + 'concerning hatred' β-a d (A) S.
1. **1. hundred and twenty-fifth**. So Midrash Tadshe; Shemoth rab. i. 5; Jashar (ii. 1246).
3. Cf. Judah's feats, T. Jud. ii.
Accordingly a: > β S.
came + 'or leopard or bear' b e g A S¹.
or any wild beast > a.
overtaking . . . seized a: 'seizing' β A S¹.
hurled . . . throw a: 'whirling it round I stunned it, and having hurled it over two furlongs' β-d S¹. For Gad's strength cf. Ber. rabba xcv. 4.
4. **young** a S¹: 'delicate' β A.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 5 by reason of the heat. And he returned to Hebron to our father, who made him lie down near him,
6 because he loved him greatly. And Joseph told our father that the sons of 'Zilpah and' Bilhah
were slaying the best 'of the flock' and eating them against the judgement of Reuben and Judah.
7 For he saw that I had delivered a lamb out of the mouth of a bear, and put the bear to death; but
8 had slain the lamb, being grieved concerning it that it could not live, and that we had eaten it. And
9 regarding this matter I was wroth with Joseph 'until the day that he was sold. And the spirit of hatred
was in me', and I wished not either to hear of Joseph with the ears, or see him with the eyes,
because he rebuked us to our faces 'saying' that we were eating of the flock without Judah. For
whatsoever things he told our father, he believed him.
- 2** ¹ I confess now my sin, my children, that oftentimes I wished to kill him, because I hated him from
² my heart. Moreover, I hated him yet more for his dreams; and I wished to lick him out of the land
of the living, even as an ox licketh up the grass of the field.
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>a</i></p> <p>3 And Judah sold him secretly to the Ishmael-
ites.</p> <p>5 Thus the God of our fathers delivered him
from our hands, that we should not work great
lawlessness in Israel.</p> <p>3 ¹ And now, my children, hearken to the words of truth to work righteousness, and all the law of the
Most High, and go not astray through the spirit of hatred, for it is evil in all the doings of
² men. Whatsoever a man doeth the hater abominateth him: and though a man worketh the law of
the Lord, he praiseth him not; though a man feareth the Lord, and taketh pleasure in that which is
³ righteous, he loveth him not. He dispraiseth the truth, he envieth him that prospereth, he welcometh
evil-speaking, he loveth arrogance, for hatred blindeth his soul; as I 'also 'then' looked† on Joseph.</p> <p>4 ¹ Beware, therefore, my children of hatred; for it worketh lawlessness 'even' against the Lord Him-
² self. For it will not hear 'the words of' His commandments concerning the loving of one's neigh-
³ bour, 'and' it sinneth against God. 'For if a brother stumble', it delighteth immediately to proclaim
it to all men, and is urgent that he should be judged for it, and be punished and be put to death.
⁴ And if it be a servant it stirreth him up against his master, and with every affliction it deviseth against
⁵ him, if possibly he can be put to death. For hatred worketh with envy also against them that
prosper: so long as it heareth of or seeth their success, it always languisheth.</p> <p>⁶ For as love would quicken 'even' the dead, and would call back them that are condemned to
die, so hatred would slay the living, and those that had sinned venially it would not suffer to live.
⁷ For the spirit of hatred worketh together with Satan, through hastiness of spirit, in all things to
men's death; but the spirit of love worketh together with the law of God in long-suffering unto the
salvation of men.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>β A S¹</i></p> <p>Therefore I and Simeon sold him to the Ish-
maelites [for thirty pieces of gold, and ten of them
we hid, and showed the twenty to our brethren].
And thus through covetousness we were bent
on slaying him.
And the God of my fathers delivered him from
my hands, that I should not work lawlessness in
Israel.</p> |
|--|---|

6. Ps.-Jon. on Gen. xxxvii. 2 says Joseph reported that Zilpah and Bilhah's sons were eating flesh cut from the living animal.

7. **eaten it** + 'and he told our ('his' A^b) father' b A^b.

9. **to hear.** A only.

II. 1. **from my heart** a A: *εως ψυχης* β-g S¹.

2. Cf. T. D. i. 7.

to lick. Cf. Num. xxii. 4 and T. D. i. 8: 'to blot out' d A (? a g).

3-5. β A S¹ show Christian influence, e. g. the thirty pieces. Gen. xxxvii. 28 gives 'twenty pieces of silver'.

3. **Simeon** β-b A S². Cf. T. Z. iii. 2 and T. S. iv. 2. 'Judah' a b S¹. Cf. T. S. ii. 9; Gen. xxxvii. 26.

of gold: LXX of Gen. alone.

4. **we were** β-b g S¹: 'I was' b g A.

5. **delivered.** Cf. T. S. ii. 8.

III. 2. **Whatsoever a man doeth . . . him** β-f g S: 'Whatsoever the hater doeth is abominable' a A.

3. **envieth.** Contrast 1 Cor. xiii. 4.

prospereth, or 'doeth right'.

I 'also looked on†. Read perhaps 'it blinded me also in regard to'.

IV. 3. **For . . . stumble** β S. Cf. Gal. vi. 1. > a A.

delighteth β A S¹: 'hasteneth' a.

4. **stirreth . . . up against** a β S¹: 'slandereth' A.

it deviseth against b S¹: 'it rejoiceth over' a β-b. Perhaps omit 'with' before 'every affliction'.

5. **also against**, or 'and with regard to'; connecting with following words.

7. **hastiness of spirit.** Cf. LXX on Exod. vi. 9; Pss. Sol. xvi. 11.

THE TESTAMENT OF GAD 1. 5—6. 4

- 5¹ 'Hatred, therefore, is evil¹, for it constantly mateth with lying, speaking against the truth; and it maketh small things to be great, and causeth the light to be darkness, and calleth the sweet bitter, and teacheth slander, and 'kindleth¹ wrath, and 'stirreth¹ up war, and violence and all covetousness; it filleth the heart with evils and devilish poison. These things, 'therefore¹, I say to you from experience, my children, that ye may drive forth hatred, which is of the devil, and cleave to the love of God. Righteousness casteth out hatred, humility destroyeth envy. For he that is just and humble is ashamed to do what is unjust, 'being reproveth not of another¹, but of his own heart, because the Lord looketh on his inclination. He speaketh not against a holy man, because the fear of God overcometh hatred. For fearing lest he should offend the Lord, he will not do wrong to any man, even in thought. These things I learnt at last, after I had repented concerning Joseph. For true repentance after a godly sort [destroyeth ignorance, and] driveth away the darkness, and enlighteneth the eyes, and giveth knowledge to the soul, and leadeth the mind to salvation. And those things which it hath not learnt from man, it knoweth through repentance. For God brought upon me a disease of the liver; and had not the prayers of Jacob my father succoured me, it had hardly failed but my spirit had departed. For by what things a man transgresseth, by the same also is he punished. Since, 'therefore¹, my liver was set mercilessly against Joseph, in my liver too I suffered mercilessly, and was judged for eleven months, for so long a time as I had been angry against Joseph.
- 6¹ And now, my children, 'I exhort you¹, love ye each one his brother, and put away hatred from your hearts, love one another in deed, and in word, and in the inclination of the soul. For in the presence of my father I spake peaceably to Joseph; and when I had gone out, the spirit of hatred darkened my mind, and stirred up my soul to slay him.

α

- 3 Love ye one another from the heart; and if a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him.

β A S¹

- Love ye, therefore, one another from the heart; 3 and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he confess and repent, forgive him.

- 4 But if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take

- V. 1. **mateth with lying.** Cf. Sir. xx. 25.
causeth . . . darkness. Cf. Isa. v. 20.
kindleth: 'disturbeth' α: > β A S¹.
stirreth up > β A S¹.
 2. **God** c i d A: 'the Lord' h β-d S.
 3. **envy** a g A b*: 'hatred' a b e A^{a b c d e f} S.
the Lord looketh on. Cf. 1 Sam. xvi. 7.
his inclination β-d A S¹: 'his soul' α.
 4. **God** c β-e: 'Most High' b A S¹.
overcometh hatred β A S¹: 'dwelleth in him' α, by corruption in the Hebrew original.
 5. **wrong . . . even in thought.** Cf. T. Jos. ix. 2; Matt. v. 21, 27.
 7. **repentance after a godly sort . . . salvation.** Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 10; Sir. iv. 22. Bracketed words are a gloss: > A.
 8. So β-a f S¹. 'and it hath not learnt this from man, but it knoweth how to receive those who return through repentance' α. For 'it . . . repentance' A reads 'repentance knoweth'.
 9. Cf. T. R. i. 7, iv. 4; T. Jud. xix. 2.
of Jacob > α.
succoured me, ἐβοήθησάν μοι, α A: > β-a S: ἔφθασαν α. Cf. T. Jud. xix. 2 (note).
 10. Cf. Jub. iv. 31, 32. For the popularity of the doctrine of retaliation in the second century B. C. cf. 2 Macc. v. 10, xv. 32, 33. Cf. Col. iii. 25.
also > α.
 11. **eleven months** β A S: 'ten periods' α.
Joseph + 'until he was sold' β A S.

- VI. 1. **in the inclination of the soul.** Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 18.
 3-7. A unique passage in ancient literature on the subject of forgiveness. It shows remarkable insight, and the diction and thought are closely parallel to Luke xvii. 3; Matt. xviii. 15. Forgiveness is perfect when we gain our offending brother, and restore him to communion with ourselves. But we can at least cast out our own anger, even if he is not reconciled.
 3. **if a man sin.** Cf. Matt. xviii. 15; Luke xvii. 3. On the duty of rebuke, cf. Lev. xix. 17.
the poison β A S¹. Cf. v. 4.
peaceably . . . not guile. Contrast Jer. ix. 7.
if he . . . repent, forgive. Cf. Luke xvii. 3.
 4. **catching the poison from thee,** in text follows 'intent' in v. 5, i. e. was separated from its context by the interpolation, v. 5.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 5 to swearing and so thou sin doubly. [Let not another man hear thy secrets when engaged in legal strife, lest he come to hate thee and become thy enemy, and commit a great sin against thee; for 6 oftentimes he addresseth thee guilefully or busieth himself about thee with wicked intent.] And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame when reproved, give over reproving him. For he who denieth may repent so as not again to wrong thee; yea, he may also honour thee, and [fear 7 and] be at peace with thee. And if he be shameless and persist in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave to God the avenging.
- 7¹ If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray also for him, that he may have perfect prosperity. For so it is expedient for you. And if he be further exalted, be not envious of him, remembering that all flesh shall die; and offer praise to God, who giveth things good and profitable to all men. Seek out the judgements of the Lord, and thy mind will **rest** and be at peace. And though a man become rich by evil means, even as Esau, the brother of my father, be not jealous; but wait for the end of the Lord. For if he taketh away (from a man) wealth gotten by evil means He forgiveth him if he repent, but the unrepentant is reserved for eternal punishment. For the poor man, if free from envy he pleaseth the Lord in all things, is blessed beyond all men, because he hath not the travail of vain men. Put away, therefore, jealousy from your souls, and love one another with uprightness of heart.
- 8¹ Do ye also therefore tell these things to your children, that they honour †Judah and Levi†, for from them shall the Lord raise up salvation to Israel. [For I know that at the last your children shall depart from Him, and shall walk in all wickedness, and affliction and corruption before the Lord.] And when he had rested for a little while, he said again; My children, obey your father, and bury me near to my fathers. And he drew up his feet, and fell asleep in peace. And after five years they carried him up to Hebron, and laid him with his fathers.

THE TESTAMENT OF ASHER, THE TENTH SON OF JACOB AND ZILPAH.

- 1¹ The copy of the Testament of Asher, what things he spake to his sons in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life. For while he was still in health, he said to them: Harken, ye children of Asher, to your father, and I will declare to you all that is upright in the sight of the Lord.

5. Cf. Prov. xxv. 8-10; Sir. xix. 8-9.
addresseth a b f g: 'slayeth' d e A S.
6. reproving a: 'bringing forth' β (S¹).
repent. Cf. T. B. v. 4.
so as not . . . wrong: 'of having wronged' a.
yea . . . at peace: 'and he may [fear and] be at peace' a.
[fear and]. 'fear' = יהרר a corrupt dittograph of יהרר = 'honour'.
7. leave to God the avenging. Cf. Rom. xii. 19. A is here defective.
leave, lit. 'give'.
- VII. 1-7. High ethical teaching like vi. 3-7. We must banish envy, when a rival prospers.
1. have perfect prosperity: 'be perfected' a f.
2. rest, emended: 'shine' a: 'not (> b f) leave' β-a.
3. wealth A: 'them' other texts, corruptly.
wealth gotten by evil means. Cf. Prov. xiii. 11 (Peshitto, Targum, and LXX).
is reserved a (A): 'he reserveth' b d e f g S¹.
for eternal punishment d A: 'for ever the punishment' a b e f g, which requires 'for the unrepentant as in b d e f g S¹.
6. the poor man if free a: 'the man who is poor and free' β-a A S¹.
pleaseth a: 'giveth thanks to' β-a A S¹.
blessed = אשׁר: texts have 'rich' = עשׁר. Cf. Pirke Aboth iv. 3.
travail of vain men, a: 'evil travail of men' β A S¹. Cf. Eccles. i. 13, iv. 8, v. 13.
7. jealousy: 'hatred' text.
uprightness. See T. Iss. iii. 1 (note).
- VIII. 1. †Judah and Levi†. Read 'Levi and Judah'. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note); T. D. v. 10; T. B. xi. 2.
Lord raise up salvation (+ 'unto you' h i) h i g A: 'Lord the Saviour arise unto you' a d e f: 'Lord raise up a Saviour' b S: 'Lord, salvation, arise unto us' c.
2. First century B. C. addition.
I know. Cf. T. Iss. vi. 1; T. A. vii. 2.
at the last > a.
before: 'from' a.
4. drew up his feet a β: 'kissed his sons' A.
5. five years. If Gad lived 125 years (i. 1), and was born 2131 A. M. (Jub. xxviii. 20), he died in 2256, and was buried 2261 A. M. But Benjamin was buried in the 91st year after Israel went down into Egypt (T. B. xii. 3) in 2172 A. M. (Jub. xlv. 1), i. e. in 2263, which is also the date of the war between Egypt and Canaan (Jub. xlvi. 9; T. S. viii. 2; T. B. xii. 3). Is b then right, in T. G. i. 1, in reading 127 years?
- TITLE a: + 'concerning the two faces of vice ('duplicity' A) and virtue' b d e f A S¹.
I. 2. upright, a play in Hebrew on אשׁר and אשׁר.

THE TESTAMENT OF ASHER 1. 1—2. 8

- 3 Two ways hath God given to the sons of men, and two inclinations, and two kinds of action, and
4 two modes (of action)¹, and 'two' issues. Therefore all things are by twos, one over against the
5 other. 'For' there are two ways of good and evil, and †with these are the two inclinations in our
6 breasts discriminating them†. Therefore if the soul take pleasure in the good (inclination), all its
7 actions are in righteousness; and if it sin it straightway repenteth. For, having its thoughts set
8 upon righteousness, and casting away wickedness, it straightway overthroweth the evil, and uprooteth
9 the sin. But if it incline to the evil inclination, all its actions are in wickedness, and it driveth
away the good, and cleaveth to the evil, and is ruled by Beliar; even though it work what is good,
he perverteth it to evil. For whenever it beginneth to do good, he forceth the issue of the action
into evil for him, seeing that the treasure of the inclination is filled with an evil spirit.
- 2 1 A person then may with words **help** the good for the sake of the evil, yet the issue of the action
2 leadeth to mischief. There is a man who showeth no compassion upon him who serveth his turn in
3 evil; and this thing hath two aspects, but the whole is evil. And there is a man that loveth him
that worketh evil, because he would prefer 'even' to die in evil for his sake; and concerning this it
is clear that it hath two aspects, but the whole is an evil work.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;"><i>a</i></p> <p>4 †Though indeed he have love, yet is he wicked
who concealetH what is evil for the sake of the
good name†, but the end of the action tendeth
unto evil.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;"><i>β S¹</i></p> <p>4 Though indeed there is love, yet it is wicked
as it concealetH what is evil; now this thing
seemeth good in name, but the end of the action
tendeth unto evil.</p> |
|---|---|
- 5 Another stealeth, doeth unjustly, plundereth, defraudeth, and withal pitieth the poor: this 'too'
6 hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. He who defraudeth his neighbour provoketh God, and
swareth falsely against the Most High, and yet pitieth the poor: the Lord who commandeth the
7 law he setteth at nought and provoketh, and yet he refresheth the poor. He 'defileth the soul, and'
maketh gay the body; he killeth many, and pitieth a few: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the
8 whole is evil. Another committeth adultery and fornication, and abstaineth from meats, and when
he fasteth he doeth evil, and by the power of his wealth overwhelmeth many; and **notwithstanding**

3. **Two ways.** Earliest occurrence of this phrase in Jewish literature. Cf. Jer. xxi. 8 and 2 En. xxx. 15 (my note).
two inclinations. The oldest reference to the good *yeser*. See my Commentary *in loc.*, also my ed.
2 Bar. 92–93. For the evil *yeser* cf. Hebrew Sir. xv. 14, Sir. xxi. 11, xxvii. 5–6. The good impulse is free from Beliar's
power (T. B. vi. 1), admits no evil desire (T. R. iv. 9), receives no glory from men (T. B. vi. 4). God knows
(T. N. ii. 5) and tries it (T. Jos. ii. 6), rewards according to it (T. Jud. xiii. 8). The *yeser* is blinded by fornication
(T. Jud. xviii. 3), and the evil *yeser* blinds the mind (T. Jud. xi. 1).

4. **all things are by twos.** Cf. v. 1; Sir. xxxvi. 15, xlii. 24; Eccles. vii. 14.
5. †with these are . . . discriminating them†, perhaps a Hebraism for 'and these . . . discriminate.'
6. The right of choice belongs to the soul, as to the 'spirit of the understanding of the mind' in T. Jud. xx. 1.
in the good *β A S¹*: 'to walk in goodness' *a*.
all its actions are: 'it does all its actions' *a*.
7. The modes of the good *yeser*'s action.
8. if it incline to the evil inclination: 'if the inclination incline to evil' text. But the subject here should be
'the soul' as in *v.* 6. So 'its' (actions) = *αὐτῆς*, not *αὐτοῦ*.
cleaveth to c h: 'receiveth' *β A S¹*.
ruled by Beliar. The evil tendency is identified with Satan in Baba Bathra 16^a, and is a strange god, Shab-
bath 105^b.
9. to do: 'as though to do' *β A S¹*.
into evil for him *a*: 'into evil doing' *β-b A S¹*.
treasure of the inclination, a play on words, i. e. **אוצר יצר**. Cf. Matt. xii. 35 'evil man . . . evil treasure'.
is filled with: 'is born from' *g*.
an evil spirit: 'the poison of the evil spirit' *β-d g*: 'evil poison of the wickedness of the spirit' *A*.
11. 1. **help.** So I emend for various corrupt readings, e. g. *ἀφιστῶσα*, *a*.
the issue . . . leadeth, or 'it (the soul) leadeth the issue'.
2. him . . . evil: 'those who serve his turn' *a*.
3. worketh evil: + 'which thing is wickedness' *a*: + 'since he also ('likewise he' beg) is in wickedness'
b d e f g A S¹.
for his sake > *a A*.
4. A has 'Though they love, yet are they evil', &c.
concealetH: read 'loveth', unless a sentence has been lost before 4.
6. the law > *a*.
7. but the whole is evil c *β-b A*: > *h b*.
8. adultery . . . abstaineth from meats. Contrast T. Jos. ix. 2.
and fornication > *h i*.
the power of his wealth: 'his power and his wealth' *b d g A*.
notwithstanding: texts read 'after'.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

his excessive wickedness he doeth 'the' commandments: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the whole is evil. Such men are hares; clean,—**like those that divide the hoof**, but in very deed are¹⁰ unclean. For God in the tables of the commandments hath thus declared.

3 ¹ But do not ye, my children, wear two faces like unto them, of goodness and of wickedness; but² cleave unto goodness only, for God hath his habitation therein, and men desire it. But from wickedness flee away, destroying the (evil) inclination by your good works; for they that are double-faced serve not God, but their own lusts, so that they may please Beliar and men like unto themselves.

4 ¹ For good men, even they that are of single face, though they be thought by them that are double-faced to sin, are just before God. For many in killing the wicked do two works, of good and evil; but the whole is good, because he hath uprooted and destroyed that which is evil. One man hateth the merciful and unjust man, and the man who committeth adultery and fasteth: this, too, hath a twofold aspect, but the 'whole' work is good, because he followeth the Lord's example, in that he⁴ accepteth not the seeming good **as** the genuine good. Another desireth not to see a good day with them that riot, lest he defile his body and pollute his soul: this, too, is double-faced, but the whole is⁵ good. For such men are like to stags and to hinds, because in the manner of wild animals they seem to be unclean, but they are altogether clean; because 'they walk' in zeal for the Lord and abstain from what God also hateth and forbiddeth by His commandments, warding off the evil from the good.

5 ¹ Ye see, my children, how that there are two 'in all things', one against the other, and the one is hidden by the other: 'in wealth (is hidden) covetousness, in conviviality drunkenness, in laughter² grief, in wedlock profligacy'. Death succeedeth to life, 'dishonour to glory', night to day, and darkness to light; [and all things are under the day, just things under life, 'unjust things under³ death';] wherefore also eternal life 'awaiteth death. Nor may it be said that truth is a lie, nor⁴ right wrong; for all truth is under the light, 'even as all things are under God'. All these things, therefore, I proved in my life, and I wandered not from the truth of the Lord, and I searched out the commandments of the Most High, walking according to all my strength with singleness of face unto that which is good.

6 ¹ Take heed, therefore, ye also, my children, to the commandments of the Lord, following the truth² with singleness of face. For they that are double-faced are **guilty of a twofold sin**; 'for they both do the evil thing and they have pleasure in them that do it', following the example of the spirits of³ deceit, and striving against mankind. Do ye, 'therefore, my children, 'keep the law of the Lord, and give not heed unto evil as unto good; but look unto the thing that is really good, and keep it in all

9. are hares *a* S¹. Cf. Lev. xi. 6; Deut. xiv. 7. 'are like swine' b d g A (+ 'hares' b d g).

clean like those that divide the hoof. Texts read *ὅτι ἐξ ἡμιουρίας καθαροί*. Here *ὅτι ἐξ ἡμιουρίας* = כִּי מִפְּרִים corrupt for כִּמְפֹרְסִים. Cf. Ber. rab. xxii. 13. Cf. Perles, who, however, wrongly rejects *καθαροί*.

10. tables of the commandments: 'heavenly tablets' β A S¹. Cf. T. L. v. 4; T. A. vii. 5 (β A S¹).

III. 1. God: 'Lord God' *a*.

2. destroying . . . by your good works. Master the evil tendency by obedience to the law. Cf. Sir. xxi. 11. the (evil) inclination. See notes on i. 3-9, and cf. T. Jud. xi. 1. 'the devil' β A S¹. See Sir. xxi. 27. serve not God, but: 'are not Gods, but serve' *a*.

IV. 3. See ii. 5, 8.

this, too, hath a twofold aspect: 'he also is double-faced' *a* d g.

accepteth: 'expecteth' *a*.

as the genuine good, emended from 'with the genuine good' ('evil' β) *a* A ^a b.

4. Asceticism is bad in itself.

a good day. Cf. Esther viii. 17: 'good days' *c*: Pss. xxxiv. 12 (LXX).

5. Seems corrupt.

Lord *a*: 'God' β A S¹.

what God . . . commandments h β-g S¹: 'what God hateth' *c*: 'what God also ordereth them through His commandments to hate' *A*.

warding *e* f: 'and they ward' b d S¹: 'and to ward' *A*: *c* *a* omit this and the following words: h g defective.

V. 1. See i. 4 (note).

in wealth . . . covetousness > *a*.

profligacy *a*: 'intemperance' *a* e S¹: > *f*.

2. Brackets indicate intrusions.

eternal life. Cf. Dan. xii. 1; 1 En. xxxvii. 4, xl. 9, &c.

'awaiteth, we expect 'followeth on'.

4. with singleness . . . good > *a*.

VI. 2. are guilty of a twofold sin: 'are chastened doubly' text. Cf. 1 En. v. 9.

for they both do . . . it > b g A. Rom. i. 22. Cf. T. A. ii. 3, iii. 2.

following . . . striving: 'evil spirits hate ye which ('because they' *d*) strive' b d g A.

of deceit and striving *a*: 'of evil which strive' *a* e f S¹.

THE TESTAMENT OF ASHER 2. 9—8. 2

- 4 commandments of the Lord, having your conversation therein, and resting therein. For the latter ends of men do show their righteousness (or unrighteousness), when they **meet** the angels of the
5 Lord and of Satan. For when the soul departs troubled, it is tormented by the evil spirit which also it served in lusts and evil works.
- a* *β A S¹*
- 6 But if he is peaceful with joy he **meeteth** the angel of peace, and he leadeth him into eternal life. But if peacefully 'with joy', he **hath met** the angel of peace, he †comforteth him with life.
- 7 ¹ Become not, my children, as Sodom, which sinned against the angels of the Lord, and perished for
² ever. For I know that ye shall sin, and be delivered into the hands of your enemies; 'and' your
land shall be made desolate, and your holy places destroyed, and ye shall be scattered unto the four
³ corners of the earth. And ye shall be set at nought in the dispersion **vanishing away** as water. Until
the Most High shall visit the earth, coming Himself [as man, with men eating and drinking], and break-
ing the head of the dragon in the water. He shall save Israel and all the Gentiles [God speaking in
⁴ the person of man]. [Therefore do 'ye also, my children', tell these things to your children, that they
⁵ disobey Him not. For I have known that ye shall assuredly be disobedient, and assuredly act
ungodly, not giving heed to the law of God, but to the commandments of men, being corrupted
⁶ through wickedness. And therefore shall ye be scattered as Gad and Dan my brethren, and ye shall
⁷ know not your lands, tribe, and tongue. But the Lord will gather you together in faith through His
tender mercy, 'and' for the sake of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.]
- 8 ¹ And when he had said these things unto them, he commanded them, saying: Bury me in Hebron.
² And he fell asleep and died at a good old age. And his sons did as he had commanded them, and
they carried him up to Hebron, and buried him with his fathers.

4-6. A man's latter end reveals his true character. The idea that good or evil angels meet the soul at death as it leaves the body occurs here first in Jewish literature. Cf. Kethuboth, 104^a, and see my Comm. 168, 169.

4. **when they meet** = יִדְעוּ: text corrupt. 'and are known to' = לִי יִדְעוּ *a* (cf. T. A. vii. 1): 'and they know' = יִדְעוּ
A. Cf. *β S¹*.
the angels: 'the law' A.
Satan: 'Beliar' *a*.
5. **troubled** *β A S¹*: 'evil' *a*.
6. **with joy** > A *S¹*. Possibly a corruption for 'departs', or else read with following words.
meeteth: 'shall know' *a*: 'knew' *β A S¹*.
angel of peace. Cf. T. D. vi. 5.
leadeth *a*. Cf. T. B. vi. 1.
†**comforteth** *β A*, corrupt for 'leadeth'. Cf. 1 Sam. xxii. 4; Isa. lvii. 18.

- VII. 1. **sinned against**. The LXX uses ἀγνοεῖν to translate אִשָּׁה, רָשָׁע, שָׂגָה. (Perles.)
2. For like predictions see T. S. v. 3 ff.; T. L. x, xiv-xvi; T. Jud. xxiii; T. Iss. vi. 1, 2; T. Z. ix. 6; T. D. v. 8;
T. G. viii. 2.
delivered . . . enemies. Cf. T. Iss. vi. 2; T. Z. ix. 6.
holy places destroyed. Cf. T. L. x. 3, &c.
scattered: T. A. vii. 6; T. L. x. 4, &c.
vanishing away as water. Text is ὡς ὑδὼρ ἀχρηστον = כִּמְיִם נִמְאִים corrupt for כִּמְיִם נִמְאִים. Cf. T. Z. ix. 2.
So Perles.
3. A Theophany followed by the destruction of the primeval foe, the dragon. Cf. Ps. lxxiv. 13.
breaking c: 'in peace breaking' h *β A S¹*.
in g A *e¹ g*: 'through' *a β-g*.
all the Gentiles. For this universalism cf. T. B. ix. 2 (note); Jer. iv. 2, &c.; Isa. ii. 2-4, &c.; Ps. xxii. 27-31;
lxv. 2.
4-7. First century B.C. addition. Cf. T. G. viii. 2.
5. **known**: 'read' b d g A + 'in the heavenly tablets' *β A S¹*. Cf. ii. 10.
disobedient c + 'unto him' h i *β A S¹*.
ungodly + 'towards him' *β A S¹*.
being . . . wickedness > a b: 'being carried away by sheer wickedness' d e g.
6. **as Gad and Dan**. See T. G. viii. 2; T. D. v. 8, vii. 3.
and ye *a*: 'who' *β*.
7. **the Lord** *β-e A S¹*: 'He' *a e*.
through + 'the hope of' *β A S¹*.
VIII. 1. **good old age**: 'good sleep' text. See T. Z. x. 6 (note).
2. **to Hebron** > *β A S¹*. At end + 'Asher the tenth son of Jacob, the second son of Zilpah, and he lived 126
years' f *S¹* (g).

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH, THE ELEVENTH SON OF JACOB AND RACHEL.

- 1** ¹ The copy of the Testament of Joseph. When he was about to die he called his sons and his brethren together, and said to them:—
- ² My brethren and my children,
Hearken to Joseph the beloved of Israel;
Give ear, my sons, unto your father.
- ³ I have seen in my life envy and death,
Yet I went not astray, 'but persevered' in the truth of the Lord.
- ⁴ These my brethren hated me, but the Lord loved me:
They wished to slay me, but the God of my fathers guarded me:
They let me down into a pit, and the Most High brought me up again.
- ⁵ I was sold into slavery, and the Lord of all made me free:
I was taken into captivity, and His strong hand succoured me.
I was beset with hunger, and the Lord Himself nourished me.
- ⁶ I was alone, and God comforted me:
I was sick, and the Lord visited me:
I was in prison, and my God showed favour unto me;
In bonds, and He released me;
- ⁷ Slandered, and He pleaded my cause;
Bitterly spoken against by the Egyptians, and He delivered me;
Envied by my fellow-slaves, and He exalted me.
- 2** ^{1, 2} And this chief captain of Pharaoh entrusted to me his house. And I struggled against a shameless woman, urging me to transgress with her; but the God of Israel my father delivered me from the burning flame. I was cast into prison, I was beaten, 'I was mocked'; but the Lord granted me to find mercy in the sight of the keeper of the prison.
- ⁴ For the Lord doth not forsake them that fear Him,
Neither in darkness, nor in bonds, nor in tribulations, nor in necessities.
- ⁵ For God is not put to shame as a man,
Nor as the son of man is he afraid,
Nor as one that is earth-born is He [weak or] affrighted.

<i>a</i>		<i>β A S¹</i>		6
<p>⁶ But in all those things doth He give protection, And in divers ways doth He comfort, (Though) for a little space He departeth to try the inclination of the soul.</p>		<p>But in all places He is at hand,</p>		

- TITLE *a*: + 'concerning sobriety' *b e f S¹*: + 'concerning envy' *A^{b h e f g}*.
I—X. 4. In this Testament there appear to be two independent writings, i—x. 4 and x. 5—xviii. Yet in historical sequence x. 5—xvi should be read after i. In i—x. 4 the theme is chastity; in x. 5—xviii it is brotherly love. In i—x. 4 Potiphar is called 'the Egyptian man' (iv. 5), but Pentephri(s) in x. 5—xviii (e.g. xii. 1; xiii. 1; xv. 6). In i—x. 4 his wife is called the Egyptian woman (and *β-d* wrongly in xvi. 1), while in x. 5—xviii she is known as the Memphian woman (so, too, the conflate reading in iii. 6). We find also recurring phrases like 'Joseph the son of a mighty man' (x. 6) and 'I held my peace lest I should put to shame' (x. 6, &c.) in the later section. Joseph also transgresses the Testament's rule of truthfulness in it.
1. 2. my sons . . . father: 'the words of my mouth' *a*.
3. but persevered > *b g A*.
5. into slavery *a A*: 'to be a slave' *β S*.
captivity, hunger. Cf. Matt. xxv. 35, 36 for this and the next verse. The resemblance to our Lord's words is very striking.
6. and God . . . prison > *c h*.
Lord *a e f*: 'Most High' *b d g S*: 'God' *A*.
my God *A^{b* c d f g}*: 'Lord' *S¹*: 'the Saviour' *a β S²*.
In bonds and He released me > *d*. Without it stanzas 4-7 are symmetrical. Yoma 35^b says Joseph used the words to Potiphar's wife.
7. by the Egyptians: 'for (my) dreams' *a*.
Envied . . . slaves: 'a slave' *a*: > *A^{c d e f g}*.
- II. 1. this chief captain of Pharaoh: 'the eunuch of Pharaoh' *β-b*: 'so Petaphres' ('Photiphar' *A^{b c d f g}*) *A*.
2. Israel my father *b e f g*: 'my father' *h A^{b* c d f g}*: 'my father Jacob' *a d*: 'my fathers' *c*.
3. granted me . . . mercy, &c. Cf. Dan. i. 9.
4. doth *a d A*: 'will' *β-d S*.
5. Cf. Num. xxiii. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 29.
[weak or]. An addition.
affrighted *a*: 'rejected' *β A S¹*, corruptly.
6. doth He give protection, *παρίστανται*, *a*: 'He is at hand', *παρίστανται*, *β S¹*: 'is' *A*.
departeth *a*: 'departing' *β A*. Isa. liv. 7.

THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH 1. 1—5. 2

- 7 In ten temptations He showed me approved,
And in all of them I endured;
For endurance is a mighty charm,
And patience giveth many good things.
- 3 1 How often did the Egyptian woman threaten me with death! How often did she give me over to punishment, and then call me back and threaten me, and when I was unwilling to company with her, she said to me: Thou shalt be lord of me, and all that is in my house, if thou wilt give thyself unto me, and thou shalt be as our master. But I remembered the words of my father, and going into my chamber, I wept and prayed unto the Lord. And I fasted in those seven years, and I appeared to the Egyptians as one living delicately, for they that fast for God's sake receive beauty of face. And if my lord were away from home, I drank no wine; nor for three days did I take my food, but I gave it to the poor and sick. And I sought the Lord early, and I wept for the Egyptian woman of Memphis, for very unceasingly did she trouble me, for also at night she came to me under pretence of visiting me.
- a* β A S¹
- 7 And because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son. And because she had no male child she pretended to regard me as a son, and so I prayed to the Lord, and she bare a male child.
- 8 And for a time she embraced me as a son, and I knew it not; †but later, she sought to draw me into fornication. And when I perceived it I sorrowed unto death; and when she had gone out, I came to myself, and lamented for her many days, because I recognized her guile and her deceit.
- 10 And I declared unto her the words of the Most High, if haply she would turn from her evil lust.
- 4 1 Often, therefore, did she flatter me with words as a holy man, and guilefully in her talk praise my chastity before her husband, while desiring to ensnare me when we were alone. 'For' she lauded me openly as chaste, and in secret she said unto me: Fear not my husband; for he is persuaded concerning thy chastity: for even should one tell him concerning us, he would not believe. Owing to all these things I lay upon the ground, and besought God that the Lord would deliver me from her deceit. And when she had prevailed nothing 'thereby', she came 'again' to me under the plea of instruction, that she might learn the word of God. And she said unto me: If thou willest that I should leave my idols, lie with me, and I will persuade my husband to depart from his idols, and we will walk in the law of thy Lord. And I said unto her: The Lord willeth not that those who reverence Him should be in uncleanness, nor doth He take pleasure in them that commit adultery, †but in those that approach Him with a pure heart and undefiled lips'. But she held her peace, longing to accomplish her evil desire. And I gave myself yet more to fasting and prayer, that the Lord might deliver me from her.
- 5 1 'And' again, at another time she said unto me: If thou wilt not commit adultery, I will kill my husband by poison; and take thee to be my husband. I therefore, when I heard this, rent my

7. ten β A: 'eleven' *a*. See Jub. xvii. 17; xix. 8.
patience: 'to those who endure' A.

- III. 1. and when . . . her, she *a*: 'when . . . her! And she' β -a A^a S¹.
2. in my house *a*: 'mine' β A S¹.
3. father c (+ 'Jacob' d g A). Cf. Jub. xxxix. 6: 'fathers' h a e f S¹: 'fathers of my father Jacob' b.
4. seven: 'ten' in Jub. xlv. 3.
Egyptians c: 'Egyptian' rest of MSS.
fast . . . beauty of face. Dan. i. 15.
5. Cf. Luke xii. 45. Cf. for Joseph, Zeb. 118^b.
lord *a* (A?): > B S¹.
6. Egyptian woman of Memphis, conflate text.
7. and so . . . child β A S¹, disturbs the context.
8. knew it not. Cf. xiv. 4.
†but later *a*: 'that' *a*: 'finally' b e S¹: 'later' f: 'and after this' A.
9. came to myself. Cf. Luke xv. 17.

- IV. 1. Often therefore *a*: 'how often' β -a A S¹.
3. ground + 'in sackcloth (+ 'and ashes' A) β A S¹.
her deceit *a*: 'the Egyptian woman' β -a A S¹.
4. God *a*: 'the Lord' β A S¹.
5. my husband *a* A: 'the Egyptian' β S¹ (+ 'Potiphar' S¹).
in the law of β A S¹: 'before' c: 'in the name of' h.
6. but in those *a* only.
7. held her peace b g A: 'was angry' *a* β -b g.

- V. 1. my husband *a*: 'the Egyptian' β A S¹. Cf. iv. 5.
by poison and *a*: 'and so lawfully' β A S¹, by corruption in Hebrew.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

garments, and said unto her: Woman, reverence God, and do not this evil deed, lest thou be destroyed; for know indeed that I will declare this thy device unto all men. She therefore, being afraid, besought that I would not declare this device. And she departed soothing me with gifts, and sending to me every delight of the sons of men.

6^{1, 2} And 'afterwards' she sent me food mingled with enchantments. And when the eunuch who brought it came, I looked up and beheld a terrible man giving me with the dish a sword, and I perceived that (her) scheme was to beguile me. And 'when he had gone out' I wept, nor did I taste that or any other of her food. So then after one day she came to me and observed the food, and said unto me: Why is it that thou hast not eaten of the food? And I said unto her: It is because thou hast filled it with 'deadly' enchantments; and how saidst thou: I come not near to idols, but to the Lord 'alone'. Now therefore know that the God of my father hath revealed unto me by His angel thy wickedness, and I have kept it to convict thee, if haply thou mayst see and repent.

<i>a</i>	β A S ¹
7 But that thou mayst learn that the wickedness of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God with chastity, behold I will take of it and eat before thee. And having so said, I prayed thus: The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham, be with me; and ate.	But that thou mayst learn that the wickedness of the ungodly hath no power over them that worship God in chastity, I took of it and ate before her, saying: The God of my fathers and the angel of Abraham shall be with me.

8 And 'when she saw this' she fell upon her face at my feet, weeping; and I raised her up and admonished her. And she promised to do this iniquity no more.

<i>a</i>	β A S ¹
7 ¹ But her heart was still set upon evil, and she looked around how to ensnare me, and sighing deeply she became downcast, though she was not sick.	But (d A 'nevertheless') her heart was still set upon me with a view to lewdness, and sighing she became downcast.

2 And when her husband saw her, he said unto her: Why is thy countenance fallen? And she said 'unto him': I have a pain at my heart, and the groanings of my spirit oppress me; and so he comforted her who was not sick. Then, accordingly seizing an opportunity, she rushed unto me while her husband was yet without, and said unto me: I will hang myself, or cast myself over a cliff, if thou wilt not lie with me. And when I saw the spirit of Beliar was troubling her, I prayed unto the Lord, and said unto her: Why, 'wretched woman', art thou troubled and disturbed, blinded through sins? Remember that if thou kill thyself, Asteho, the concubine of thy husband, thy rival, will beat thy children, and thou wilt destroy thy memorial from off the earth. And she said unto me: Lo, then thou lovest me; let this suffice me: only strive for my life 'and my children', and I expect that I shall enjoy my desire 'also'. But she knew not that because of my lord I spake

- 2. unto her > β -d A S¹.
God *a* *f*: 'the Lord' β -f A S¹.
know . . . device *a*: 'I will declare thy ungodly device' β A S, i. e. $\gamma\eta$ 'wicked' for $\gamma\eta$ 'know'.
- 3. this device *a*: 'to any one her wickedness' β -g A S.
- 4. sending . . . men β -d A S¹: 'every delight' *a*.

VI. 2. (her) scheme . . . beguile me *a*: 'this ('her' b) scheme . . . beguile (+ 'the soul' b)' β -d A^{a b h} S¹: 'it was a scheme of Satan and to beguile (my) soul' d.

- 5. deadly enchantments *a*: 'death' β A S¹.
- 6. His angel *a* A: 'an angel' β -d g.
- 7. angel of Abraham. Is this Michael or the angel of peace?

VII. 1. deeply, *συντόμως*, *a*, corrupt for *συντόνως*.
became downcast, *συνέπιπτε*, cf. T. Z. x. 1: + 'in countenance' d (cf. *v.* 2): + 'in spirit' A.
set upon me . . . lewdness b d g A: 'set upon lewdness' a e f S¹ (cf. *a*).

- 2. her husband *a* A-^{b f} g: 'the Egyptian man' β A^{b f} g S¹.
- who was not sick: 'in words' *a*, corruptly.

3. Then . . . opportunity *a*: 'then' β -d S¹: 'one day' d: 'and when I was passing' A^{a b}: 'and on the second day' A^{b c d g}.

over a cliff *a a e f* S¹: 'into a well' A^{a b} (+ 'or over a cliff' b (d) g A^{b c d}).

- 5. Asteho *a*: 'Asitho' e f A^{b c} g: 'Setho' b.
- thou wilt *a* β -b g S¹: 'she will' b g (A).

6. let this suffice me: only strive for *a*: 'this (> β -d S¹) alone (> A) suffices me that (> a f) thou strivest for' β A S¹.

- and I *a*: > β -a d g S¹: 'if I' *a*: 'I therefore' d g A.
- 7. my lord: 'God' b d S¹, against context.

THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH 5. 2—10. 2

8 thus, and not because of her. For if a man hath fallen before the passion of a wicked desire and become enslaved by it, even as she, whatever good thing he may hear with regard to that passion, he receiveth it with a view to his wicked desire.

8¹ I declare, therefore, unto you, my children, that it was about the sixth hour when she departed from me ; and I knelt before the Lord all day, and all the night ; and about dawn I rose up, weeping² the while and praying for a release from her. At last, then, she laid hold of my garments, forcibly dragging me to have connexion with her.

^a A
3 When, 'therefore', I saw that in her madness she was holding fast to my garment, I left it behind, and fled away naked.

^a
4 And holding fast to the garment she falsely accused me, and when her husband came he cast me into prison in his house ; and on the morrow he scourged me and sent me into Pharaoh's prison.

^a
5 And when I was in bonds, the Egyptian woman was oppressed with grief, and she came and heard how I gave thanks unto the Lord and sang praises in the abode of darkness, and with glad voice rejoiced, glorifying my God that I was delivered from the lustful desire of the Egyptian woman.

^β S
When, therefore, I saw that in her madness she was holding fast by force to my garment, I fled away naked.

^{β-d} A S¹
And she falsely accused me to her husband,⁴ and the Egyptian cast me into prison in his house, and on the morrow he scourged me and sent me into Pharaoh's prison.

^{β-d} A S¹
And when I was in fetters, the Egyptian was sick with grief, and she heard how I sang praises unto the Lord in the house of darkness, and with glad voice rejoicing, glorified God only that I was delivered from the lustful desire of the Egyptian woman.

9¹ And often hath she sent unto me saying: Consent to 'fulfil my desire', and I will release thee² from thy bonds, 'and I will free thee from the darkness. And not even in thought did I incline unto her. For God loveth him who in a den of wickedness combines fasting with chastity, rather than³ the man who in kings' chambers combines luxury with licence. And if a man liveth in chastity, and desireth also glory, and the Most High knoweth that it is expedient for him, He bestoweth this⁴ also upon me. How often', though she were sick, did she come down 'to me' at unlooked for times, and listened to my voice as I prayed! And when I heard her groanings I held my peace. 'For' when I was in her house she was wont to bare her arms, and breasts, and legs, 'that I might lie with her; for she was' very beautiful, 'splendidly adorned' in order to beguile me. And the Lord guarded me from her devices.

10^{1, 2} Ye see, therefore, my children, how great things patience worketh, and prayer with fasting. So

8. that passion ^a: 'the passion by which (> 'by which' A) he is vanquished' ^{β-a} g A S¹.
to his ^a A: 'to the' ^β S¹.

VIII. 1. and all ^a: 'together with all' ^β A S¹.
her ^a: 'the Egyptian woman' ^{β-d} A S¹.

2-4. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 12-14, 16.

3. garment, *χιτῶνα*, ^a: *ἱμάτια*, ^β.
left it behind + 'and shook it off' ^a: > A^f g.
by force ^{β-a} e f g S.

5. was sick, *ἡσθέλει*, ^{β-d} A S¹: 'was oppressed', *συμείχετο*, ^a.

from the lustful desire = *מתאנה*. So I emend 'through a pretext' = *בתאנה* ^a ^β S: 'from the pretexts' A. For a like corruption cf. Prov. xviii. 1.

IX. A omits much in ix.

2. fasting with chastity. Contrast T. A. ii. 8.

fasting ^{β-a} f S¹: 'believing' a f: 'faithfulness' ^a.

the man . . . chambers ^{β-b} d S¹: 'the king ('man' b) who in chambers' b c d.

3. > d.

and if a man ('but he' c b S¹) . . . chastity a e f (g): > h.

and ³⁹ > ^a: 'and if' b.

5. and breasts > ^a.

lie with = *συμμιέσθω*. See T. Jud. xiii. 3 (note).

adorned. Cf. Yoma 35^b.

X. A new section begins.

1. prayer with fasting. Cf. iii. 4, iv. 8.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- ye too, 'if ye follow after chastity and purity with patience and prayer, with fasting in humility of heart, the Lord will dwell among you, because He loveth chastity. And wheresoever the Most High dwelleth, even though envy, or slavery, or slander befalleth (a man), the Lord who dwelleth in him, for the sake of his chastity not only¹ delivereth him from evil, 'but also exalteth him even as me.
- 4 5 For in every way the man¹ is lifted up, whether in deed, or in word, or in thought. My brethren knew how my father loved me, and yet I did not exalt myself 'in my mind': although I was a child,
- 6 'I had the fear of God in my heart¹; for I knew that all things would pass away. And I did not raise myself (against them) with evil intent, but I honoured my brethren; and out of respect for them, even when I was being sold, I refrained from telling the Ishmaelites that I was a son of Jacob, a great man and a mighty.
- 11 1 Do ye also, my children, 'have the fear of God in all your works before your eyes, and¹ honour your brethren. For every one who doeth the law of the Lord shall be loved by Him. And when I came to the Indocolpita^{ae} with the Ishmaelites, they asked me, saying: Art thou a slave? And I said that I was a home-born slave, that I might not put my brethren to shame. And the eldest of them said unto me: Thou art not a slave, for even thy appearance doth make it manifest. But I said that I was 'their¹ slave. Now when we came into Egypt they strove concerning me, which of them should buy me and take me. Therefore it seemed good to all that I should remain in Egypt with the merchant of their trade, until they should return bringing merchandise. And the Lord gave me favour in the eyes of the merchant, and he entrusted unto me his house. And God blessed him by my means, and increased him in gold and silver 'and in household servants¹. And I was with him three months and five days.
- 12 1 And about that time the Memphian woman, the wife of Pentephri, came down 'in a chariot¹, 'with great pomp, because she had heard from her eunuchs concerning me¹. And she told her husband that the merchant had become rich by means of a young Hebrew, and they say that he had assuredly been stolen out of the land of Canaan. Now, therefore, render justice unto him, and take away the youth to thy house; so shall the God of the Hebrews bless thee, for grace from heaven is upon him.
- 13 1 And Pentephri was persuaded by her words, and commanded the merchant to be brought, and said unto him: What is this that I hear 'concerning thee¹, that thou stealest persons out of the land of Canaan, and sellest them for slaves? But the merchant fell at his feet, and besought him, saying: I beseech thee, my lord, I know not what thou sayest. And Pentephri said unto him: Whence, then,

2. prayer with fasting > β S¹.
3. envy . . . befalleth (a man) a: 'a man fall into envy . . . slander or darkness' β S¹. For ver. cf. i. 7.
4. Text = β-b g S¹: with συνεπαίρειται (d) for συνέρχεται, a ef: συνέχεται, b g S¹: (πάντας γὰρ ἀνθρώπους) συνέρχεται, a. But d transposes v. 4 after 'mind' in v. 5.
5. I had . . . heart > A. Cf. xi. i.
6. I did not . . . intent c (? 'not'): 'I measured myself' β A S¹. Perhaps read 'I did not exalt myself' = v. 5. If the 'not' is omitted we may conjecture the original Hebrew word was רָמַמְתִּי as in Ps. cxxxi. 2 'I kept myself quiet', which LXX reads as רָמַמְתִּי.
even > β A S¹.
telling + 'my race' β A S¹.
Jacob > c A^a b* c d g.
mighty β A S¹: 'just' a. Cf. נָדִיב, Prov. xvii. 7 = δίκαιος LXX.

- XI. 1. before your eyes > h b.
2. came . . . Ishmaelites β-d S¹: 'was coming with the Ish.' a: 'came with them to the Indocolpita^{ae}' A. saying . . . slave a: + 'or a freeman' A: > β S¹. Jashar (ii. 1187) says his brethren sold Joseph as being their slave.
a home-born a a f: 'their home-born' b d e A S¹.
I might not put . . . shame. Cf. x. 6, &c.
3. manifest + 'concerning thee. And he threatened me 'unto death¹. β A S¹.
4. which of them, &c. a β S¹.
6. gave me favour. Gen. xxxix. 21.
7. God a a f: 'the Lord' β-a f A S¹.
and in household servants: 'and in work' a: > β A S¹. ζργον is a mistranslation of עֲבָדָה.
five days > a.

- XII. 1. came down a: 'passed' β A S¹.
in a chariot > b g A S¹.
with . . . me: 'she looked and saw me' A.
she . . . eunuchs a: 'her eunuchs had told her' β S¹.
2. that the merchant a: 'concerning the merchant that he' β A S¹.
3. to thy house a e f S¹: 'to our house' a: 'to be thy steward' b d g (A).

- XIII. 1. to be brought b d g S¹: 'to come' a a e f: 'to bring' A^b.
2. But . . . at his feet a g: 'therefore ('and' A) . . . on his face' β-d g A S¹.
3. And . . . him a: 'but he said' (> 'said' a e f) β A S¹.

THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH 10. 2—16. 3

- is the Hebrew slave? And he said: The Ishmaelites entrusted him unto me until they should return.
4 But he believed him not, but commanded him to be stripped and beaten. And when he persisted
5 in this statement, Pentephris said: Let the youth be brought. And when I was brought in, I did
6 obeisance to Pentephris (for he was third in rank of the officers of Pharaoh). And he took me apart
7 from him, and said unto me: Art thou a slave or free? And I said: A slave. And he said:
8 Whose? And I said: The Ishmaelites'. And he said: How didst thou become their slave? And
9 I said: They bought me out of the land of Canaan. And he said unto me: 'Truly' thou liest; and
14 1 'straightway' he commanded me to be stripped and beaten.
1 Now the Memphian woman was looking through a window 'at me while I was being beaten, for
her house was near, and she sent unto him saying': Thy judgement is unjust; for thou dost punish
2 a 'free' man who hath been stolen, as though he were a transgressor. And when I made no change
in my statement, 'though I was beaten', he ordered me to be imprisoned, until, he said, the owners
3 of the boy should come. And the woman said unto her husband: Wherefore dost thou detain the
4 captive and well-born lad in bonds, who ought rather to be set at liberty, and be waited upon? For
5 she wished to see me out of a desire 'of sin', but I was ignorant concerning all these things. And
he said to her: It is not the custom of the Egyptians to take that which belongeth to others before
6 proof is given. This, therefore, he said concerning the merchant; but as for the lad, he must be
imprisoned.
15 1 Now after four and twenty days came the Ishmaelites; for they had heard that Jacob 'my father'
2 was mourning 'much' concerning me. And they came and said unto me: How is it that thou saidst
that thou wast a slave? and lo, we have learnt that thou art the son of a mighty man in the land of
3 Canaan, and thy father 'still' mourneth for thee in sackcloth 'and ashes'. 'When I heard this my
bowels were dissolved and my heart melted', and I desired greatly to weep, but I restrained myself,
that I should not put my brethren to shame. 'And I said unto them, I know not, I am a slave'.
4, 5 Then, 'therefore', they took counsel to sell me, that I should not be found in their hands. For they
feared my father, lest he [should come and] execute upon them a grievous vengeance. For they had
6 heard that he was mighty with God and with men. Then said the merchant unto them: Release
7 me from the judgement of Pentiphri. And they came and requested me, saying: 'Say' that thou
wast bought by us with money, and he will set us free.
16 1 Now the Memphian woman said to her husband: Buy the youth; for I hear, said she, that they
are selling him.

c	β A S ¹
2 And straightway she sent a eunuch to the	And she sent a eunuch to the Ishmaelites and
3 Ishmaelites, and asked them to sell me. But	asked them to sell me. The chief captain, there-

- is a: 'hast thou' β-f A S¹.
4. be brought a b d g: 'answer' a e f S¹.
5. Pentephris a: 'the chief of the eunuchs' β S¹: 'him' A.
third . . . Pharaoh a. Cf. Dan. v. 7. 'his rank was second to P.' A: 'third in rank with P., (as) officer of all
the eunuchs, having wives and concubines and children' β.
6. And I said > a to 'and I said' in v. 8.
9. Truly a only.
straightway a g.
XIV. 1. at me > b e f.
for . . . near > β A S¹.
him a: 'her husband' β S¹.
Thy: 'the' β-b A^{a b}* c d f g.
thou dost punish . . . as . . . transgressor: 'to punish unjustly' a, corruptly.
2. me: 'us' d e f g.
owners of the boy: 'his ('my' d A^{b f} g) owners' d g A.
3. her husband a: 'him' β A S¹.
in bonds > β A S¹.
be waited upon a: 'wait upon thee' β A S¹.
4. Cf. iii. 8.
5. her c: 'the Memphite woman' β-a d A^{-b}.
XV. 1. for . . . heard a: 'and having heard' β A S¹: + 'when they were in the land of Canaan' d A.
3. When . . . melted a only.
5. my father a: 'Jacob' β A S¹.
grievous = κινδύνου.
God a g: 'the Lord' β-g A S¹.
7. and he will set us: 'and he set us' b d g: 'and the merchant set' (+ 'us' A^{a b} h) A.
XVI. 1. said . . . youth a: 'instructed ('sent to' A) her husband to buy me' β-d A S¹: h omits from 'buy' to
the end of the Testament of Benjamin.
2. The chief . . . sell me > c b d g.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p style="text-align: center;">c</p> <p>since the eunuch would not agree to buy me (at their price) he returned, having made trial of them, and he made known to his mistress that they asked a large price for their slave.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">β A S¹</p> <p>fore, called the Ishmaelites and asked them to sell me. 'And since he did not agree (to their price) he departed'. But the eunuch, 'when he had made trial of them', made known to his mistress that they asked a large price 'for their slave'.</p> |
| <p>4 'And she sent another eunuch', saying: Even though they demand two minas, 'give them', do not spare 'the gold'; only buy the boy, and bring him to me.</p> | |
| <p style="text-align: center;">c</p> <p>5 The eunuch therefore went and gave them eighty pieces of gold, and† he received me†; but to the Egyptian woman he said: I have given a hundred.</p> | <p style="text-align: center;">β-d A S¹</p> <p>And he gave them eighty pieces of gold for 5 me, and told the Egyptian woman that a hundred pieces had been given.</p> |
| <p>6 And though I knew (this) I held my peace, lest the eunuch should be put to shame.</p> | |
| <p>17 1 Ye see, therefore, my children, what great things I endured that I should not put my brethren to
2 shame. Do ye also, 'therefore', love one another, 'and with long-suffering hide ye one another's
3 faults'. For God delighteth 'in the unity of brethren, and' in the purpose of a heart that takes
4 pleasure in love. And when my brethren came into Egypt they learnt that I had returned their
5 money unto them, and upbraided them not, and comforted them. And after the death of Jacob my
6 father I loved them 'more abundantly', and all things whatsoever he commanded I did 'very
7 abundantly' for them. And I suffered them not to be afflicted in the smallest matter; and all that
8 was in my hand I gave unto them. 'And' their children were my children, and my children as their
servants; and their life was my life, and all their suffering was my suffering, 'and all their sickness
9 was my infirmity'. My land was their land, and their counsel my counsel. And I exalted not
myself among them 'in arrogance' because of my 'worldly' glory, 'but I was among them as one of
the least'.</p> | |
| <p>18 1 If ye also, therefore, walk in the commandments of the Lord, my children, He will exalt you there,
2 and will bless you with good things for ever and ever. 'And if any one seeketh to do evil unto you,
3 do well unto him, and pray for him, and ye shall be redeemed of the Lord from all evil'. [For],
behold, ye see that 'out of my humility and long-suffering' I took unto wife the daughter of the
priest of Heliopolis. And a hundred talents of gold were given me with her, and the Lord made
4 them to serve me. And He gave me also beauty as a flower beyond the beautiful ones of Israel;
and He preserved me 'unto old age in strength and' in beauty, because I was like in all things to
Jacob.</p> | |

3. since he . . . But the eunuch . . . made known b e g S¹: 'since the eunuch . . . and made known' a f.
4. minas c + 'of gold' β A S¹.
give them c a d: 'take care' b e f g.
to me c: > β A S¹.
5. †received me†, corrupt for 'for me'.
6. put to shame c: 'be tortured' a e f A S¹.
- XVII. 3. a heart β A S¹: 'a good heart' c.
love β-a: 'the good' c a A^h b* c d g. Read perhaps 'brotherliness'.
4. Egypt + 'when' β A S¹.
5. my father > β-d g A^b f g.
he ('they' A) commanded β-a d A S; 'they wished' c a.
7. their . . . my β S¹: 'my . . . their' c A.
My . . . land > c a e f.
their . . . my c d g: 'my . . . their' b e f S¹.
8. I was . . . least. Cf. Luke xxii. 27.
- XVIII. 1. A has 'walk ye also, therefore, in the same path, my children (+ 'with me' A^b) and God ('Israel Shaddai' A^b* c d f g) will glorify you and exalt you for ever.'
He . . . bless you: 'God (> a f) will exalt you' c a f.
2. Cf. T. G. vi-vii; Ahikar. Syr. Frag. I. 20 'if thy enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with good'.
- 3, 4. > a.
my humility and c: > β S¹.
priest of Heliopolis c. Cf. Jub. xl. 10 (note). 'of my masters' (β-a A S¹).
talents. Cf. Jashar (ii. 1211).
4. A has 'And (+ 'Asenath my wife' A^b) was beautiful as a flower, and (+ 'I was' A^b) beautiful beyond ('all' A^b) the chosen ones of Israel (+ 'and temperate and humble' A^b), beyond Levi and Judah and Naphtali. He preserved me in beauty ('I was more beautiful than they' A^b) because I was like Jacob in all things.'
as a flower > c.
like . . . to Jacob. See Gen. rabba lxxiv. 6; Num. r. xiv. 16.

THE TESTAMENT OF JOSEPH 16. 3—19. 10

19 ¹ And hear ye, my children, also the vision
² which I saw. There were twelve harts feeding:
and the nine were (first) dispersed over all the
earth, and likewise also the three.

c β S¹

⁸ And I saw that [from Judah was born] a
†virgin [wearing a linen garment, and from her]
was born a lamb, [without spot]; and on his
left hand there was as it were a lion; and all the
beasts rushed against him, and the lamb over-
came them, and destroyed them and trod them
⁹ under foot. And because of him the angels and
¹⁰ men rejoiced, and all the land. And these things
shall come to pass in their season, in the last

A
Hear ye, therefore, the vision which I saw. ¹
I saw twelve harts feeding. And nine of them ²
were dispersed. Now the three were preserved,
but on the following day they also were dis-
persed. And I saw that the three harts became ³
three lambs, and they cried to the Lord, and He
brought them forth into a flourishing and well-
watered place, yea He brought them out of
darkness into light.

And there they cried unto the Lord until ⁴
there gathered together unto them the nine harts,
and they became as twelve sheep, and after a
little time they increased and became many
flocks. And after these things I saw and behold, ⁵
twelve bulls were sucking one cow, which pro-
duced a sea of milk, and there drank thereof the
twelve flocks and innumerable herds.

And the horns of the †fourth bull went up ⁶
unto heaven and became as a wall for the flocks,
and in the midst of the †two¹ horns there grew
another horn. And I saw a bull calf which ⁷
surrounded them twelve times, and it became a
help to the bulls wholly.

And I saw in the midst of the horns a †virgin ⁸
[wearing a many-coloured garment, and from
her] went forth a lamb; and on his right (was
as it were a lion; and) all the beasts and all the
reptiles rushed (against him), and the lamb over-
came them and destroyed them. And the bulls ⁹
rejoiced because of him, and the cow [and the
harts] exulted together with them. And these ¹⁰
things must come to pass in their season. And ¹¹

XIX. Here the Armenian version comes to our aid. It alone has 3-7, and 8 and 11 in it are fairly pure.

1. saw β: 'know' c.

2-4. A vision concerning the nine tribes and the three, their captivity and return. The nine are regarded as back in Palestine.

2. harts. See note in Commentary, p. 191. Used of the princes of Judah, Lam. i. 6.

feeding + 'in a place' c.

all > b S¹.

were preserved A^{a b * c d f g}: 'fed with each other' A^b.

3. three harts. Cf. 'three sheep', 1 En. lxxxix. 72. For their change into lambs, cf. 1 En. xc. 38, where the sheep become oxen.

and He: 'and the Lord' A^{-b h}.

out of darkness into light. Cf. Ps. cvii. 14; Isa. ix. 2, xlii. 16, lviii. 10. Cf. 1 Pet. ii. 9, 10.

4. the nine. Cf. 'nine tribes', Ethiopic version, 4 Ezra xiii. 40. For nine and a half tribes cf. 2 Bar. lxii. 5 (note).

5-9. This second vision introduces the person of the Messiah. The date is the second century B. C., as the Twelve Tribes are regarded as in Palestine. So 'in the midst of the horns' implies that the Messiah is to arise from the Maccabees (cf. v. 11 Levi and Judah). Judah was to help—the lion on the left hand in v. 8.

6. †fourth, i.e. tribe = Judah. Is this a Christian alteration of 'third' = Levi?

two > A^{o f g}.

another horn. Perhaps Mattathias.

7-9. Is the bull-calf the same as the lamb of v. 8? If so, Judas would be both; if not, the lamb is Hyrcanus.

7. a bull . . . times: 'twelve oxen which surrounded them' A^{b * d}. For 'surrounded' read perhaps 'protected'.

a help. Cf. Dan. xi. 34, 'little help.'

8. [from Judah was born]. A Christian addition. A omits it, and a definite name is here out of place. A 'virgin' also clashes with the animal symbolism. So read 'And I saw that in the midst of the horns a bull-calf became a lamb'. For 'wearing' cf. Rev. xii. 1.

a lion = Judah.

all the beasts, i.e. the Gentiles. Cf. 1 En. xc. 12, 16.

9. The Greek text interprets 'cow' aright as = Palestine; but the 'bulls' are the tribes, not 'angels and men'.

[and the harts] > the Greek texts. They have no place in this vision.

the cow . . . harts A^{b * c d g}: 'the descendants of the three harts' A^{a b}: 'two of the three harts' A^b.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

$c\beta S^1$	A
<p>11 days. Do ye therefore, my children, observe the commandments of the Lord, and honour Levi and Judah; for from them shall arise 'unto you' [the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world] one who saveth [all the Gentiles and] Israel.</p> <p>12 For His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, which shall not pass away; but my kingdom among you shall come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which after the summer disappeareth.</p> <p>20 1 'For' I know that after my death the Egyptians will afflict you, but God will avenge you, and will 2 bring you into that which He promised to your fathers. But ye shall carry up my bones with you; 'for when my bones are being taken up thither, the Lord shall be with you in light, and Beliar shall be in darkness with the Egyptians'.</p>	<p>do ye, my children, honour Levi and Judah, for from them shall arise the salvation of Israel.</p> <p>For my kingdom which is among you shall 12 come to an end as a watcher's hammock, which will not appear after the summer.</p>
$c A^{b*cdg}$	βS^1
<p>3 And carry ye up Asenath your mother 'to the Hippodrome', and near Rachel your mother bury her.</p> <p>4, 5 And when he had said these things he stretched out his feet, and died at a good old age. And all Israel mourned for him, and all Egypt, with a great mourning.</p>	<p>And carry ye up Zilpah your mother, and 3 nigh to Bilhah by the Hippodrome lay her near Rachel.</p>
c	βS^1
<p>6 And when the children of Israel went out of Egypt, they took with them the bones of Joseph, and they buried him in Hebron with his fathers, and the years of his life were one hundred and ten years.</p>	<p>For he felt even for the Egyptians as though 6 a member (of their nation), and showed them kindness, aiding them in every work, and counsel, and matter.</p>

THE TESTAMENT OF BENJAMIN, THE TWELFTH SON OF JACOB AND RACHEL.

- 1 1 The copy of the words of Benjamin, which he commanded his sons to observe, after he had lived 2 a hundred and twenty-five years. And he kissed them, and said: As Isaac was born to Abraham 3 in his old age, so also was I to Jacob. And since Rachel my mother died in giving me birth, I had 4 no milk; therefore I was suckled by Bilhah her handmaid. For Rachel remained barren for twelve years 'after she had borne Joseph'; and she prayed the Lord 'with fasting twelve days, and she 5 conceived and bare me'. For 'my father' loved Rachel dearly, 'and prayed that he might see two 6 sons born from her'. Therefore was I called Benjamin, that is, a son of days.

11. **Levi and Judah** $c A$. See T. R. vi. 5-12 (note). 'Judah and Levi' βS^1 .
from them $\beta A S^1$: 'from their seed' c .
unto you βS^1 : 'unto us' c : $> A$.
[the Lamb, &c.] Christian additions.
who taketh . . . world c : 'by grace' βS .
12. Dan. vii. 14.
pass away $c\beta-a b$: 'be shaken' $a b S^1$.
watcher's hammock. Isa. i. 8, xxiv. 20.
XX. 2. Cf. Gen. i. 25; Exod. xiii. 19.
3. **Asenath your mother** $c d$: 'Zilpah your mother' $b e f A^{b*cdg} S^1$: 'your brother' $A^{ab h}$: 'brothers' A^a .
[to the Hippodrome] $> A$. Cf. LXX in Gen. xlviii. 7 (? = Ephrath). Rachel was buried near Ephrath, Gen. xxxv. 16 ff., xlviii. 7.
nigh to Bilhah βS^1 . Jub. xxxiv. 16 says she was buried near Rachel.
4. **good old age**. So I emend 'good sleep' c (cf. T. Z. x. 6): 'eternal sleep' βS^1 : cf. Jer. li. 39; T. Iss. vii. 9: $> A$.
6. **as though . . . nation** $a e f$: 'as for his own members' $b g$: + 'Joseph the eleventh son of Jacob and first son of Rachel lived one hundred and ten years' $f S^1$.
TITLE c : + 'concerning a pure mind' $\beta-a g S^1$: + 'to love one's neighbour' g .
1. **1. words**: 'Testament' $d A$.
2. **old age** $c d$: 'hundredth year' $\beta-d A$. Cf. Gen. xxi. 2, 5. Jashar (ii. 1172) gives the same date for Benjamin's birth. See, however, Jub. xix. 13.
3. **my mother** $> \beta-d A^{ab*cdg} S^1$.
4. **twelve years**: 'eleven' in Jub. xxviii. 24, xxxii. 33.
twelve days $> c$. For the prayer and fasting cf. Num. rabba xiv. 8.
6. **Benjamin, a son of days**. Cf. Gen. xlv. 20 'a son of old age'; Philo, *De Mut. Nom.* 15. A^b reads 'son of a right hand'. Cf. Gen. xxxv. 17, 18. Jashar explains Benjamin as = 'son of the south' (ii. 1172).

THE TESTAMENT OF BENJAMIN 1. 1—3. 6

- 2¹ And when I went into Egypt, to †Joseph, and my brother recognized me, he said† unto me:
 2 What did they tell my father when they sold me? And I said †unto him‡, They dabbled thy coat with blood and sent it, and said: Know whether this be thy son's coat.

c	β S ¹	A
3 And he said unto me: Even so, brother, when they had stripped me of my coat they gave me to the Ishmaelites, and they gave me a loin cloth, and scourged me, and bade me run. 4 And as for one of them that had beaten me with a rod, a lion met him and slew him. And so his associates were affrighted.	3. And he said unto me: Even so, brother; for when the Ishmaelites took me, one of them stripped off my coat, and gave me a loin cloth, and scourged me, and bade me run. 4. And as he went away to hide my garment, a lion met him, and slew him. 5. And so his associates were affrighted, and sold me to their companions.	And Joseph said unto me: 3 Even so, brother, the Canaanite merchants stole me by force. And it came to pass that as 4 they went on their way they concealed my garment, as though a wild beast had met me and slain me. And so his 5 associates sold me to the Ishmaelites. And they did not lie 6 in saying this. For he wished to conceal from me the deeds of my brethren. And he called to him his brethren and said: Do not tell my father what ye 7 have done unto me, but tell him as I have told Benjamin. And 8 let the thoughts among you be such, and let not these things come to the heart of my father.

- 3¹ Do ye also, therefore, my children, †love the Lord God of heaven and earth, and keep His commandments‡, following the example of the good and holy man †Joseph‡.

c β S	A
2 And let your mind be unto good, even as ye know me; for he that hath his mind right seeth 3 all things rightly. Fear ye the Lord, and love your neighbour; and even though the spirits of Beliar claim you to afflict you with every evil, yet shall they not have dominion over you, even 4 as they had not over Joseph my brother. How many men wished to slay him, and God shielded him! For he that feareth God and loveth his neighbour cannot be smitten by the spirit of 5 Beliar, being shielded by the fear of God. Nor can he be ruled over by the device of men or beasts, for he is helped by the Lord through the love which he hath towards his neighbour.	For until his death he was not willing to tell 2-5 regarding himself; but Jacob, having learnt it from the Lord, told it to him. Nevertheless he kept denying it. And then with difficulty he was persuaded by the adjurations of Israel.
6 For Joseph also besought our father †that he would pray for his brethren‡, that †the Lord‡ would	

- II. 1-2. Jashar (ii. 1222) makes Benjamin the first to recognize Joseph.
 1. to †Joseph and c: 'and Joseph' β-d A S. If x. 1 belongs to this context, we might read it before ii. 1, and emend here to 'and I recognized Joseph'.
 2. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 31-2; T. Z. iv. 9.
 3-5. The text of c alone agrees with the context, but T. Z. iv. 10 makes his brothers give him the loin-cloth. β S¹ and A differ from the context and the biblical account.
 5. to their companions β S¹: 'to the Ishmaelites' A. Cf. Jashar (ii. 1187-90).
 8. And let + 'not' A^a b.
 III. 1. and earth c d: > β-d S.
 holy c β S¹: 'true' A.
 3. spirits of Beliar claim. Cf. Luke xxii. 31.
 claim β S¹: 'dement' c.
 to afflict with every evil: text = 'unto every evil of affliction'.
 they not c: 'no evil of tribulation' β S¹.
 4. spirit c + 'of the air' β S¹. Cf. Eph. ii. 2.
 5. by the Lord . . . love g (cf. c): 'by the love' (+ 'of the Lord' β-d g S¹) β-g S¹.
 6. Joseph > b A^a b* c d g S¹.
 father + 'Jacob' b S¹.
 his brethren c: 'his sons' β-b: 'our brethren' b.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

7 not impute to them as sin 'whatever evil they had done unto him'. And thus Jacob cried out: My good child, thou hast prevailed over the bowels of thy father Jacob. And he embraced him, and kissed him for two hours, saying:

c β S¹

8 In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven [concerning the Lamb of God, and Saviour of the world], and that a blameless one shall be delivered up for lawless men, and a sinless one shall die for ungodly men [in the blood of the covenant, for the salvation of the Gentiles and of Israel, and shall destroy Beliar and his servants].

A

In thee shall be fulfilled the prophecy of heaven, which says that the blameless one shall be defiled for lawless men, the sinless one shall die for ungodly men.

4¹ See ye, therefore, my children, the end of the good man? Be followers of his 'compassion, therefore, with a good mind', that 'ye also' may wear crowns of glory. For the good man hath not a 'dark eye'; for he showeth mercy to all men, even though they be sinners. 'And though they devise with evil intent concerning him, by doing good he overcometh evil, being shielded by God'; and he loveth the righteous as his own soul. If any one is glorified, he envieth him not; if any one is enriched, he is not jealous; if any one is valiant, he praiseth him; the virtuous man he laudeth; 'on the poor man he hath mercy; on the weak he hath compassion; unto God he singeth praises'.

c A

5 And him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul.

β-a S¹

As for him who hath the fear of God, he protecteth him as with a shield; him that loveth God he helpeth; him that rejecteth the Most High he admonisheth and turneth back; and him that hath the grace of a good spirit he loveth as his own soul.

5¹ If, 'therefore, ye also' have a 'good mind', then will both wicked men be at peace with you, and the profligate will reverence you 'and turn unto good; and the covetous will not only cease from their inordinate desire, but even give the objects of their covetousness to them that are afflicted. If ye do well, even the unclean spirits will flee from you'; and the beasts will dread you. 'For where there is reverence for good works and light in the mind, even darkness fleeth away from him.' 'For' if any one does violence to a holy man, he repenteth; for 'the holy man' is merciful to his reviler, and holdeth his peace.

c

5 And if any one betrayeth a righteous man, the righteous man prayeth: though for a little he be humbled, yet not long after he appeareth far more glorious, as was Joseph my brother.

β-a S¹

And if any one betrayeth a righteous soul, and the righteous man, though he prayeth, be humbled for a little, yet not long after he appeareth more glorious, even as was Joseph my brother.

as sin c g A: > β-g S¹.

done unto c: 'devised regarding' β S¹.

7. And thus Jacob c β-d: 'then Joseph' A.

child + 'Joseph' b g A.

8. For vicarious suffering, cf. 2 Macc. vii. 38 in pre-Christian times.

a sinless β S¹: 'the sinless' c A.

in the blood of the covenant. Heb. xiii. 20.

IV. 1. end c β S: 'mercy' A.

crowns of glory: earliest reference. Cf. Rev. ii. 10; Jas. i. 12; Asc. Is. vii. 22.

2. hath not a 'dark eye'. Cf. Matt. vi. 22, 23. But read perhaps 'hath a compassionate eye': cf. T. Iss. iv. 6.

3. devise with evil intent β S¹: 'wish not well' c.

by doing good he c a d e f: 'he that doeth good' β S¹.

overcometh evil. Cf. Rom. xii. 21; T. Jos. xviii. 2; T. G. vi, vii.

righteous β A S¹: 'unrighteous' c.

4. laudeth A: 'loveth' c: 'trusteth and laudeth' β-a f.

singeth praises β: 'feareth' c.

5. helpeth b: d e f g read 'runneth with' corrupt for 'hath pleasure in', cf. Ps. xlix. 18 (LXX).

V. 1. have . . . mind c β S¹: 'are good' A.

covetousness + 'which they had' c.

2. Cf. T. Iss. vii. 7; T. D. v. 1; T. N. viii. 4.

3. reverence . . . light c: 'light of ('reverence for' b) good works' a b e f S¹: 'light, a good work' d: 'a pure light' g.

4. holy: 'true' A.

repenteth. Cf. T. G. vi. 6.

5. A has 'and if a man insult a righteous soul, he is sorry, because he hath seen him humiliated, and hath repented, as was Joseph my brother'.

THE TESTAMENT OF BENJAMIN 3. 6—7. 4

6¹ The inclination of the good man is not in the power of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar, for the
 2 angel of peace guideth his soul. 'And' he gazeth not 'passionately' upon corruptible things, nor
 3 gathereth together riches 'through a desire of pleasure'. He delighteth not in pleasure, '[he grieveth
 not his neighbour], he sateth not himself with luxuries, he erreth not in the uplifting of the eyes', for
 4 the Lord is his portion. The good inclination receiveth not glory 'nor dishonour' from men, and it
 knoweth not any guile, or lie, or fighting or reviling; for the Lord dwelleth in him and lighteth up his
 5 soul, and he rejoiceth towards all men alway. The good mind hath not two tongues, of blessing and of
 cursing, of contumely and 'of honour', of sorrow and of joy, of quietness and of confusion, of hypocrisy
 and of truth, [of poverty and of wealth]; but it hath one 'disposition', uncorrupt and pure, concerning all
 6 men. It hath no double sight, nor double hearing; for in everything which he doeth, 'or speaketh, or
 7 seeth, he knoweth that the Lord looketh on his soul. And he cleanseth his mind that he may not
 be condemned by men as well as' by God. And in like manner the works of Beliar are twofold,
 and there is no singleness in them.

7 ¹	c β S ¹	Therefore, my children, I tell you, flee the malice of Beliar; for he giveth a sword to them that obey him.	A	Flee, my children, malice [and fornication]; for it giveth a sword to them that obey it.
----------------	--------------------	---	---	---

2	c b g	And the sword is the mother of seven evils. First the mind conceiveth through Beliar,† and first there is bloodshed ; second- ly ruin; thirdly, tribulation; fourthly, exile; fifthly, dearth; sixthly, panic; seventhly, de- struction .	β-b g S ¹	2. And the sword is the mother of seven evils. First the mind conceiveth through Beliar: and sometimes it brings forth first, bloodshed ; secondly, ruin; third- ly, tribulation; fourthly, capti- vity; fifthly, dearth; sixthly, panic; seventhly, destruction .	A	And the sword is the mother 2 of seven evils, and it receiveth (them) through Beliar. And first there is bloodshed (&c. as in c β S ¹).
---	-------	--	----------------------	---	---	--

3 Therefore was Cain also delivered over to seven vengeancees by God, for in every hundred years
the Lord brought one plague upon him.

4	c	And when he was two hundred years old he began to suffer, and in the nine-hundredth year	β A	When he was two hundred years old he began 4 to suffer, and in his nine-hundredth year he was
---	---	---	-----	--

- VI. 1. **inclination**. See T. A. i. 3 (note).
angel of peace. See T. D. vi. 5 (note); T. A. vi. 6.
 3. Perhaps A is right in the omissions.
uplifting, &c. See T. Iss. vii. 2 (note).
Lord is his portion. Cf. T. Lev. ii. 12.
 4. **receiveth not glory . . . from men**. Cf. John v. 41.
knoweth not > c.
lighteth up his soul. Cf. T. G. v. 7.
rejoiceth . . . alway. Cf. Phil. iv. 4.
 5. **tongues of blessing and of cursing**. Cf. James iii. 10.
of sorrow and of joy > c.
[of poverty . . . wealth] > A.
 7. **he cleanseth . . . God**. Cf. 1 Cor. xi. 31, 32.
in like manner. 'and whoso doeth' A.
works + 'of God and' A.
in them > β-a A S¹.

VII. 1-2. See my Commentary *in loc.*, p. 206. Read either (1) 'Flee the malice of Beliar; for the mind
conceiveth through Beliar, and is the mother of seven evils; and first, &c., or (2) 'Flee the malice of Beliar; for he
giveth a sword to those who obey him. And the sword' (&c. as A).

For the seven compare the eight plagues of Sir. xl. 9; and seven of Pirke Aboth, v. 11.

1. **giveth a sword to**: 'is a sword in the hands of' A^a.
him c: 'it' β S¹.

2. **the mind . . . Beliar c β-d g S¹**: 'the mind conceiveth wickedness through the malice of Beliar' d.
sometimes a f S¹: 'what . . . is' d e.
bloodshed. Read φόνος for φθόνος. Cain's first evil was murder.
ruin . . . We expect 'panic' here. See notes in Commentary, p. 207.
destruction: text reads 'desolation'.

3-4. Gen. iv. 15, 24 tells of a sevenfold vengeance on Cain's slayer. Here the sevenfold penalty is transferred to
Cain himself. Contrast Jub. iv. 1. 31, which puts his death in his 860th year. Is Lamech here regarded as Cain's
slayer? Cf. Book of Adam and Eve ii. 13; Jalkut i. 38, &c.

4. **two hundred years**. Cain was thirty to thirty-five when he slew Abel, according to Jub. iv. 2.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

<p>c</p> <p>he was destroyed. For on account of Abel, his brother, with all the evils was he judged, but Lamech with seventy times seven.</p>	<p>β A</p> <p>destroyed [at the Flood], on account of Abel, his righteous brother. With the seven evils, therefore, was Cain judged, but Lamech with seventy times 'seven'.</p>
<p>5 Because for ever those who are like Cain 'in envy and hatred of brethren', shall be punished 'with the same judgement'.</p>	
<p>c β S¹</p> <p>8 1 And do ye, my children, flee evil-doing, envy, and hatred of brethren, and cleave to goodness 2 and love. He that hath a pure mind in love, looketh not after a woman with a view to fornication; for he hath no defilement in his heart, because the Spirit of God resteth upon him. 3 For 'as' the sun is not defiled by shining on dung and mire, 'but rather drieth up both and driveth away the evil smell'; so also the pure mind, though encompassed by the defilements of earth, rather cleanseth (them) and is not itself defiled. 9 1 And I believe that there will be also evil-doings among you, from the words of Enoch the righteous: that ye shall commit fornication with the fornication of Sodom, and shall perish, all save a few, and shall renew wanton deeds with women; and the kingdom of the Lord shall not be among you, for straightway He shall take it away.</p>	<p>A</p> <p>Do ye, therefore, my children, flee evil-doing 1 and cleave to goodness. For he that hath it 2 looketh not on a woman with a view to fornication, and he beholdeth no defilement; for there resteth upon him a holy spirit.</p>
<p>c β S¹</p> <p>2 Nevertheless the temple of God shall be in your portion, and the last (temple) shall be more glorious than the first. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered together there, and all the Gentiles, until the Most High shall send forth His salvation in the visitation of an 'only-begotten prophet. [And He shall enter into the [first] temple, and there shall the Lord be treated with outrage, and He shall be lifted up upon 4 a tree. And the veil of the temple shall be rent, and the Spirit of God shall pass on to the Gen-</p>	<p>A</p> <p>But in your portion shall be His inheritance. 2 And on account of the temple of the Lord, Jacob exalted me that I should be glorified through it. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered there and all the Gentiles. [And the Lord shall be treated 3 with outrage and set at nought. And He will 5 depart from earth to heaven: for I knew how He is on earth and how in heaven, or what is His measure and place and way.]</p>

[at the Flood], impossible on any chronology; even the Samaritan (1307 A. M.).
With the seven evils a d g A: 'in the 700 years' b e f. Onkelos and Ps. Jon. on Gen. iv. 15 (contrast on v. 24) say he was punished for seven generations. See my Commentary, p. 208.
VIII. 1-2. A seems more original, though shorter.
2. Cf. Matt. v. 28.
hath . . . in his heart c β S: 'beholdeth' A, not so good.
3. **by shining on** f: προσέχων c β-f A S¹.
cleanseth: text corruptly reads 'buildeth up'.
IX. 1. **that . . . among you**: 'also doings' c, defective.
from . . . righteous c β-d S¹: 'for I have learnt from the book of the words,' &c. d: 'for I have heard from the words of our fathers' A.
shall renew wanton deeds: 'and again ye (> A) shall be renewed unto . . . deeds' ('unto . . . deeds' > c) c A.
straightway He β S¹: 'the upright' (εὐθεῖς) A^a b^h: 'an upright man' A^b* o^d (i.e. David shall take the kingdom from Saul): > c.
2. The text of c β S¹ is better. The second temple is more glorious (cf. Haggai ii. 9), and under John Hyrcanus the twelve tribes met there in worship.
the temple . . . in your portion. See Onkelos and Ps. Jon. on Gen. xlix. 27.
all the Gentiles. The Maccabean triumphs lead to the hope of a general conversion of the Gentiles in the second century B.C. Cf. T. S. vii. 2. See my Commentary, pp. 210, 211. The Testaments are strongly tinged with universalism. God understands all men, T. N. ii. 5 (cf. Sir. xvii. 3). The Law is given to lighten every man, T. L. xiv. 4. Michael guards all the righteous, T. L. v. 7 (β A^β S¹).
Apart from Christian interpolations like T. Jos. xix. 11, the salvation of the Gentiles is taught in T. L. iv. 4, viii. 14, ii. 11; T. S. vi. 5; T. N. viii. 3; T. A. vii. 3; T. D. vi. 7; T. Jud. xxv. 5; T. B. ix. 2, x. 5.
an 'only-begotten' prophet β-b: 'His only begotten Son' c. Read 'beloved' for 'only begotten', as T. L. viii. 15, 'beloved as a prophet of the Most High.'
3-5. Christian additions. Cf. Luke xviii. 32; Mark ix. 12.
4. **veil of the temple**, &c. Cf. Matt. xxvii. 51.
pass on to c β-b d: 'ascend' b S¹: 'descend' d.

THE TESTAMENT OF BENJAMIN 7. 4—10. 10

	c β S ¹	A
5	tiles as fire poured forth. And He shall ascend from Hades and shall pass from earth into heaven. And I know how lowly He shall be upon earth, and how glorious in heaven.]	
10	1 Now when Joseph was in Egypt, I longed to see his figure 'and the form of his countenance'; and through the prayers of Jacob my father I saw him, while awake in the daytime, even his entire figure exactly as he was.	
	2 'And when he had said these things, he said unto them': Know ye, therefore, my children, that I am dying.	
	c	β A S ¹
3	Do ye, therefore, truth each one to his neighbour, and keep the law of the Lord and His commandments.	Do ye, therefore, truth and righteousness 'each 3 one to his neighbour', and judgement unto confirmation, and keep the law of the Lord and his commandments.
4	For these things do I leave you instead of inheritance. Do ye also, 'therefore', give them to your 5 children for an everlasting possession; for so did both Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob. For all these things they gave us for an inheritance, saying: Keep the commandments of God, until the Lord 6 shall reveal His salvation to all Gentiles. 'And' then shall ye see Enoch, Noah, and Shem, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, rising on the right hand in gladness.	
	c β S ¹	A
7	Then shall we also rise, each one over our tribe, worshipping the King of heaven, [who appeared upon earth in the form of a man in humility. And as many as believe on Him on the earth 8 shall rejoice with Him]. Then also all men shall rise, some unto glory and some unto shame. And the Lord shall judge Israel first, for their unrighteousness; [for when He appeared as God in the flesh to deliver them they believed Him 9 not]. And then shall He judge all the Gentiles, [as many as believed Him not when He appeared 10 upon earth]. And He shall convict Israel through the chosen ones of the Gentiles, even as He reproved Esau through the Midianites, who †deceived their brethren, [so that they fell into fornication, and idolatry; and they were alienated from God], becoming therefore children in the portion of them that fear the Lord.	Then shall we also rise, each over our own 7 tribe, and we shall worship the heavenly King. Then shall we all be changed, some into glory 8 and some into shame; for the Lord judges Israel first for the unrighteousness which they have committed. And then so (shall He judge) all the Gentiles. 9 And He shall convict Israel through the 10 chosen Gentiles, as He convicted Esau through the Midianites who loved their brethren. Be ye therefore, my children, in the portion of them that fear the Lord.

5. Hades c b d g: 'people' e f S¹.
And I know . . . heaven > c A^{b* e d e g}.
X. 1. > c. Restore to beginning of ii. 1.
3. and judgement unto confirmation > a A^{a b h}; 'and judgement unto faith in the Lord' A^{b* e d}.
4. leave c: 'give' A: 'teach' β S¹.
5. Keep . . . of God: 'So do ye' A.
to all Gentiles: 'in all the earth' A.
6-7. The Testaments give a primitive view of the resurrection to this present earth (cf. 1 En. vi-xxxvi, lxxxiii-xc), transformed gradually to sinlessness (T. L. xviii. 9), of the righteous. Note the order of resurrection. Cf. v. 8; cf. also T. Jud. xxv. 4; Dan. xii. 1, 2. The risen enter Eden, and eat of the tree of life, T. L. xviii. 10, 11, and dwell in the New Jerusalem, T. D. v. 12.
6. Shem β-d S¹: 'Seth' c. Cf. T. S. vi. 5.
on the right hand β A S¹: 'on His right hand' c. Cf. Matt. xxv. 33, 34.
7. over our tribe > c.
8. shall rise c β S: 'shall be changed' A.
some unto shame. Cf. Dan. xii. 2. Contrast 1 En. lxxxiii-xc; 2 Macc. vi-vii where the righteous alone are to rise.
their unrighteousness c: 'the unrighteousness (done) unto Him' β-d S¹.
God in the flesh c + 'a deliverer' β.
10. Israel is judged by Gentile standards. c omits this verse.
And . . . Gentiles > A^{a b h}.
as He convicted . . . loved. A has the better text. The corruption and addition n β S¹ refers to Num. xxv.
therefore a A: 'not' β-a, corruptly.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

11 If ye [therefore, my children], walk in holiness [according to the commandments of the Lord], ye shall again dwell securely with me, and all Israel shall be gathered unto the Lord.

c	β S ¹	A
11 ¹ And I shall no longer be called a ravening wolf on account of your ravages, but [a worker of the Lord distributing food to them that work what is good. ² And there shall arise in the latter days] one beloved of the Lord, [of the tribe of Judah and Levi], a doer of His good pleasure in his mouth, [with new knowledge enlightening the Gentiles].	¹ And I shall no longer be called a ravening wolf on account of your ravages, but [a worker of the Lord, distributing food to them that work what is good. ² And there shall rise up from my seed in the latter times] one beloved of the Lord, [hearing upon the earth His voice]. and a doer of the good pleasure of His will, [enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles, even the light of knowledge, bursting in upon Israel for salvation and tearing away from them like a wolf, and giving to the synagogue of the Gentiles.	And I shall no longer be ¹ called a †captain of robbers, and a † wolf, on account of your ravages. But one beloved of ² the Lord, and a doer of the good pleasure of His mouth.

β

³ Until the consummation of the age shall he be in the synagogues of the Gentiles, and among their ⁴ rulers, as a strain of music in the mouth of all. And he shall be inscribed in the holy books, both ⁵ his work and his word, and he shall be a chosen one of God for ever. And through them he shall go to and fro as Jacob my father, saying: He shall fill up that which lacketh of thy tribe].

c	β A S ¹
12 ¹ And when he had said these things he stretched ² out his feet. And died †in [a beautiful] and ³ good sleep†. And his sons did as he had enjoined them, and they took up his body and buried it ⁴ in Hebron with his fathers. And the number (of the days) of his life were a hundred and twenty-five years.	And when he finished his words, he said: ¹ I command you, my children, carry up my bones out of Egypt, and bury me at Hebron, near my fathers. So Benjamin died a hundred and ² twenty-five years old, at a good old age, and they placed him in a coffin. And in the ninety-first ³ year from the entrance of the children of Israel into Egypt, they and their brethren brought up the bones of their fathers secretly during the Canaanitish war; and they buried them in Hebron, by the feet of their fathers. And they returned ⁴ from the land of Canaan and dwelt in Egypt until the day of their departure from the land of Egypt.

11. according . . . of c: 'before the face of' β S¹.
securely: 'in hope' text, wrongly as LXX in Ezek. xxviii. 26, &c.

XI. A is original and refers only to Benjamin. c adds a prophecy of the Messiah descended from Judah and Levi. β S¹ transfers it to Paul. Cf. Tert. *Adv. Marc.* v. 1 (on Gen. xlix. 27).

1. I: 'he' A.
a worker . . . what is good > A.
distributing food. Cf. LXX of Gen. xlix. 27, and 'dabit escam', Tertullian *l. c.* There the Mass. has 'divide the spoil'.

2. one beloved of the Lord. Deut. xxxiii. 12, of Benjamin. Here c twists it into a reference to the Messiah. For 'the Beloved' = Christ. See my ed. Asc. Isa. i. 4 (note).

of His mouth: 'in his mouth' c: 'of His will' β A^{ab} S¹. Cf. Eph. i. 5.
bursting in beg(df): 'shining' a.

5. through them . . . my father f: 'because of him', &c., e: 'because of him Jacob my father instructed me' b:
> a d: 'because of this he puffed me up' g.

fill up that which lacketh. A phrase of St. Paul. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 9, &c.
tribe b g: 'belly' d e f.

XII. Here β A S¹ is the better text.

2. at a good old age β A S¹: 'in a beautiful and good sleep' c. See T. Z. x. 6.

3. See T. G. viii. 5 (note).

entrance . . . into: The text absurdly reads 'exodus . . . from'.

Canaanitish war β A S¹. See T. S. viii. 2; T. G. viii. 5.

4. f S¹ add at the close: 'Benjamin, the twelfth son of Jacob, the second son of Rachel, lived 125 years.'

APPENDIX I

TRANSLATION OF A LATE HEBREW TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, WHICH CONTAINS FRAGMENTS OF THE ORIGINAL TESTAMENT

These fragments are in italics, and their parallels in the original Testament given in the margin.

THIS IS THE TESTAMENT OF NAPHTALI, SON OF JACOB.

- 1** ¹ The Testament of Naphtali, Naphtali the son of Jacob, *whom Bilhah, the handmaid of Rachel, had borne him ¹ [*the wrestlings of God*].² When Naphtali had grown old, and had come to a good T. Naph. old age, and had completed his years of strength, and fulfilled the duty of the earth-born man, he i. 6 began to command his children, and he said unto them, 'My children, come and draw near and
² receive the commands of your father.' And they answered and said unto him, 'Lo, we hearken to
³ fulfil all that thou commandest us.' And he said unto them, 'I do not command you *concerning* T. Jos. *my silver, nor concerning my gold, *nor all my substance* ³ that I leave unto you here under the sun, xi. 6
nor do I command you any difficult thing which you may not be able to accomplish, but I speak to
⁴ you about an easy matter, which you can fulfil.' And his sons answered and replied a second time,
⁵ and said, 'Speak, O father, for we listen.' He said unto them, 'I give you no command save in
⁶ regard to the fear of the Lord : Him shall ye serve, and to Him shall ye cleave.' They said unto
him, 'What need hath He of our service?' He said unto them, 'It is not that He hath need of
any creature, but that all creatures of the world have need of Him. But He hath not created the
world for nought, but that His creatures should fear Him, and that none should do to his neighbour
⁷ what he doth not like for himself.' They said unto him, 'Our father ! hast thou forsooth seen us
⁸ departing from thy ways, or from the ways of our fathers, either to the right or to the left?' He
said unto them, 'The Lord and I are witnesses that it is even as ye say ; but I dread that which is T. Levi
to come, lest ye go astray after the gods of strange nations, and walk according to the ordinances of xix. 3
the peoples of the lands, and lest *ye join* the children of Joseph instead of *the children of Levi and* T. Naph.
⁹ *the children of Judah.*' They said unto him, 'What dost thou see that thou commandest us in this vii. 2
¹⁰ wise?' He said unto them, 'Because I know that one day the children of Joseph will depart from
the Lord, the God of their fathers, and cause the children of Israel to sin, and to be banished from
the good land into another that is not ours, as we have been exiled through his being a bond-servant
in Egypt.
- 2** ^{1, 2} 'Further, I will tell you *the vision* I saw, when I was pasturing the flock. I saw, and lo, my T. Naph. twelve brothers were pasturing with me in the field ; and lo, *our father* came and *said to us*, "My v. 1-3
³ children, *run and seize ye, each *before me,*⁴ what comes to his portion." We answered and said unto
⁴ him, "What shall we seize? lo, we see nothing but the sun, moon, and the stars." *He said unto
them, "⟨Take hold⟩ of them."⁵ When Levi heard it he seized a staff in his hand, and jumped upon
⁵ *the sun* and sat and rode thereon. And when Judah saw it, he did likewise ; and he *seized* a staff,
⁶ and sprang upon *the moon*, and rode thereon. So did *all the⁶ tribes ; each rode upon his star and
⁷ his planet in the heavens ; and Joseph only remained alone upon the earth. Jacob our father said
unto him, "My son, why hast thou not done as thy brothers?" He said unto him, "My father,
what have they⁷ that are born of woman to do in the heavens, as in the end they must needs stand
upon the earth?"
- 3** ¹ 'Whilst Joseph was speaking, *lo*, there stood near him a huge *bull with great wings like the wings* T. Naph.
² *of a stork, and his horns were huge* like the horns of the Reēm. And Jacob said to him, "Get up, v. 6
³ my son Joseph, and ride upon him." And Joseph got up and mounted upon the bull. And Jacob
⁴ our father departed from us. For about four hours Joseph gloried in the bull—at times he walked
and ran, at times *he flew* up with him, till he came near to Judah, and Joseph stretched out the v. 7
⁵ standard he had in his hands and began to smite Judah his brother. Judah said to him, "My

¹ only in P.

² A gloss from Gen. xxx. 8.

³ J ; also in A in a corrupt form.

⁴ For לִפְנֵי read with T. Naph. v. 2, κατὰ δύναμιν, לפי כח. The כח could fall out before the following כָּל אֶחָד.

⁵ PJ. > A.

⁶ A. 'the nine' PJ.

⁷ PJ. 'he' A.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

- 6 brother, why dost thou smite me ? ” He said unto him, “ Because thou holdest in thy hands twelve
7 staves, and I have only one ; *give me ten,¹ and there shall be peace.” But Judah refused to give
them to him, and Joseph beat him till he had taken from him ten against his will, and only two were
8 left with Judah. Joseph then said to his ten brothers, “ Wherefore run ye after Judah and Levi ?
9 Depart from them and follow after me.” When his brothers heard Joseph’s words, they departed
from Levi and Judah as one man, to follow Joseph, and there remained with Judah only Benjamin
10, 11 and Levi. When Levi beheld this, he descended from the sun full of trouble of spirit. Joseph said
12 to Benjamin his brother, “ Benjamin, my brother ! Art thou not my brother ? Come thou also with
me.” But Benjamin refused to go with Joseph his brother. And it came to pass when the day
drew to an end, lo, there arose a mighty storm, which separated Joseph from his brothers, so that
13 no two were left together. When I beheld this vision, I related it to Jacob my father, and he said
unto me, “ My son, it is only a dream, which will neither ascend nor descend, for it hath not been
repeated.”
- 4 1, 2 *‘But no long time elapsed, when I saw another vision. Whilst we stood all together with Jacob* T. Naph.
our father on the shore of the Great Sea, behold a ship came sailing in the middle of the sea vi. 1-3.
without a sailor and a man (pilot). Our father said to us, “ Do ye see what I am seeing ? ” We
3 said unto him, “ We see it.” He said unto us, “ Do what ye see me doing.” Thereupon Jacob our
4 father took off his clothes, and threw himself into the sea, and we all followed him. And the first
5 were Levi and Judah, and they jumped in(to the ship), and Jacob with them. And behold in that
6 ship there was all the goodness of the world. Jacob our father said unto them, “ Look at what
is written on the mast ; for there is no ship on which the name of the master is not written
8 on the mast.” Then Levi and Judah looked, and saw, and behold there was written, “ This ship
9 belongs to the son of Berachel, and all the good therein.” When Jacob our father heard that,
he rejoiced very much, and bowed down, and thanked God. He said, “ Not enough that He has
10 blessed me on earth, He has blessed me on the sea too ! ” Then he said unto us, “ My children,
11 quit yourselves like men, and whatever each one of you seizes, that shall be his share.” Thereupon
12 Levi sprang to the big mast therein and sat upon it. The second after him, Judah, also leapt
13 to the second mast, which was next to Levi’s mast, and he also sat thereon. And the rest of
my other brothers took each his oar, and Jacob *our father grasped the two rudders* to steer the vi. 4.
14 ship by them. And Joseph was left alone. Our father said unto him, “ My son Joseph, take
15 thou also thine oar.” But Joseph refused. When my father saw that Joseph refused to take
his oar, he said unto him, “ Come here, my son, and take one of the rudders which I hold in
16 my hands, and steer the ship, whilst thy brothers row with the oars until you reach land.” And
he taught each one of us, and said unto us, “ Thus ye shall steer the ship, and ye will not be
afraid of the waves of the sea, nor of stormy winds when they shall arise against you.”
- 5 1, 2 *‘And when he had made an end of commanding us, he disappeared* from us. And Joseph took
both the rudders, one with the right hand and one with the left, and the rest of my brothers were
3 rowing, and the ship sailed on and floated over the waters. And Levi and Judah sat upon the two
4 masts to look out which way the ship was to take. As long as Joseph and Judah were of one mind,
and Judah showed to Joseph which was the right way, Joseph directed thither the ship, and ² the
5 ship sailed on peaceably without hindrance. And after a while a quarrel arose between Joseph and
Judah, and Joseph no longer steered the ship according to the words of his father and the teaching
of Judah ; and the ship went a wrong course, and *the waves of the sea dashed it* on a rock, *so that* T. Naph.
the ship was broken up. vi. 5.
- 6 1 *‘Then Levi and Judah descended from the masts to escape for their lives, and as for the rest of*
2 *the brothers, we escaped for our lives to the shore. And behold there came Jacob our father, and*
3 *found us dispersed, one here, and another there. He said unto us, “ What is the matter with you,*
4 *my sons ? Perhaps you have not steered the ship as it ought, (even) as I commanded you ? ” And*
we said unto him, “ By the life of thy servants, we have not departed from anything that thou hast
commanded us ; but Joseph transgressed against the command ; for he did not steer the ship
according to thy command, and as he was instructed by Levi and Judah, for he was jealous of them.”
5 *And he said unto us, “ Show me the place (of the ship).” And he saw, and behold the tops of the*
6 *masts were visible, and behold it was floating upon the surface of the water. And my father*
7 *whistled, and we all gathered round him. And he cast himself into the sea as before, and he*
8 *repaired the ship. And he reproved Joseph, and said unto him, “ My son, thou shalt not again*
deceive (nor) be jealous of thy brothers, for they were nearly lost through thee.”
- 7 1 *‘And when I recounted this vision to my father, he smote his hands together and sighed, and his*
2, 3 *eyes shed tears. And I waited till I was ashamed, but he spake no word to me. So I took the*

¹ P.J. ‘Come now, give them to me’, A.

² A’ ; > APJ.

APPENDIX I

- hand of my father to embrace it and to kiss it, and I said to him, "Oh servant of the Lord! why do
4 thine eyes shed tears?" He said unto me, "My son, because of the repetition of thy vision my
heart has sunk within me, and my body is confounded by reason of Joseph my son, for I loved him
above you all; and for the wickedness of my son Joseph you will be sent into captivity, and you will
5 be scattered among the nations. For thy first and second visions are both one and the same vision.
6 Therefore I *command you not to unite* with the sons of Joseph, but only *with Levi and Judah*." viii. 2
- 8 1 'Further, I tell you my lot shall be in the best of the middle of the earth, and ye shall eat and be
2 satisfied with its delights. I warn you not to kick in your fatness, and not to rebel, and not to (Deut.
3 oppose the command of the Lord, who satisfies you with the good things of His earth. And do not xxxii.
forget the Lord your God, the God of your fathers; Who was chosen by our father Abraham when 15.)
4 the nations were divided in the time of Phaleg. For at that time the Lord, blessed be He, came down
from His highest heavens, and brought down with Him seventy ministering angels, Michael at their
5 head. He commanded them to teach the seventy families which sprang from the loins of Noah
6 seventy languages. Forthwith the angels descended and did according to the command of their
Creator. But the holy language, the Hebrew language, remained only in the house of Shem and
Eber, and in the house of Abraham our father, who is one of their descendants.
- 9 1 'And on that day Michael took a message from the Lord, and said to the seventy nations, to each
2 nation separately: "You know the rebellion you undertook, and the treacherous confederacy into
which you entered against the Lord of heaven and earth, and now choose to-day whom you will
3 worship, and who shall be your intercessor in the height of heaven." Nimrod the wicked answered
and said, "For me there is none greater than he who taught me and my people in one hour the
4 language of Kush." In like manner also answered Put, and Migraim, and Tubal, and Javan, and
Mesech, and Tiras; and every nation chose its own angel, and none of them mentioned the name of
5 the Lord, blessed be He. But when Michael said unto Abraham our father, "Abram, whom dost
thou choose, and whom wilt thou worship?" Abram answered, "I choose and select only Him
who said, and the world was created; Who formed me in the womb of my mother, body within body;
Who placed in me spirit and soul; Him I choose, and to Him I will cleave, I and my seed, all the
days of the world."
- 10 1 'Then the Most High dispersed the nations, and apportioned and allotted to every nation its share
2 and lot. And from that time all the nations of the earth separated themselves from the Lord, blessed
be He; only the house of Abraham remained with his Creator to worship Him; and after him Isaac
3 and Jacob. Therefore, my sons, I conjure you not to go astray and worship any other god than
4 Him whom your fathers have chosen. For know assuredly that there is none like unto Him, and
no other who can do as He or like His works in heaven and on earth, and there is none who can do
5 wonders like unto His mighty deeds. A portion only of His power you can see in the creation of
6 man; how many notable wonders are there not in him? He created him from head to foot; with
his ears he hears, and with his eyes he sees, and with his brain he understands, and with his nose he
smells, and *with his wind-pipe* he brings forth his voice, and with his gullet he absorbs food and T. Napht
drink, and with his tongue he speaks, and with his mouth he completes (?); with his hands he does ii. 8
his work, and *with his heart he reckons, and with his spleen he laughs, and with his liver he is angry*;
and his maw grinds, and with his feet he walks, and *his lungs are for breathing, and by his reins he*
7 *is counselled*. And none of his members changes its function, but every one keeps to its own. It is
8 therefore proper for man to lay to heart all these things, Who hath created him, and Who it is that
hath wrought him out of an ill-smelling drop¹ in the womb of the woman, and Who it is that bringeth
him out into the light of the world, and Who hath given him the sight of eyes and the walking of
the feet, and Who causeth him to stand upright, and bringeth him nigh to his Creator and to His
place, and hath prepared good deeds for him in the place of insight, and hath poured into him a
9 living soul and a pure spirit from Himself. Blessed is the man who does not defile the holy spirit
of God which hath been put and breathed into him, and blessed is he who returns it to its Creator
as pure as it was on the day when He entrusted it (to him).'
10 Thus far are the words of Naphtali, the son of Israel, with which he admonished his sons, *with
words sweeter than honey.²

¹ The phrase is found also in the Pirke Aboth, iii. 1.

² Emended. See my Text.

APPENDIX II

TRANSLATION OF ARAMAIC AND GREEK FRAGMENTS OF AN ORIGINAL SOURCE OF THE TESTAMENT OF LEVI AND THE BOOK OF JUBILEES

CAMBRIDGE ARAMAIC FRAGMENT.

Col. *a*.

- 1 . . . from . . . daughter . . . that all . . . to do according to right in . . . Jacob my father, and saw
 . . . and we said to them . . . they desire our daughter, and we will be all br(ethren) and companions.
 2 Circumcise the foreskin of your flesh and appear (like us), and be sealed like us in the circumcision
 of . . . and we will be to y(ou) b(rethren).

Col. *b*.

- 3 . . . my brother at every time, . . . that were in Shechem . . . my brother and Dan showed . . . in
 Shechem and what . . . (doers) of violence, and Judah showed them . . . that I and Simeon my
 brother went to him . . . to Reuben our brother, who . . . Judah (?) before (that he le)ft the sheep . . .

BODLEIAN ARAMAIC FRAGMENT.

- 4 [Col. *a*] . . . peace, and all the desirableness of the first-fruits of the earth, all of it for food and for
 dominion; the sword, fighting and battle and slaughter and trouble and rage and murder and famine.
 5 Sometimes thou shalt eat, and sometimes thou shalt be hungry; sometimes thou shalt labour, and
 sometimes thou shalt rest; sometimes thou shalt sleep, and sometimes the sleep of the eye shall
 6 depart. Now behold how he has made thee greater than all, and how I give thee the greatness of
 7 everlasting peace. And two weeks passed from me, and I *awoke from my sleep*. Then I said: *The* T. Levi
one vision is even as the other. I wondered that all the vision should be (given) to him. *And I hid* viii. 18
 8 *this also in my heart and revealed it to no man*. And I went to my father Isaac, and he also in like viii. 19
 9 manner (blessed) me. Then when Jacob saw (in regard to the twelve) all that should happen to him
 according to his vow, (and how that) I was first at the head of (the priesthood), and to me of all his
 sons he had granted the offering, (he gave thanks) to God, and clothed me with the garment of the
 priesthood, and (*fil*)*led my hands*,¹ and I became a priest to God . . . , and I offered all his offerings, viii. 10
 10 and blessed my father in my life, and blessed all my brethren. Then they all blessed me, and father
 11 also blessed me, and I finished [Col. *b*] offering his offerings in Bethel. And we went from Bethel,
 12 and *lodged* in the castle of Abraham our father, *with Isaac our father*. And Isaac our father saw us ix. 1, 5
 13 all, and he blessed us and rejoiced. And when he knew that I was priest of the Most High God,
 the Lord of heaven, he began to charge me, and to *teach me the rights of the priesthood*, and said to ix. 7
 14 me, 'Levi, take heed to thyself, my son, my son, against all defilement and all sin. Thy rights are
 15 greater than those of all flesh. And now, my son, I will show thee the rule of the truth, and will not hide
 16 from thee any matter to inform thee in the rights of the priesthood. First, *take heed to thyself*, my ix. 9
 17 son, against all lust and uncleanness, and against all *fornication*. *And do thou take to thyself a wife* ix. 10
 of my family, and defile not thy seed with harlots; for thou art a holy seed, and holy is thy seed
 18 like the holy place, for a holy priest art thou called among all the seed of Abraham. *Thou art nigh* ii. 10
 19 *to (God) and nigh to all His holy ones*. Now be thou pure in thy flesh from every defilement of all (Jub. xxi.
 men. 16)
 20 [Col. *c*] *And when thou risest up to enter the *house of God,*² *wash thyself* with water, and then ix. 11
 21 clothe thyself with the garment of the priesthood. And when thou art clothed, again wash thy
 22 hands and thy feet, before thou offer anything on the altar. *And when thou takest to offer* all that
 is fitting to offer on the altar, again *wash* thy hands and thy feet. And offer the split logs, and
 prove them first (free) from worms, and then offer them; for thus I saw Abraham my father taking
 23 heed. Of all the *twelve* kinds of wood, he told me that those of them are fitting to burn on the ix. 12
 24 altar whose smoke goes up with a sweet savour. And these are their names:—cedar, and bay, and
 almond, and fir, and pine,³ and mountain ash, and cypress, and fig, and olive, and laurel, and myrtle, (Jub. xxi.
 12)

¹ So Jub. xxxii. 3, 'His father clothed him in the garments of the priesthood, and filled his hands.'

² Gk. Frag. and T. Lev. ix. 11 give 'the sanctuary'.

³ Text reads 'thorns' (שוחא) corrupt for שִׁטָּה = 'pine'.

APPENDIX II

25 and aspalathus.¹ These are they which he told me it was right to offer under the sacrifice on the altar. And when (thou hast placed) of the wood of these (trees) on the altar, and the fire begins to
26 kindle [Col. *d*] them, then begin to sprinkle the blood on the sides of the altar. And again wash
27 thy hands and thy feet from the blood, and begin to offer up the limbs, salted. Offer the head first,
28 and upon it spread the fat, and let there not be seen on it the blood of the offering of the bull. And
after it the neck, and after the neck its forelegs, and after its forelegs the breast with the side, and
after the legs the thigh with the spine of the loin, and after the thigh the hind-legs washed together
29, 30 with the entrails. And let all be salted with salt as is fitting for them according to their need. And
after this the meal mingled with oil, and after it all, wine of the drink-offering; and burn on them
frankincense; and let all thy works be in order, and all thy offerings be pleasing (?), for a sweet
31 savour before the Most High God. And whatsoever thou doest, do it in order by measure and
weight; add nothing which is not fitting, and fall not short of the account of what is fitting (?) con-
32 cerning (?) the logs that are fitting to offer for all that goes up upon the altar. For the great
bullock a talent of wood by weight; and if the fat alone is offered, six minas; and if it is a bull-calf²
which is offered

Verses 32^b-66 (found only in the Greek).

33 And for the second bull fifty minas; and for the fat alone, five minas. And for a great bullock
34 (*μόσχον*) forty minas. And if it be a ram or a he-goat that is offered, for such thirty minas, and for
35 the fat three minas. And if it be a lamb or a kid twenty minas; and for the fat two minas.
36 And if it be a lamb without blemish of the first year, or a kid of the goats, fifteen minas;
37 and for the fat half a mina. And sprinkle³ salt upon the great bull to salt its flesh, and offer
it on the altar. One measure is fitting for the bull. And where there is a superfluity of salt,
38 salt therewith the hide. And for the second bull five-sixths of the measure. And for the
39 bullock (*μόσχον*) the half of the measure. And for the ram half a measure, and for the he-goat the
40 like measure. And for the lamb and the kid the third of the measure. And the meal that is fitting
41, 42 for them. For the great⁴ bull and for the second bull and the bullock a measure of meal. And for
the ram and the he-goat two-thirds of a measure, and for the lamb and for the kid a third part of
43, 44 a measure, and the oil. And the fourth of the measure for the bull mingled with this meal. And
for the ram the sixth of the measure, and for the lamb the eighth of the measure †and of the lamb†.
And as for the wine, pour a libation according to the measure of the oil on the bull and the ram and
45 the kid. Of frankincense six shekels for the bull, and the half thereof for the ram, and the third
46 thereof for the kid, and (let) all the meal (be) mingled. If you offer this not upon (?) the fat, let
there be offered upon it a weight of two shekels of frankincense. And the third of the measure is the
47 third of the ephah. And the two parts of the bath and the weight of the mina are of fifty shekels.
And of the shekel the fourth part is a weight.⁵ The shekel comes to be about sixteen thermoi
48 (*θερμοί*) and of one (and the same) weight. And now, my son, hear my words and give ear to my
commands, and let not these my words depart from your heart throughout all thy days, because thou
49 art a holy priest of the Lord. And all thy seed shall be priests. And to thy sons so give com-
50 mandment that they do according to this use⁶ as I have shown thee. For so my father Abraham
51 commanded me to do and to give commandment to my sons. And now, my son, I rejoice that thou
hast been chosen to the holy priesthood, and to offer sacrifice to the Lord Most High, as it is
52 befitting to do according to that which is ordained for Him. When thou takest a sacrifice to offer
before the Lord of any flesh, according to the reckoning of the wood so receive (it) as I command
thee, and the salt and the meal and the wine and the frankincense receive at their hands for all the
53 animals. And always wash⁷ thy hands and thy feet when thou goest to the altar, and when thou
goest forth from the sanctuary let no blood touch thy garments. Thou shalt not †kindle it the same
54, 55 day†. And thy hands and thy feet wash continually from all flesh. And let no blood be seen upon
thee, †and every soul,† for the blood is the life (soul) in the flesh. And if thou preparest for thyself⁸
any flesh at home to eat, cover its blood first in the earth before thou eatest of the flesh, and thou
57 shalt not eat of the blood. For so my father Abraham commanded me; for so he found it in the
58 writing of the Book of Noah concerning the blood. And now, as I tell thee, my beloved son, thou
art beloved of thy father and holy unto the Lord Most High, and thou shalt be loved beyond all thy

Jub. xxi.
16-18 =
verses
53-56

Jub. xxi.
1

¹ The list in the Aramaic practically agrees with that in Jub. xxi. 12. The Greek fragment diverges in omitting the almond and the olive, and adding the *σχίνος*. See my text of the Testaments, 249.

² The Greek has 'the second bull' here and in verses 38, 41.

³ Emended. See my Text.

⁴ See verse 32.

⁵ Here follows in the text *θερμὸν δ'* corrupt for *θερμῶν δ'* = 'of four thermoi.'

⁶ *κρίσω* = *כריש*.

⁷ Verses 53-6 agree almost verbally with Jub. xxi. 16-18.

⁸ MS. reads *οὐσης σεαυτον*, which may possibly be emended into *ποτῆς σεαυτῶ*.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS

59 brethren. †By thy seed shall be blessed in the earth,† and thy seed shall be enrolled in the book of
60 the memorial of life unto all ages. And thy name and the name of thy seed shall not be blotted
61 out unto all the ages. And now, my son Levi, thy seed shall be blessed upon the earth unto all the
62 generations of the ages.' And when four weeks were fulfilled in the years of my life, i.e. *in my* T. Levi
twenty-eighth year, I took unto myself a wife of the lineage of my father, even *Milcah*, the daughter of xi. 1
63 Bethuel, the son of Laban, my mother's brother. And *she conceived and bare me a first son*, and xi. 2
I called his name Gershom; for I said that my seed would be sojourners in the land where I was
64 born. *We are sojourners as . . . in the land . . .* And *in the case of the lad I saw* in my vision that xi. 3
65 he would be cast out, he and his seed from the chief priesthood Thirty years old was I in my
66 life when he was born, and in the tenth month he was born towards sunset. And again she conceived
and bare me about the time that is fitting with women, *and I called his name Kohath*.¹ xi. 6

CAMBRIDGE ARAMAIC FRAGMENT.

66 [Col. c] (And it happen)ed about the ti(me of women that I was with her, and she concei)ved
67 again (and bare me another son, and) I (call)ed his name (Kohath. And I saw) that to him xi. 5
(would b)e *the gathering of all* (the people, for) his would be the high-(priest)hood (over all Is)rael.
68 *In the fo(ur and thirti)eth year of my life was he born*, in the fir(st) month, (on the fir)st day of the xi. 4
69 mo(nth), at sunrise. And again I was wi(th her), *and she bare me a third son and I called his name* xi. 7
Merari, for it was bitter to me concerning him exceedingly, for as soon as he was born he died; and
it was very bitter to me concerning him, *because he was like to die*, and I besought and prayed for
70, 71 him, and it was in all bitterness. *In the fortieth year of my life she bare*, in the third month. And
72 again I was with her, and she conceived and bare me a daughter, and I made her name *Fochebed*, xi. 8
(for) I sai(d), as she hath borne to me honour, she hath borne for me *glory* to Israel. *In the sixty-*
fourth year of my life she bare, in the first day of the seventh month, after that [Col. d.] we entered
73 Egypt. In the sixte(enth) year we entered the land of Egypt, and to my sons (were given) the
74 daughters of my brothers at the time . . . to them sons. The names of the sons of *Gershon (Libnai* xii. 1, 2
and) Shimei; and the names of *the sons of Ko(hath, Amra)m and Ishar and Hebron and Uzziel*; xii. 3
75 (and the names of) *the sons of Merari, Mahli and Mushai*. (And) *Amram (took) to him as wife* xii. 4
76 *Fochebed my daughter*, while I was yet living in the 9(4)th year of my life. And I called the name
of Amram, when he was born, Amram, for I said when he was born, this (child) (shall br)ing out the
77 people from the (land of Eg)ypt. Therefore his name was called the exalted people. *On one day* xii. 4
78 *(were they born he) and Jochebed my daughter*. *Eighteen years old was I when I went in(to the l)and* xii. 5
of Canaan, and (nine)teen years old when I slew She(chem) and destroyed the workers of violence.
79 *And I was nineteen years old when I became priest, and twenty-eight years old when I took to me*
80 *a wife*. *And eight and forty years old was I when we went into the land of Egypt*, and eighty and
nine years I lived in Egypt.
81 [Col. e] And all the days of my life were 1(3)7 years, and I saw my sons of *the th(ird generation)* xix. 4
82 before I died. And *in the (hundred and eight)eenth (year) of my life*, that is, the y(ear) in which xii. 6, 7
Joseph my brother died, I called (my) so(ns) and their sons, and began to charge them with all that
was in my heart.
83 And I answered and said to (my) sons :
(Hear) the word of Levi your father,
And hearken to the commands of God's beloved;
84 *I give you a charge, my sons*, xiii. 1
And I show you the truth, my beloved.
85 Let the sum of your works be truth,
And (let) righteousness abide with you for ever. (Ps. cxix. 160)
86 And the tr(uth) . . .
And to them the harvest is blessed.
87 *He that soweth good*, reapeth good; xiii. 6
And he that soweth evil, his seed returneth upon him.
88 And now, my sons, a book of instruction in wisdom *teach your sons*, xiii. 2
And let wisdom be with you an everlasting honour.
89 *He that learneth wisdom, she is an honour to him*, xiii. 3
And whoso despiseth wisdom is given over to contempt.
90 My sons, behold *Joseph my brother*, xiii. 9
Who gave instruction in the writings and discipline of wisdom. xiii. 2

¹ This verse is indeed found in the Aramaic, but I have given the translation of the Greek, as the Aramaic is for the most part wanting.

APPENDIX II

- 91 [Col. f] . . . man . . . and increased (?) . . . to every co(untry) and city . . . to him brother . . . was xiii. 3
in it, *he is (not like) a stranger in it*,* and not li(ke to) a stranger (in it),¹ and not like an alien in it ;
for they all give him honour in it, for all *desire* to learn of his wisdom. xiii. 4
- 92 *His friends are many,*
And they that salute him are great ones.
- 93 And on a seat of honour they place him,
To hear the words of his wisdom.
- 94 Great wealth of honour is wisdom.
And a goodly treasure to all that *get* her. xiii. 7
- 95 If there come mighty kings and much people,
And an host and many horsemen and chariots with them,
And take . . country and city,
And spoil all that is in them,
The treasures of wisdom they shall not spoil
Nor find out her hidden things
Nor . . .

¹ The form in the Aramaic varies. We have here duplicate renderings of the same Hebrew original.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SIBYLLINE ORACLES IN GENERAL.

THE collection of verses known as the Sibylline Oracles was originally comprised in fifteen books and various fragments. Three books (ix, x and xv) are entirely missing, and there are gaps in some of those that remain, but with a total of some 4,240 lines their bulk is still very considerable. The greater part of this collection, however, is late and of comparatively little intrinsic worth, and the present study deals only with those of the fragments which are preserved in Theophilus *ad Autolyicum*, and together form a kind of prelude or Proem, and with the earlier books iii, iv and v. But it will be necessary to give some preliminary sketch of the problem presented by the Sibylline literature in general.

It is a common feature of early peoples to look for oracular utterances of divine or quasi-divine inspiration from the mouth of old women, such as are represented by the witch of Endor in the Old Testament, the Pythian priestess among the Greeks, and, possibly, the nymph Egeria among the Romans; and it added immensely to the prestige of such utterances if they were ambiguous or difficult to understand. It was from a common feeling such as this that the Sibylline Oracles took their rise, but they are pre-eminent among all similar literature in the authority which they wielded and the fascination which they exercised over the minds of men. Their power they owed chiefly to their claim to remote antiquity, and to the obscurity in which they were always wrapped. Of Greek origin, and written principally, if not exclusively, in Greek, it was at Rome where they were chiefly venerated and had the most direct influence. In times of special difficulty they were frequently consulted, apparently with satisfactory result. There can be little doubt that the ingenuity of the custodians of the Sibylline rolls supplied sometimes a suitable response to the question under discussion.

A brief account of these oracles among the Romans is given below, but it is not with them that we have to deal. They have nearly all perished, and have left little more than a name and a history behind. But their great interest lies in the fact that the success which they achieved in their day led Jews and, later, Christians, seeking to defend or propagate their faith, to compose or adapt verses which they put forth under the name and authority of the ancient mysterious prophetesses known as the Sibyls, and in which lessons of monotheism and the like were put forth as the real teaching of the inspired teachers of the most hoar antiquity. With the morality of such a proceeding we have not here to deal: it is closely bound up with the question of the ancient idea of copyright, which was, as is obvious, radically different from ours. But of the success of this method of proselytising there can be little doubt, and indeed most Christian writers down to the time of Augustine accept without question the genuineness of these verses.

The Sibylline Oracles, therefore, which we possess are a compilation of old and new oracles worked up by Jewish or Christian authors who lived at various times between *c.* 160 B.C. and the fifth century, or even later, A.D. Their chief interest for us lies in (i) their date and interpretation, (ii) their relation to other apocalyptic literature, (iii) the side-lights thrown on history.

The above brief sketch must now be somewhat amplified, in order to explain the peculiar authority exercised by this form of oracle over Pagan, Jewish and Christian thought alike. And it will be necessary to go into a little more detail as to the Sibyl herself and the history of the Sibylline literature.

§ 2. THE SIBYL.

The name 'Sibyl' first attracts attention. It has been maintained by some scholars (especially by R. H. Klausen in *Aeneas und die Penaten*) that the word is not a proper name but implies a sound issuing from a subterranean oracle, conveyed either by the rustling of the wind, as in the case of the oaks of Dodona, or by the splash of water. But there seems to be little justification for this, and it is better to follow the universal testimony of antiquity in regarding *Σίβυλλα* as a proper name. Nor

INTRODUCTION

is there any inherent improbability in deriving the name from *Θεός* and *βουλή*, for there is sufficient evidence to show that among the Aeolians and Dorians *Θεός* appeared as *Σιός*, and in an inscription from Cumae *βoλλᾱ* is found for *βουλή*. *Σίβυλλα*, therefore, means the counsel of God (cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 6).

Early writers know of only one Sibyl. So Heraclitus (ap. Plutarch), Aristophanes, Plato, and Aristotle. But in course of time many more were recognized, though the exact number differs widely among various writers. The earliest mention of a plurality of Sibyls seems to emanate from a certain sophist named Sopater, who is quoted by Photius as the author of a work on Prophetic women 'which include the so-called Sibyls'. Other writers, e. g. Solinus and Ausonius, recognize at least three: Pausanias and Aelian speak of four: Clement of Alexandria mentions nine, and Varro's list (cf. Lact. *l. c.*) includes ten. The names given to the various Sibyls vary considerably, but there is convincing testimony that the earliest and most famous was the Erythraean, of whom Clement preserves a detailed but somewhat confused account. He gives her date as prior to Orpheus, whereas others, including Augustine, make her contemporary with the siege of Troy, and Suidas puts her nearly five centuries later. The Erythraeans believed her to be the offspring of a shepherd and a nymph. According to an early and widespread tradition she was connected with Apollo. This is referred to in 'Constantine's' *Oratio ad Sanctos*, preserved in Eusebius, where it is said that she was at an early age consecrated by her parent against her will to the temple of that god. At his hands she is said to have met her death after surviving nine generations of men, and her grave-stone was for long shown on the Erythraean shore, while her image or token is regularly found on the coins of that town.

Before long the claims of Erythrae to be the birthplace of the Sibyl were challenged by Marpessus, a town said by Pausanias to lie in Trojan Ida. Erythrae based her claims on the testimony of the Sibyl herself as contained in the lines (Orac. in Pausanias x. 12. 3):

εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ γεγαυῖα μέσον θνητῆς τε Θεᾶς τε
νύμφης τ' ἀθανάτης, πατρὸς δ' αὖ κητοφάγοιο
μητρόθεν Ἰδογενῆς, πατρὶς δέ μοί ἐστιν Ἐρυθρή.

But Marpessus alleged that Ἐρυθρή was merely an adjective, and that the next line,

Μαρπησσός, μητρὸς ἱερή, ποταμὸς δ' Ἀἰδωνεύς,

had been suppressed by the Erythraeans.

Connected alike with Erythrae and Marpessus is the Sibyl of Cumae, whose fame early rivalled that of Erythrae. Justin Martyr paid a visit to Cumae, and relates how he saw there the cave made out of the single massive rock from which the oracles were given, and the three cisterns in which the Sibyl was said to wash. It was this Sibyl who, in the famous story told by Varro and Livy, came to Rome and offered the nine fateful books to Tarquin, and on being refused her price came back with six books and then with three. Various notices of her are preserved by Virgil and Ovid. The former represents her as having lived 700 years and having 300 yet to run, while Ovid relates that being offered by Apollo any boon she chose, she took up a handful of sand and asked that she might live as many years as there were grains in it.

These are the more famous Sibyls. It will not be necessary to do more than enumerate the various others connected with Tibur, Samos, Colophon, Rhodes, Ephesus, Babylonia, Egypt, Libya, and Sicily.

§ 3. THE EARLIEST SIBYLLINE VERSES.

The first reference to the oracles of Sibyls is found in a quotation from Heraclitus, preserved in Plutarch (*De Pyth. Or.* 709 C): he says that the poems contained many gloomy matters, and specifies 'many revolutions and upheavals of Greek cities, many appearances of barbarous hordes and murders of rulers'. Aristophanes mentions the Sibyl more than once and always with some tinge of respect (*Pax* 1095, 1116), and Plato speaks of her with reverence: Aristotle lays stress on her melancholy character and dismisses her more summarily. More details are given by Suidas, who summarizes the writings of the various Sibyls which he knows. Servius in his commentary on Virgil, *Ecl.* iv, mentions that the Cumaean Sibyl divided up the ages under the names of metals and showed which god was ruler in each (*quis quo imperaret*). But there is nothing to show exactly when collections of such verses came to be made. If we may believe the story of the Sibyl who appeared to Tarquin there was already a collection of nine books, but they must have been small in compass if a woman could carry them in the cumbrous form of rolls. It is probable that there were a great number of detached oracles, sometimes consisting of a line or two, current in the Greek-speaking world, and there may have been many private collections. After the destruction of the official Sibylline books in the burning of the Capitol in 82 B. C., a commission was dispatched to collect

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

oracles from Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor, and a large number were brought back (including 1,000 lines from Erythrae), from which a collection was made. After this the numbers increased so rapidly that Augustus commanded 2,000 spurious volumes to be destroyed. But with their increase in bulk their credit began to diminish, and the Emperor found it necessary to carry out a similar process of weeding.

§ 4. THE JEWISH SIBYLLINE VERSES.

The beginning of the Maccabean revolt revived the enthusiasm of the Jews in every department of life. Among other things the missionary side of their faith aroused greater interest, and a serious attempt was made to place its claim on intellectual grounds more clearly before the world. At the same time eschatology began to exercise more and more influence on men's minds, and the conception of a final setting aright of all apparent injustice by the direct judgement of God appealed with increasing force to the more thoughtful of the Jews. The former tendency may be illustrated by the attempt of Aristobulus, a Jew living at the court of Ptolemy VII about 160 B.C., to prove that the best literature of Greece was in reality indebted to a large extent to Jewish inspiration: the latter point by the composition of the books of Daniel and Enoch. Both these tendencies combined to suggest to a cultivated Jew living in Egypt about the middle of the second century B.C., that, if he could use the authority of the ancient and revered Sibyl, he might by means of verses written in the Sibylline style gain a very much wider audience for the propagation of his faith. The example of the book of Daniel was in all probability before him, and he would recognize no moral fault in the use of such means, especially if collections of Sibylline Oracles were from time to time receiving large additions. His method was not pure invention: he took ancient oracles and pieced them together, adding passages of his own which breathed strong monotheism and the glorification of the Jewish people. It is probably to this¹ unknown author that we owe the greater part of the third book. His example could hardly fail to inspire imitators both among Jews and later among Christians. Nor did the feeling of the day see anything incongruous in the ancient Sibyl denouncing idolatry and singing the praises of the happy land of Judaea. Indeed the new collection of oracles achieved very considerable success.

§ 5. THE SIBYLLINES IN LATER HISTORY.

The burning of the Capitol in 82 B.C. resulted in the complete destruction of the official collection of Sibylline Oracles. Seven years later the Senate dispatched three commissioners to Erythrae to fetch from thence any that could be discovered, and as a result of their efforts some 1000 verses were collected from that place while a considerable number were added from elsewhere. It is not improbable that the interest aroused by this search inspired the manufacture of many spurious oracles, some of which may have been of Jewish origin. From the materials thus collected a selection was made by the Quindecimviri, and the accepted verses were kept in greater secrecy. Nevertheless some knowledge of them was public property. Cicero (*de Div.* ii. 54) remarks on the art displayed in them as exemplified by their² acrostic form and throws some suspicion on their genuineness. Virgil in his famous description of the Golden Age in *Eclogue* iv quotes from Sib. iii. 785 ff. But the publication of oracles took away the main point of their sanctity, and we find the Emperors diligent in preserving them, as far as possible, inviolate. So Augustus instituted a searching inquiry into them and destroyed all except a small collection which was stored under the base of the Palatine Apollo. A further investigation was carried out on similar lines by Tiberius.

In view of these facts, it is obvious that the wide knowledge of Sibylline verses among early Christian writers points to there having been many collections over and above the official collection of Rome. It is possible that the oracles rejected by the scrutiny of the Quindecimviri instead of being destroyed merely found a wider audience, being incorporated with various subsequent additions. Inasmuch as the official collection, which was finally burned by order of Stilicho in the reign of Theodosius, was, as far as we know, never published, it would appear that the verses which we possess were all preserved in private hands.

There is no evidence that the Sibylline Oracles enjoyed any great popularity with later Jewish writers. Josephus (*Ant.* i. § 4) indeed alludes to Sib. iii. 97 ff., but the early appropriation of the Sibyl by Christian writers seems to have militated against extensive Jewish use. Among the early Fathers allusions and quotations are very frequent. Hermas alludes to the Sibyl in Pastor 2, § 4. Clement of Rome (cf. Justin, *Resp. ad Quaest.* 74) speaks of the Sibyl's prophecy that the world should

¹ The suggestion that the writer was Aristobulus himself is a tempting one and was put forward by Alexandre (*Exc. ad Sib.*).

² The only Sibylline acrostic which we possess is the Christian one in Sib. viii. 217-50, which is of considerably later date.

INTRODUCTION

perish by fire. Justin refers without reserve to Books iii and iv, Athenagoras and Theophilus to the Proem and Book iii. Clement of Alexandria quotes freely from all the Jewish books and even represents St. Paul as appealing to the Sibyl (Strom. vi), and Celsus (*ap. Orig.* v, § 4) is moved to ridicule by their frequent use in Christian writers. Origen himself only once mentions the Sibyl (*c. Cels.* v, § 61), while Tertullian, though speaking of the Sibyl as anterior to all literature (*ad Nat.* 2), never makes use of the testimony of the Sibyl in his apologetics. Lactantius uses less reserve :¹ he quotes freely from all the Jewish books and his writings are a perfect mine of Sibylline verses. His view of the Sibyls was that, though in themselves they were prophetesses of false gods, yet from time to time filled with Divine inspiration they poured forth precious truths. Ambrose has but one quotation from the Sibyllines : Augustine is aware of a prejudice against them, but in discussing their claims he finds nothing in them pertaining to the worship of false gods and he gravely admits the Sibyl to the number of those who belong to the City of God (*de Civ. Dei* xviii. 23).

§ 6. INTRODUCTION TO THE JEWISH BOOKS.

The two considerable fragments which are usually printed at the end of the book, together with the three lines of Fragment ii, are preserved to us in the treatise of Theophilus *ad Autolycum* (end of first century A.D.) in which the writer attempts to justify to an educated heathen the Christian idea of God and the doctrine of the Resurrection. From Fr. i. 30, Alexander has deduced a Christian origin for them, but their tone is rather Jewish than Christian and their main purport is to vindicate the unique sovereignty of the Holy Invisible God as against the undignified stories of polytheism on the one hand, and the worship of animals and idols on the other. In character they are closely similar to iii. 1-45 and all seem to originate from Egypt. There is no distinctive mark of date, but the Fragments are most probably prae-Christian. They are ascribed to the Erythraean Sibyl by Lactantius and Clement of Alexandria. From the way in which Theophilus introduces these lines (*ad Aut.* ii. 36 Σιβυλλα δέ, ἐν Ἑλληνισμῷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν γενομένη προφήτης, ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς προφητείας αὐτῆς ἀνεδίδει τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος λέγουσα . . .) the inference has been drawn that they stood originally at the beginning of the third book.

Book III has been variously divided. Friedlieb divides into three main sections 1-294 : 295-488 : 489-828, but these sections are not entirely homogeneous.

The following is an analysis :

1-7 is an introduction expressing the pain of the Sibyl under the Divine compulsion.

8-45 express the Jewish hatred of idolatry and give a description of the true God the Creator of the World.

46-62 an eschatological passage describing the reign of the Holy King and the destruction of the wicked. Lines 46, 47 and 52 give an indication of date, which, however, is not easy to fix. It may be as early as *c.* 168 B.C., at which time Rome first interfered decisively in the affairs of Egypt by the embassy of Popilius Laenas. Then the three men of l. 52 who are to afflict Rome would be, perhaps, the Gracchi. Or the date may be *c.* 96 B.C. when Ptolemy Apion bequeathed by will his kingdom of Cyrene to the Roman people. In this case the three men would be Marius, Sulla, and Cinna.

Or it may be as late as *c.* 51 B.C. when Ptolemy Auletes bequeathed his kingdom to his Roman creditors. Then the three men would be the Triumvirs, whether the First (so Volz, *Jüd. Eschat.*, p. 47), or the Second (so Friedlieb, *Intr.* p. xxvii). The middle date is, on the whole, to be preferred. Alexandre would refer the 'holy king' of l. 49 to Vespasian and the 'three men' to Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, but this is quite improbable.

62-92. The destruction of Beliar : a late passage probably from the latter part of the first century A.D. Bousset, *Antichrist*, pp. 87, 100, considers the passage to be Jewish, but Jülicher, reviewing him in *Theol. Litt.-Zeitung*, 1896, maintains its Christian origin, and Geffcken is of the same opinion. The question largely turns on the meaning given to Σεβαστήνων in 63. The idea that the whole world should come under the dominion of a woman recurs in viii. 200. The most probable explanation is that the woman is Rome.

93-6. Four lines of transition usually regarded as Christian, but not necessarily so.

97-294. A section derived primarily from the Erythraean Sibyl relating to the building of Babylon, the story of the Titans and the birth of Zeus, with a short summary of history dealing specially with the history of the Jews. The antiquity of the section is attested by the references to

¹ Detailed references are given in Struve (*Fragmenta librorum Sibyllinorum quae apud Lactantium reperiuntur*, 1817) and Alexandre (*Excursus ad Sibyllina*, 254 ff.). Also in Vervorst (*De Carminibus Sibyllinis apud Sanctos Patres disceptatio*, Paris, 1844) and Besançon (*De l'emploi que les Pères de l'Eglise ont fait des oracles sibyllins*, Montauban, 1851).

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

it in Alexander Polyhistor (80–40 B.C.) and Abydenus (first or second century B.C.) and by the frequent quotations in Christian writers. There are two main marks of date: (1) the reference to the seventh king of Egypt in 192, 193 (cf. 318, 608) who is, in all probability, Ptolemy Philometor 182–146 B.C.; (2) the description of Rome in 175 ff., which would suit the years immediately following the battle of Pydna 168 A.D. A date circ. 160 A.D. would seem to be the most probable. The working up of old heathen oracles by a Jew would then be closely parallel to the attempt of Aristobulus about the same date to prove that the Old Testament was the primary source of the best works of ancient Greek literature. The Sibyllist takes not only the Erythraean Sibyl, but also extracts from the Babylonian (97–104), and perhaps the Chaldaean (218–30). But the latter section is also ascribed by Lactantius to the Erythraean Sibyl.

295–488 contain for the most part a collection of various oracles of different dates. Many of them are of a general character and cannot be historically identified. But the following passages contain some note of time.

314–18 seems to refer to the internal struggles in Egypt between Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Euergetes which ended with the capture of Euergetes in Cyprus in 154 B.C.

323–33 may refer to the desecration of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B.C.

350–5 probably refers to the Mithradatic war of 88–84 B.C.

388–400 is best explained as depicting the events of 162–142 B.C.

464–9 appears to have reference to the Social war of 89–88 B.C.

483–8 mentions the capture of Carthage and Corinth in 146 B.C.

The section contains some ancient oracles, e.g. 364–6; 401–30.

The passage about Alexander 381–7 is referred to by Varro as coming from the Persian Sibyl; while the Scholion on Plato, *Phaedr.* 244 ascribes it to the Chaldaean Sibyl.

Lines 414–33 are ascribed on the authority of Pausanias and Varro to the Erythraean Sibyl.

489–829. This long section begins with woes on various lands, and especially on Greece, which is to be subjugated by a barbarian power. Then follows praise of the Jews and a reference to the attack of Antiochus Epiphanes on Egypt in 170 B.C. (611–15). An eschatological passage comes next, leading up to the description of the coming of the Messiah, to be followed by a time of ideal peace and prosperity for the Jews. This is interrupted by a short passage (732–40), which appears to celebrate the capture of the Acra of Jerusalem from the Seleucid troops. Another Messianic passage (767–95) is followed by a short description of the signs that are to precede the end (796–808) and the book ends with an Epilogue, which in itself seems to be composite, 819–29 being apparently a later addition.

The marks of date then in this last section are as follows:—

508–11. Refers to the Gaulish invasion of Asia Minor in 280 B.C.

520–61. Subjugation of Greece especially after the capture of Corinth in 146 B.C.

573–85. Prosperity of the Jews in Maccabean times c. 140 B.C.

608–15 refer particularly to 180–179 B.C.

732–40 represent the feeling of c. 140 B.C.

It should be noticed that l. 776 bears marks of having been at least worked over by a Christian hand.

Taking the book as a whole there is no adequate reason for doubting that lines 97–819 are, with the exception of a few passages (e.g. 350–5, 464–9, 776) either composed or incorporated by a Jew, probably living in Egypt about 140 B.C. The Egyptian colouring is marked e.g. by the interest in Egyptian history, 159, 161, 314–18, 348, 608–15; but the writer has frequent references to Rome and Greece, and, to a lesser degree, to Asia Minor.

An attempt has been made (by Friedlieb) to show that lines 97–808, together with the Proem, comprised the poem that went under the name of the Erythraean Sibyl, and is said by Lactantius¹ to comprise about one thousand lines. It is a further suggestion of Bleek that lines 1–45, 819–29 may be ascribed to the author of Books I and II. These suggestions have the merit of providing a comprehensive framework for the first three Sibylline books, but they cannot be regarded as more than tentative. It is probable, for instance, that iii. 97–104 comes from the Chaldaean Sibyl, or possibly a Hebrew Sibyl (Josephus, *Ant.* i. § 4) and the frequent notice of Egypt to which reference has been made would suggest that parts at least of the poem are from another source. At the same time, it is obvious that the Erythraean Sibyl became by far the most noted, and it is quite possible that other ancient oracles which bore no special mark of authorship were collected under her name.

The fourth book does not present any such difficult problems. Its plan is fairly simple. After

¹ *Div. Inst.* i. 6.

INTRODUCTION

a description of God as the source of inspiration (1-23) the writer proceeds to draw a picture of the joy of the righteous and the fate of the ungodly (24-46). He then proposes a sketch of the history of the ten generations of the world, but after two generations he breaks off into a series of oracles against various countries and towns in the dismal Sibylline style (47-151). Then follows an eschatological passage (152-92) interrupted by an exhortation to repentance (162-78).

The book is, therefore, in all probability a unity, and its date can be fixed with considerable certainty.

107-8 speak of the restoration of Laodicea after the earthquake of 60 A.D.

115-18 speak of the internal struggles in Jerusalem during the siege in 69 A.D.

125-6 speak of the destruction of the Temple.

119-24 speak of the disappearance of Nero, the expectation of his return, and the struggles of 69 A.D., and a similar expectation recurs in 138 f.

128, 129, 143, 144 speak of a great earthquake in Cyprus, which is fixed by a notice of Eusebius in 76 A.D.

The date then is after 76 A.D., but not long after, and at a time when the stirring events of the years 69-70 were fresh in men's minds, and the expectation of the return of Nero was real and vivid. So by general consent the book is ascribed to about the year 80 A.D.

There is some uncertainty as to whether the writer is a Jew or a Christian. In favour of the latter supposition is adduced the outlook on temples (28) and sacrifices (29), the mention of the folly of the Jews (117), and the stress laid on repentance (168). But none of these ideas would be unnatural in a thoughtful Jew of 80 A.D., and as there is nothing specifically Christian in the book, so it ends with an eschatological outlook which seems distinctly Jewish in character.

The fifth book presents problems of its own. It is obvious at once that lines 1-51 stand by themselves. They give a brief sketch of history up to the time of Hadrian, or, if l. 51 be genuine, up till the time of Marcus Aurelius.

The rest of the book consists, in the main, of the proclamation of troubles in various lands; in Egypt (52-114), Asia (115-36), Greece, Italy, and other lands (137-78), Egypt, India, Corinth, &c. (179-227), Asia, Thrace, &c. (286-343), Babylon, &c. (434-83), Egypt, &c. (484-511). This fills up the main bulk of the book, but, interspersed among these conventional Sibylline outpourings, there are sections on other subjects which merit attention. Such are an ode to *Ἥβρις* (228-46), which seems Eastern in character, and in which Hildebrandt claims to have discovered a direct quotation from the Avesta; an ideal description of Judaea (247-55, 260-85); a Christian fragment (256-9); an eschatological passage (344-85); a denunciation of evil livers (386-402); a hint of an attack on the Holy Land and of a Divine vengeance (403-33); and a description of a coming battle of the stars (512-31).

Passages which bear upon the question of the date are as follows. In the first section the extravagant praise of Hadrian (48, 49) would be inexplicable in a Jewish writing except in the earlier years of his reign, or at any rate before the revolt of Bar Cochba and the erection of *Ælia Capitolina* on the site of Jerusalem. But l. 51 speaks of three successors of Hadrian, one of whom (by which Marcus Aurelius is probably meant) should reign late in life. There is good reason to suspect this line to be a later interpolation.

In the main section, 52 to end, the chief indication of date lies in lines 411-13, which seem to speak of Titus as doomed to death as soon as he reached Italy on his return from the capture of Jerusalem. The expectation, which appears to have been somewhat widely held, was, of course, falsified by history, and so this section at any rate, if the emendation proposed be accepted, is fixed for the year 70 A.D. For the rest the expectation of the return of Nero appears in 34 f., 104 ff., 139 ff., 215 ff., 363 ff., as a conviction deeply held, although he is by this time half identified with the Antichrist.

The general conclusion leaves the date more or less uncertain. But there is no real reason to separate 1-51 from the rest of the book, and if we except lines 51 and 411-13 we may fix the date as somewhere in the reign of Hadrian before 130 A.D.¹

The author seems undoubtedly to be living in Egypt. So the Sibyl calls herself (if the text be not corrupt) sister of Isis (53), and has much to say about Egypt and its towns (60-114, 179-99, 458-9, 484-511).

Opinions are much divided as to whether the author is a Jew or a Christian. The adjective

¹ The minute dissection of a 'Higher Criticism' may be illustrated by the following table taken from Zahn's *Apokalyptische Studien*:—

(a) A. D. 71, 111 (or 115)-78; ? 200-5; 228-46; 361-433; 484-531.

(b) c. A. D. 120, 1-49^a, 50^b; 52-110; 179-99; 206-27; 247-360 (or, at any rate, 247-85; 328-82); 434-83.

(c) c. A. D. 150, 49^b-50^a; 51; 257; 413, and probably many isolated verses.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

θεοχρίστους in l. 68 seems to stamp the section to which it belongs as Christian, and 256–9 are unmistakably the same. But for the rest of the book the outlook is more Jewish than Christian. There is no reference to a New Testament writing, with the possible exception of l. 158 (cf. Apoc. viii. 10).

§ 7. MANUSCRIPTS.

Special service in the collation of MSS. has been rendered by A. Mai, Keil, and Rzach. The results are given at length in the introduction to Geffcken's edition. The MSS. fall into three main classes, to which the terms Ω , Φ , and Ψ are conventionally given. The following are the only MSS. which contain the Jewish portions:—

In class Ω :

- V. Codd. Vaticanus 1120, 743, both fourteenth century, contain iv.
- Cod. Monacensis 1541 contains iv.

In class Φ :

- A. Cod. Vindobonensis hist. gr. xcvi. 6, fifteenth century, contains all our sections.
- P. Cod. Monacensis 351, fifteenth century, contains all our sections except the first part of the Prologue.
- S. Cod. Scorialensis 11 Σ 7 contains all our sections.
- B. Cod. Bodleianus Baroccianus 109, end of fifteenth century, contains all our sections except the Prologue and iii. 1–106.

In class Ψ :

- F. Cod. Florentinus Laurentianus plut. xi. 17, fifteenth century, contains iii with the subscription *στίχοι*¹ *αλδ* (1,034 lines), iv with subscription *ρπά*² (181 lines), v with subscription *στίχοι φλη*³ (538 lines).
- R. Cod. Parisinus 2851, end of fifteenth century, contains iii (with similar remark *στίχοι αλδ*), iv (*στίχοι ρπα*), v. 1–106.
- L. Cod. Parisinus 2850: 1475 A.D. contains the same three books with the same remarks; only Book iii is called *λόγος τέταρτος* and Book iv *λόγος πέμπτος*.
- T. Cod. Toletanus, a MS. recently discovered in the Library of Toledo Cathedral, written about 1500, containing all our sections except v. 482–end. It has Latin notes both in the margin and between the lines, but Geffcken regards it as of no particular value.

Besides the MSS. the following extracts have been found:—

- Cod. Parisinus 1043 contains iv. 179–85, 187, 189, 190; v. 93–111.
- Cod. Vat. 1357 contains viii. 217–50.

The citations in the early Fathers are also of great service in restoring the text.

Geffcken calls attention to the extreme difficulty of arriving at a satisfactory text. It is not infrequent to find lines in which no MS. gives a metrically possible text, and then it becomes necessary to have recourse to conjecture. In other instances a composite text has to be formed out of several different versions. But Geffcken arrives at two conclusions that are of definite value. First, the Ω text is on the whole preferable to Φ and Ψ ; and secondly, Φ and Ψ seem to have branched off from an earlier and better text, and of the two Φ is to be preferred, though not by any means in every instance.

As regards the date of the different classes of MSS., Geffcken would put the Ω in the third or fourth century, and would find a kind of Ψ before the end of the fifth century.

§ 8. THEOLOGY.

The main object of the Jewish Sibyllists is to maintain the unity and sovereignty of God. God is one Being, invisible, self-sprung, without beginning or end. Idolatry is condemned in terms of unmeasured scorn; the heathen gods are nothing, lifeless and powerless; the sacred animals of Egypt are merely deceptions; Isis and Sarapis will be found ineffective to help their worshippers in the

¹ Our present third book contains only 829 lines. But there is good reason to suppose that originally it contained considerably more than this.

² Our book contains 192. But Ψ omits 86, 94, 95, 112, 113, 115, 148, 153, 154, 182, 183, 186, 191.

³ Our book has only 531.

INTRODUCTION

time of bitter distress. Phoebus himself, the inspirer of the heathen Sibyl, is a mere delusion. All idolaters, of whatever class, are people who have mistaken the true highway of life and wandered off into tortuous by-ways. They have failed to recognize the true God, Who although so lofty and majestic, has yet revealed Himself to men, and Who keeps a constant watch over all that goes on on earth. The ignorance and wilful transgressions of purblind man are inevitably storing up for the world volumes of wrath that will burst forth in terrible destruction.

The doctrine of God, then, is a fairly full one: again and again stress is laid on His unique position as existing from all time and owning no Creator. The terms which express this idea (*αὐτοφυής, αὐτογένητος, αὐτολόχευτος*) are themselves open to misconstruction, but they seem to imply nothing more than God's eternal existence, as contrasted with the idols that are the works of men's hands and the gods of mythology concerning whose birth so many tales were rife. In three respects His intimate connexion with the visible world is vindicated: He is the Creator and Sustainer of all, sending rain and fruitful seasons, and manifesting His wrath in hailstorms and earthquakes. He has also revealed Himself to man, and although the means of His self revelation are not actually stated they are probably regarded as lying in the visible phenomena of nature. And again God is finally to judge the world, sending the just either to a fresh life of happiness on earth or to the abode of bliss, while the wicked are condemned to the woes of Tartarus. It may be noted that stress is laid on the conception of God Himself being the Judge (cf. iv. 41, 183) as though in protest against the Christian idea of Christ as the Judge of all, whereas the work of Creation is carried out through the medium of the Word (iii. 20, cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6).

With regard to worship there are varying conceptions. The older passages speak freely of the offering of sacrifices (e.g. Frag. i. 21: Bk. iii. 576 ff.), but in the fourth book we find a repudiation of all animal sacrifices (28 ff.) and even of a visible temple (8 and 28). This book seems to be tinged with Essene thought which manifests itself also in the stress laid on Grace before meals (25 f.) and lustrations (165).

The middle of the second century B.C. was a time when men's minds were very full of the thought of the coming judgement of God, and the literature of that age influenced deeply the thought of successive generations. So although the main eschatological portions of the Sibyllines occur in the third book, echoes of them are not lacking in other parts. The wrath of God as it culminates in judgement on the earth is depicted in scenes of bewildering complexity. A principal element is fire, which is to burn up the world. Sometimes it is in the form of a rushing stream (ii. 54), sometimes as an essence (iii. 72), sometimes it comes in form of a sword (iii. 672, 798, iv. 174). A mighty darkness is to envelop the earth (v. 349); the sun, moon, and stars are to fail (iii. 801, v. 346); the very heavenly bodies are to come crashing down (iii. 80 ff.); a star is to be one of the agents of the destruction (v. 158 ff.). God himself is to appear in the clouds (v. 65 f.). The destruction of the earth is sometimes represented as complete (e.g. iii. 84 ff.). More generally it is only the ungodly who are to be destroyed, the righteous being reserved for a blessed life (v. 375-85). The signs of the end are manifold. There is to be a great increase of wickedness and presumption; in the later books this is usually connected with the return of Nero. A comet is to herald the end (iii. 334). Various portraits are to be seen, e.g. a battle among the clouds (iii. 805, v. 212). There is to be great distress among nations (ii. 556 ff., v. 225). Beliar is to appear and lead men astray with various lying wonders (ii. 63 ff.). Nero is to return in pride and arrogance, the world is to fall under the dominion of a woman (iii. 75 ff.).

It is noticeable that the destruction of the world is not strongly distinguished from judgements that are to affect merely certain localities. The universal and the particular shade off very easily into one another. Similarly in some passages the judgement is merely a prelude to the establishment of a blessed kingdom among the godly on earth (e.g. iii. 767 ff.). The Messiah himself is to come from heaven to assume the kingdom (v. 414 ff.). Under his rule the godly are to enjoy great peace (iii. 702 ff.); the earth is to bring forth her fruits in extraordinary abundance (iii. 741 ff.); the rough places of nature are to be made smooth (iii. 777 ff.), and even the animal world is to share in the universal peace and goodwill (iii. 785 ff.). Jerusalem is to become the fairest spot on earth (v. 420 ff.); the temple is to be resplendent once more with the gifts of varied peoples (iii. 657, 772).

It will be seen that the greater part of these idyllic conceptions are not in themselves unique or peculiar, but their fullness and variety make the Sibylline workings conspicuous among similar literature. They testify to the deep-rooted dissatisfaction with the present conditions among the most loyal spirits of the Jews, and the confident hope that the apparent injustice of God's dealings in the world as shown in the triumph of His enemies, would be righted within no very long time by the vindication of His Divine purpose for men.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

§ 9. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(a) CHIEF EDITIONS OF THE TEXT.

- Betuleius, Xystus, *Sibyllinorum Oraculorum Libri Octo*, Basel, 1545.
 Opsopoeus, Joh., *Σιβυλλιακοὶ Χρησμοί*, Paris, 1599.
 Gallaeus Servatius, *Σιβυλλιακοὶ Χρησμοί*, Amsterdam, 1687-9.
 Mai, Angelo, *Σιβύλλης Λόγοι* 18¹, Milan, 1817.
 Alexandre, C., *Χρησμοὶ Σιβυλλιακοί*, Paris, 1841, 1853.
 Friedlieb, J. H., *Χρησμοὶ Σιβυλλιακοί*, Leipzig, 1852.
 Rzach, Aloisius, *Χρησμοὶ Σιβυλλιακοί*, Vienna, 1891.
 Geffcken, J., *Die Oracula Sibyllina*, Leipzig, 1902.

(b) CHIEF CRITICAL ENQUIRIES AND EDITIONS.

- Schwally, 'Sibyllae' in *Real-Encyklopädie der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*.
 Thorlacius, B., *Libri Sibyllistarum veteris ecclesiae crisi subiecti*, Havniae, 1815.
 Bleek, F., 'Ueber die Entstehung und den Zusammenhang der uns in acht Büchern erhaltenen Sammlung sibyllinischer Orakel,' *Theol. Zeitschr.*, 1819, 1820.
 Gefrörer, *Kritische Geschichte*, Stuttgart, 1831.
 Volkmann, *De Oraculis Sibyllinis*, Leipzig, 1853.
 Alexandre, *Excursus ad Sibyllina*, Paris, 1858.
 Ewald, H., *Abhandlung über Entstehung, Inhalt und Werth der sibyllinischen Bücher*, Göttingen, 1858.
 Klausen, R. H., *Aeneas und die Penaten*, Göttingen, 1858.
 Reuss, 'Les Sibylles chrétiennes,' *Nouvelle Revue*, 1861.
 Badt, B., *Ursprung . . . und Text des 4. Buches der sibyllinischen Orakel*, Breslau, 1878.
 Hilgenfeld, *Jüdische Apokalyptik*, Jena, 1857.
 " 'Die jüdische Apokalyptik und die neuesten Forschungen,' *Zeitschr. der wiss. Theologie*, 1860.
 " 'Die jüdischen Sibyllen und der Essenismus,' *Z.W.T.*, 1871.
 Larocque, J., 'Sur la date du troisième livre des oracles sibyllins,' *Revue Archéologique*, 1869.
 Hildebrandt, 'Das römische Antichristentum zur Zeit der Offenbarung Johannis und des V. sibyllinischen Buches,' *Z.W.T.*, s. 57-95, 1874.
 Zahn, T., 'Ueber Ursprung und religiösen Character der sibyllinischen Bücher iv, v,' *Zeitschr. für kirchl. Wiss. und kirchl. Leben*, 1886.
 Diels, K., *Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin, 1890.
 Fehr, E., *Studia in Oracula Sibyllina*, Upsala, 1893.
 Geffcken, J., 'Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina,' *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, 1902.

The literature which touches on the Sibylline Books is a very large one, and only a selection has been given above. A fuller Bibliography (up to 1900) will be found in Terry's translation. Of the works mentioned Alexandre's *Excursus ad Sibyllina* is a mine of information upon which the present writer has drawn freely. Friedlieb's edition, with its spirited translation into German hexameters, contains many useful suggestions. Rzach's text is furnished with a good *apparatus criticus*, but it is on the whole inferior to Geffcken's which forms the basis of the present translation. Schürer has some serviceable remarks in his *History of the Jewish People* (English translation, Edinburgh, 1886), and sidelights may be gleaned from various books on Jewish History and Eschatology, notably R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*; Bousset, *Religion der Juden im N.T. Zeitalter*; and Volz, *Jüdische Apokalyptik*.

(c) TRANSLATIONS.

The following are noted in the very full Bibliography in *The Sibylline Oracles translated from the Greek into English Blank Verse* of M. S. Terry.

(a) English.

- J. Floyer, *The Sibylline Oracles*, translated from the best Greek copies and compared with the sacred prophecies, especially with David and the Revelation, and with as much history as plainly shows that many of the Sibyl's predictions are exactly fulfilled. With answers to objections made against them, London, 1731.
 Terry, M. S., *op. cit.*, New York, 1890.

(b) French.

- Champier, S., *Oracles de la Sibylle*, traduits par Simphorien Champier et Jean Robertet, 1702, 1703.
 Bouché-Leclercq, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, vols. vii, viii, ix.

(c) German.

- Nahrung, J. C., *Neun Bücher sibyllinischer Prophezeiungen* aus der griechischen in die deutsche Sprache übersetzt, Halle, 1819.
 Friedlieb, J. H., *Die sibyllinischen Weissagungen vollständig gesammelt, nach neuer Handschriften-Vergleichung, mit kritischem Commentare und metrischer deutscher Uebersetzung*, Leipzig, 1852.
 Blass, F., 'Die sibyllinischen Orakel' (in *Apokr. u. Pseudep. des Alten Testaments*), Tübingen, 1900.

(d) Italian.

- Antolini, V., *Oraculi Sibyllini tradotti dal Greco in versi Italiani*, Viterbo, 1775.

(e) Latin.

- Castalio, S., *Sibyllina Oracula de Graeco in Latinum conversa et in eadem annotationes*, Basel, 1546.
 Mai, Angelo, as above, Milan, 1817, 1828.

(f) Spanish.

- Poreno, Baltasar, *Oráculos de las doze Sibilas. Profetisas de Christo nuestro Señor entre los Gentiles*, Cuenca, 1621.

THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES

FRAGMENTS

i

(1) O ye mortal men of flesh who are nought, (2) why do ye so quickly exalt yourselves, having no eye unto life's end? (3) Do ye not tremble at nor fear God, who overlooks you? (4) the Most High who knows, who looks on all, who witnesses all, (5) who nourishes all? the Creator who has planted his sweet Spirit in all, (6) and made him a guide to all mortals? (7) There is one God, sole Sovereign, excellent in power, unbegotten, (8) almighty, invisible, yet seeing all himself. (9) Yet he himself is beheld by no mortal flesh. (10) For what flesh can see visibly the heavenly and true (11) God, the Immortal, whose abode is the heaven? (12) Nay not even face to face with the sun's rays (13) are men able to stand, being mortals, (14) mere veins and flesh wedded to bones. (15) Worship him, who is alone Prince of the World, (16) who alone exists from age to age, (17) self sprung, unbegotten, holding all in sway through all time, (18) giving to all men their testing time in the common light. (19) But of your evil counsel ye shall have the fitting reward, (20) for that forsaking the honouring of the true and eternal God, (21) and the offering to him of sacred hecatombs, (22) ye have made your sacrifices to the deities in Hades. (23) In insolence and madness ye walked, and, forsaking the straight high-road, (24) ye turned aside and were wandering through thorns (25) and stakes. Cease, vain mortals, (26) roaming in darkness and in black murky night, (27) and leave the darkness of night and take hold of the light. (28) Behold he is plain unto all and such as cannot be missed. (29) Come, pursue not ever darkness and murkiness! (30) Behold, the sweet-eyed light of the sun shines brightly forth. (31) Conceive wisdom in your hearts and have knowledge. (32) There is one God who sends rain and winds and earthquakes, (33) lightnings, famines, pestilence and sad cares, (34) and snow and hail: why should I detail them one by one? (35) He is Lord of heaven, Sovereign of earth, the one Existence.

ii

(1) But if the gods have offspring and yet remain immortal, (2) there would have been more gods born than men, (3) nor would room have been found for mortals to stand.

iii

(1) But if any thing brought into being wholly perishes, God could not have been fashioned (2) from the loins of a man and from the womb. (3) But God is one, most exalted of all, who has made (4) the heaven, the sun, the stars, and the moon, (5) the fertile earth too, and the swellings of the sea-water, (6) and the lofty mountains, and perennial founts of springs. (7) Again he brings into

i. The whole Fragment is preserved in Theoph. *ad Autol.* ii. 36. The first line is quoted by Clem. Al. *Strom.* iii. 3. 14. The strong monotheism of the passage is probably Jewish rather than Christian, but Fehr (*Stud. in Or. Sib.*, p. 16 ff.) points out its close similarity with Orphic writings.

5, 6. Cf. Wisdom xii. 1. The lines are quoted in Lact. *Div. Inst.* iv. 6. 5 as coming from the beginning of the Erythraean Sibyl. In 6 Lact. has *θεόν* for *βροτών*, but this is probably a Christian alteration.

7-9. Quoted by Justin, *Coh. ad Graec.* 16.

10. Cf. iii. 17; Deut. v. 26.

12. Geffcken quotes a similar thought ascribed to Socrates in Clem. Al. *Protrept.* vi. 71.

14. The rendering follows the restoration of Nauck.

18. **testing time**, *κρίσιμον*, is of doubtful meaning. Geffcken quotes Philo, *De Opif. Mund.* 20, p. 14, in which it appears to mean 'discrimination'. The phrase 'common light' is probably of Stoic origin. It recurs in iii. 494.

22. For the idea that the heathen gods are dead cf. iii. 545 ff., viii. 393.

28-35. Quoted in Clem. Al. *Protrept.* viii. 37. Line 28 is also quoted in *Strom.* v. 14. 116.

30. Alexandre supposes the 'sweet-eyed light' to refer to Christ. But the thought is more of the actual sun declaring the glory of God.

ii. The second Fragment is also found in Theophilus (*ad Aut.* ii. 3. 2), and is alluded to specifically in [Constantine's] *Or. ad sanct. coet.* 4. It appears to be closely connected with the following Fragment.

iii. The Fragment is preserved in Theoph. *ad Aut.* ii. 36. 29. The first and the second lines are quoted in Hipp. *Philos.* v. 16, and in Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 8. 3, and alluded to in Justin, *Cohort. ad Graec.* 23. 6.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. FRAGMENT III, LINES 8-49

being the multitudes countless in number of the creatures of the water, (8) and He keeps alive the reptiles that move on the earth, (9) and the manifold species of winged things, twittering with clear voice, (10) brown birds with liquid trill, beating the air with outstretched wings; (11) and in the mountain glades he has set the wild race of beasts, (12) and to us mortals he has subjected all domestic creatures. (13) He has constituted man as the Divinely appointed ruler of all, and (14) to him he has subjected every variety of things, and things that cannot be understood. (15) For what mortal flesh can know all these things? (16) Nay, none knows them save He who from the beginning has made them, (17) the incorruptible Creator, the Eternal, dwelling in the sky (18), putting before the good much greater reward of good (19) but for the evil and unjust raising up wrath and anger, (20) and war and pestilence and tearful woes. (21) Ye men, why do ye vainly exalt yourselves—to be rooted out? (22) Be ashamed of making gods of cats and beasts. (23) Does not madness and frenzy take away the sense of the mind, (24) if gods purloin dishes and carry off pots: (25) and in place of dwelling in the golden **limitless** sky (26) they look moth-eaten and are woven with thick spiders' webs. (27) Ye witless folk, worshipping serpents, dogs and cats, (28) ye reverence winged creatures and animals that creep on the earth, (29) and images of stone and statues made with hands, (30) and stones piled together by the roads. These things ye reverence (31) and many other vain things which it is a shame even to mention. (32) These are gods **who lead on** weak-willed men **by guile**, (33) from whose very mouth deadly poison is poured. (34) But to Him Who is both life and deathless, endless light, (35) and who pours forth upon men gladness sweeter than **(luscious)** honey, (36) to Him alone bend thy neck, (37) and †incline† thy path among the blessed lives. (38) All these things ye left and quaffed the full goblet of justice, (39) unadulterated, strong, fortified, in no wise tempered, (40) yea all of you with spirit frenzied by folly. (41) And ye will not wake to soberness and come to a temperate mind, (42) and know the King, the God Who oversees all things. (43) Therefore the gleam of blazing fire is coming upon you. (44) Ye shall be burned with torches the livelong day throughout the age, (45) being ashamed of your lying futile idols. (46) But they who honour the true and everlasting God (47) inherit life, throughout the aeonian time (48) dwelling in the fertile garden of Paradise, (49) feasting on sweet bread from the starry heaven.

BOOK III

(1) O thou who thunderest from on high, blessed heavenly one, who hast the Cherubim (2) as thy throne, I pray thee give me a short respite from mine unerring oracle, (3) for my soul within me is weary. (4) Nay, why did my heart again flutter, and why is my soul, (5) lashed with a spur from within, compelled to announce my message (6) to all? So again I will proclaim all (7) that God bids me proclaim unto men.

8. **keeps alive.** The verb *ψυχότροφεῖται* is apparently found nowhere else. The middle is a little awkward, and Opsopoeus' reading, *ψυχότροφεῖ τε* (from M), is not reliable.
 12. Cf. Ps. viii. 7, 8. Philo, *De Opif. Mundi* 28 (the whole chapter should be read).
 17-19. Quoted by Lact. *De Ira Dei* xxii. 7, as from Erythraean Sibyl.
 18, 19. Cf. Sirach xxxix. 25.
 21. The question is a highly compressed one. For the thought cf. iii. 57 ff.
 22. The mention of cats as objects of worship points to an Egyptian source cf. iii. 30.
 25. **limitless**, *ἀπείρονα*, an emendation of Wilamowitz.
 26. **look moth-eaten.** The phrase *σητέβρωτα δέδορκε* is scornfully modelled on the heroic idiom *πῦρ . . . δεδορκώς* (Odys. xix. 446, &c.). The sarcasm is very effective. The deified cats pilfer savoury morsels, and the images are covered with spiders' webs.
 32. **who lead on . . . by guile**, *δόλω ἡγητήρες* is Wilamowitz's suggestion for *δολοήτορες*.
 35. This line and the next are deficient. There is nothing to show how they should be filled up.
 37. †incline†. The verb is uncertain. MS. reading is *ἀνακλινοῖ*. Rz. alters to *ἀνακλίνουις*, but the optative is awkward after the imperative. Perhaps read *ἀνακαίνου*, 'renew.'
 38. The metaphor of the cup is probably derived from Isa. li. 17.
 45. MS. 'being ashamed of lies in the futile idols'.
 46-48. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* ii. 12. 19.
 47. The phrase **inherit life** recalls Matt. xix. 29, but is not exclusively a Christian conception.
 49. **sweet bread.** This is probably manna, which is to be the food of the blessed. Cf. Sib. iii. 746 and 2 Baruch xxix. 8.

III. 1-7. Introduction. *The Divine compulsion.*

1. The line needs emendation to make it scan. Read *ὑψίβρομε, μάκαρ, οὐράνιε ὅς ἔχεις τὰ Χερουβίμ*. The scansion goes more by accent than by strict rules, and indeed in all this section there are metrical abnormalities.
 3. The Sibyl regularly represents herself as speaking under Divine compulsion, cf. *infr.* l. 295. The Fathers distinguished her inspiration from that of the Hebrew prophets by its unwilling character.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 1-62

(8) Ye men that bear the form that God did mould in his image, (9) why do ye wander at random and walk not in the straight path, (10) being ever mindful of the eternal Creator? (11) There is one sovereign God, ineffable, whose dwelling is in heaven, (12) self sprung, unseen yet seeing all himself alone. (13) No mason's hand did make him, nor does some model formed from gold (14) or ivory by the varied skill of man represent him. (15) But he, himself Eternal, hath revealed himself (16) as One who is and was before, yea and shall be hereafter. (17) For who, being mortal, can gaze on God with his eyes? (18) Or who could bear even to hear the mere name (19) of the mighty, heavenly God, the World-Ruler? (20) Who by his word created all, both heaven and sea (21) and tireless sun and moon at full (22) and twinkling stars, mighty mother Ocean, (23) springs and rivers, fire immortal, days and nights. (24) Yea it is God Himself who fashioned four-lettered Adam, (25) the first man fashioned, who completes in his name (26) morn and dusk, antarctic and arctic. (27) He too both established the fashion of the form of mortal men (28) and made the beasts and things that creep and fly. (29) Ye do not worship nor fear God, but wander at haphazard, (30) bowing down to serpents and doing sacrifice to cats, (31) and to **dumb** idols and stone statues of mortal wights, (32) and sitting down before the doors of godless temples (33) **ye weary** the God who ever is, who guards all (34), taking your delight in miserable stones, forgetting the judgement (35) of the Eternal Saviour Who created heaven and earth. (36) O race that delights in blood, crafty, wicked race of godless men, (37) liars and double-tongued, immoral, (38) adulterous, idolatrous, of wily devices, (39) within whose heart is evil, a frenzied spur, (40) snatching for **yourselves**, having a shameless mind! (41) For no man of wealth endowed with goods will give any part to another, (42) but miserable meanness shall be among all mortals, (43) and faith they shall never keep at all, (44) but many widowed women shall have other secret lovers for lucre's sake, (45) and gaining husbands shall not keep hold of the rope of life.

(46) But when Rome shall rule over Egypt as well, (47) †as she **still** hesitates to do,† then the mightiest kingdom (48) of the immortal king over men shall appear. (49) And a holy prince shall come to wield the sceptre over all the world (50) unto all ages of hurrying time. (51) And then there shall be inexorable wrath on Latin men. (52) Three with piteous fate shall bring ruin on Rome, (53) and all its people shall perish in their own dwellings, (54) whensoever a cataract of fire shall flow from heaven. (55) O wretched me! when shall that day arrive, (56) even the judgement of the eternal God, the mighty King? (57) Yet for the present be ye founded, O ye cities, and adorned all of you (58) with temples and race-courses, with markets and statues (59) of gold and silver and stone, that ye may come to the day of bitterness. (60) For come it will, whenever the odour of brimstone pervades (61) all mankind. But I will tell out in particular (62) all those cities in which men are to suffer woe.

8-45. Praise of God and denunciation of idolatry. The passage is similar to Fr. i. and iii. Cf. also Isa. xl. 18 ff.; Wisdom of Solomon xiii. 10 ff.

12. **seeing** . . . **alone**. There is no need to alter ὁρῶν μόνος (φ, ψ) into ὁράμενος. For the thought cf. *Orph. Frag.* iv. 9 f. οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν εἰσοράει θνητῶν αὐτὸς δέ τε πᾶντας ὁρᾶται.

14. **by the varied skill**. τέχνησ' is a conjecture of Wilamowitz. It is possible to translate the MSS. τεχνῆς, 'no model of the art of man . . .'

17. Cf. Exod. xxxiii. 20; Judg. xiii. 22, &c.

20. For God's word as the agent of Creation cf. Ps. xxxiii. 6. It is not yet personified as in Philo.

24. The letters of Adam are represented as giving the initials of East, West, South, and North. In 2 En. xxx. 13 an acrostic is formed on this name. The same idea recurs in an anonymous writing, *De Montibus Sina et Sion* 4, and in Aug. *Tract. in Joh. Evang.* ix. 14.

25. **in his name**. For καὶ ὄνομα it is necessary to read κατ' ὄνομα.

30. The objects of worship are specially Egyptian. Cf. *Frag.* iii. 27.

31. **dumb**. ἀλάλως. So Alexandre emends from ἄλλως.

33. **ye weary**. The MSS. reading τηρέετε can hardly be translated. Read τείπετ' αἰεὶ. Cf. Isa. xliii. 24.

34. **forgetting**. ἐκλαθόντες does not occur elsewhere in the active with this meaning. Mein. suggests ἐκλελαθόντες, but this is usually causative in meaning.

37. The restoration of the text is due to Castalio.

40. **for yourselves**. For αὐτοῖς it seems necessary to read αἰτοῖς.

42. **meanness**, κακίη in the special sense of *stinginess*. Cf. Rom. i. 29.

44-5. In 1 Tim. v. 11, 12 regularly constituted church widows are forbidden to marry again. Here the objection seems to be against second marriages in general.

45. **rope of life**. This is probably a nautical metaphor.

46-62. The reign of the Holy King and the destruction of the wicked. For the question of the date see Introduction, p. 371.

46. A Rabbinic guess as to the time of the coming of the Messiah was nine months after the empire of Rome had extended over the whole world. Cf. Edersheim, *Life and Times*, i. 169 (with notes).

47. †as she **still hesitates to do**†. The text is uncertain, and various emendations are possible. In Geffcken's text εἰσέτι (for MSS. εἰς ἐν) δηθύνουσα *ρότε δη* it seems necessary to omit δη. Buresch and Fehr suggest εἰς ἐν δ' ἰθύνει.

49. **a holy prince**. He must be the Messiah, and not as Alexandre suggests, Vespasian.

54. Possibly a reference to the burning of the Capitoline Juppiter in 84 B.C., in which the Sibylline Books perished, or to the destruction by lightning of the statue of Juppiter on the Alban Mount in 57 B.C.

60. For **brimstone** as a feature of the Judgement cf. infr. 462; 1 Enoch cxvii. 6.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 63-102

(63) From the stock of Sebaste Beliar shall come in later time (64) and shall †raise† the mountain heights and raise the sea, (65) the great fiery sun and the bright moon, (66) and he shall raise up the dead and shall perform many signs (67) for men: but they shall not be effective in him. (68) Nay, but he deceives mortals, and many shall he deceive, (69) Hebrews faithful and elect and lawless too, and other (70) men who have never yet listened to the word of God. (71) But at whatsoever time the threatened vengeance of the Almighty God draws near, (72) and fiery energy comes through the swelling surge to earth, (73) and burns up Beliar and the overweening men, (74) even all who have put their trust in him, (75) then the world shall be under the dominion of a woman's hands (76) obeying her every behest. (77) Then when a widow shall reign over the whole world (78) and cast both gold and silver into the godlike deep, (79) **and the brass and iron** of shortlived man (80) cast into the sea, then the elements of the world one and all (81) shall be widowed, what time God Whose dwelling is in the sky (82) shall roll up the heaven as a book is rolled. (83) And the whole firmament in its varied forms shall fall on the divine earth (84) and on the sea: and then shall flow a ceaseless cataract of raging fire, (85) and shall burn land and sea, (86) and the firmament of heaven and the **stars** and creation itself (87) it shall cast into one molten mass and clean dissolve. (88) Then no more shall there be the luminaries' twinkling orbs, (89) no night, no dawn, no constant days of care, (90) no spring, no summer, no winter nor autumn. (91) And then the judgement of the Mighty God shall come into the midst (92) of the mighty aeon, when all these things shall come to pass.

(93) O for the watery tracks and all the dry land, (94) when the sun arises which never sets again. (95) All shall obey him as he ascends again upon the world, (96) for as much as he first **fashioned** them, and his might.

(97) But whensoever the threatened vengeance of the Mighty God is brought to pass, (98) that vengeance with which once he threatened mortals when they made a tower (99) in the Assyrian land—Now all were of one tongue (100) and they desired to ascend into the starry heaven. (101) But straightway the Eternal laid great stress (102) upon the blasts: then the winds dashed down the great

63-92. The coming and destruction of Beliar. In P. this section is introduced with the following words: 'After this she proceeds in her discourse about the deceiving devil, the Antichrist, and speaks as follows.'

63. Sebaste is Samaria, and the reference is probably to Simon Magus regarded as Belial or the Antichrist. But 'the stock of Sebaste' may refer to the Emperors (Augusti), and, if so, Beliar is Nero represented as returning. So R. H. Charles (*Asc. Isa.* p. lxviii).

64. **raise**. The use of the verb *στήσει* is difficult. Possibly it alters its meaning from 'bring down' in this line to 'raise up' in l. 66. Or in l. 64 we might read *στρώσει*.

67. In Acts of Peter with Simon xxviii ff. Simon Magus resuscitates a dead body, but only in appearance. When he departs the charm vanishes, and it is St. Peter who actually performs the miracle. The unreality of the miracles is alluded to in Ps. Hippol. xxiii. 106. 14.

70. The reading of *φ οὐπω Θεοῦ λόγον* need not necessarily be altered.

71. The idea that the world would be destroyed by fire appears among the Romans as a Stoic doctrine. Probably it was derived from Heraclitus. Among the Jews it was possibly suggested by Oriental influences.

75. For the idea of the dominion of a woman cf. viii. 200. It has been suggested that Cleopatra is intended, transformed into a demoniacal personage. Bousset sees a recollection of the mythical Sea Monster, originally regarded as feminine.

79. **the brass too and iron**. *Καὶ χαλκὸν τε σίδηρον*. Emend with Wilamowitz into *σὺν χαλκῷ τε σίδηρον*.

81. **be widowed**. Probably, as Blass suggests, 'bereft of living things'.

82. Cf. Isa. xxxiv 4; Ps. cii. 26; Apoc. vi. 14, and frequently in later literature, e.g. Armenian Apoc. of Daniel, 240. 13 (cf. Bousset-Keane in *Antichrist Legend*, p. 242).

84. **cataract of . . . fire**. Cf. Secrets of Enoch x. 3.

86. **stars**, *σήματα*, a conjectural emendation for *ήματα*.

89. The cessation of seasons is paralleled in Secrets of Enoch xxxiii. 2; cf. also 4 Ezra vii and Sib. ii. 325.

90. **winter**. There is no need to alter the MS. reading *χειμών* to *χειμών*'.

92. **the mighty aeon** (*αἰὼν μέγας*) was originally a Stoic conception.

93-6. The lines are usually regarded as Christian, but there is nothing distinctively Christian in them. The reference to the sun probably goes back to Malachi iv. 1, 2. It is possible, indeed, that Justin is referring to these lines in *Cohort. ad Graec.* 38, and if so he understood them to be Christian in interpretation. But that does not prove that they are of Christian origin.

96. **fashioned** (*ἐπήγνε*) for MSS. 'knew' (*ἐπέγνω*).

97-294. A long section from the Erythraean Sibyl beginning with twelve lines adapted from the Babylonian Sibyl. The passage is widely quoted or alluded to: cf. Euseb. i. 23, 24, who quotes from Alexander Polyhistor (fl. 80-40 B.C.); Josephus, *Ant.* i. 4. 3. Eusebius preserves also notices in Abydenus and Eupolemus (cf. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 14, xvii). Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 6 explicitly refers the section to the Erythraean Sibyl, but a notice in the *Scholia* on Plato, *Phaedr.* 244 B ascribes the account of the tower and the giants to the Hebrew Sibyl.

100. There appears to be some confusion of the story in Genesis with the legend of the giants piling Pelion on Ossa. Homer, *Od.* xi. 304 ff.: Virg. *Georg.* i. 280 ff.

102. The wind is not mentioned in Genesis, but the allusion occurs in Jubilees x. 26; Josephus, *Ant.* i. 4. 3; Epiph. *Adv. Haer.* i. 1. 5.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 103-163

tower from on high, (103) and incited mortal men to mutual strife. (104) Therefore men named the city Babylon.

(105) But when the tower was fallen and men's tongues (106) divided off with divers kinds of sounds, then the whole (107) earth began to be filled with separate kingdoms. (108) Then came the tenth generation of articulate men, (109) since the flood came upon the men of yore. (110) And Cronos, Titan, and Iapetus were kings, (111) the goodliest children of Gaia and Ouranos, whom men called (112) Earth and Heaven, dubbing them so (113) because they were the first of all articulate men. (114) Three-fold were the divisions of earth in the portion of each, (115) and each was king in his own sphere, nor did they fight, (116) for oaths had been made to their father, and the shares were just. (117) Then their father's full time of age arrived (118) and so he died. And his sons in monstrous transgression of their oaths (119) stirred up strife against one another (120) as to who should reign over mortals in possession of royal honour. (121) And Cronos and Titan fought against each other. (122) But them Rhea and Gaia and garland-loving Aphrodite, (123) Demeter and Hestia and fair-tressed Dione (124) brought to friendship, reconciling the kings (125) all brethren as they were and of one kin, and the other (126) men who were of like blood and parentage. (127) And they resolved that Cronos should reign as king of all, (128) because he was eldest and fairest of form. (129) But Titan for his part imposed mighty oaths on Cronos (130) that he should not rear a family of male children, so that he himself might be king (131) when old age and death overtook Cronos. (132) So whensoever Rhea was in travail, the Titans would sit beside her (133) and tear in pieces every male child, (134) but the women children they would leave alive to be reared with their mother. (135) But our lady Rhea when she brought forth her third child (136) brought forth Hera first: and when they saw evidently (137) that the child was female they went away to their homes, those rough (138) Titans. And then Rhea brought forth a man child, (139) whom she quickly sent away, to be reared secretly and privily, (140) to Phrygia, taking three Cretan men under oath into her counsel. (141) Therefore they gave him the name of Zeus because he was sent away unsuspected. (142) In like manner too she sent away Poseidon stealthily. (143) Then at the third time Rhea, goddess among women, gave birth to Pluto (144) as she was passing Dodona, whence ran the watery courses (145) of the river Europus, and the water flowed to the sea (146) blended with the Peneius, and they call it the Stygian stream. (147) But when the Titans heard that there were sons (148) born privily to the union of Cronos and Rhea, (149) then Titan mustered his seventy sons, (150) and held in bonds Cronos and Rhea his consort. (151) And he hid them in the earth and kept them in fetters. (152) Then indeed the sons of mighty Cronos heard of it, (153) and they raised up for him a great war and battle din. (154) And this is the beginning of war to all mortals (155) [yea this is the first beginning of war to mortals].

(156) And then God inflicted evil on the Titans. (157) And all the families of the Titans and of Cronos (158) died. Then in the circling course of time (159) the Egyptian empire arose, then that of the Persians, (160) of the Medes and Ethiopians and of Assyrian Babylon, (161) then that of the Macedonians, again that of Egypt and then of Rome.

(162) And then the message of the Great God fluttered in my breast (163) and bade me prophesy

104. The derivation is taken from Genesis where the name is connected with בבל. Babel is probably *bab ili* 'gate of god', and Babylon *bab ilani* 'gate of the gods'.

110 ff. The account of the Titans is parallel to Hesiod, *Theog.* 421 ff., but differs in several details. See Friedl., *Einkl.*, p. xxvii.

114 ff. Compare the account in Epiph. *Ancoratus* cxiv, in which Noah is represented as dividing the world among his three sons and exacting from them an oath that none should invade his brother's portion. It is from Ham's violation of this compact by robbing Shem of Canaan that Epiphanius deduces the justice and morality of the command to Israel to exterminate the Canaanites. A similar story is told in an Ethiopian work (*Kebra Nagast*, ed. Bezold, 1905).

119. For the wars of the gods cf. Hes. *Theog.* 629 ff.

122. Geffcken quotes a similar story from Moses of Khoren (*History of Armenia* i. 6) in which Kronos is represented by Zrwan.

132. The account is curiously parallel to Apoc. xii. 4.

140. The ordinary account as alluded to in Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*, 46 ff.; Lucr. ii. 629 ff.; Virg. *Georg.* iv. 150 represents Zeus as reared in Crete when the Curetes drown his infant cries by beating cymbals.

141. The derivation of Zeus, from the preposition of *διεπέμφθη*, 'he was sent away', is singularly weak, and may be not original, but Geffck. compares a similar derivation in Cornutus 2.

144. Dodona was celebrated for its whispering oaks, the most ancient oracle of Zeus.

145. the river Europus, i. e. Homer's Titaresius, a tributary of the Peneius. In *Il.* ii. 753 f. it is said to flow with the Peneius, but not to mingle its waters. Homer also mentions its connexion with Styx.

156-61. A concise summary which is, perhaps, not original here. Friedlieb suggests that 156 is picked up by 199, the intervening lines being an interpolation.

159. The prominence given to Egypt is to be noticed. It is the first of empires and the only name that recurs.

162-294. The Babylonian Sibyl standing in the remote past reviews the history of the world as far as the time of Cyrus (167-210 an interpolation).

162. fluttered, *ἔτταρο*, so MSS. Rz. and Geffck. 'stood', *ἵσταρο*.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 164-219

severally about each (64) land and to their kings, and to put them in mind of things that are to be. (65) And this was the first thing that God vouchsafed to my understanding, (66) namely how many kingdoms of men are being mustered. (67) First of all the house of Solomon shall hold sway, (68) **and the Phoenician invaders** of Asia and of the islands as well (69), and the race of the Pamphylians, Persians, and Phrygians, (70) and that too of the Carians and Mysians and Lydians rich in gold.

(71) Then shall come the Greeks overweening and unholy: (72) **then** a very motley race of Macedonia shall hold sway, (73) who shall come as a dread war cloud upon mortals. (74) But the God of heaven shall smite them utterly.

(75) Next there shall be the sway of another empire, (76) an empire of many hoary heads from the western sea, (77) which shall hold sway over much land, and shall convulse many men, (78) and shall cause fear to many kings in time to come; (79) much gold too and silver it shall ravish (80) from many cities: and again there shall be in the godlike earth (81) gold, yes, and silver, and raiment too.

(82) And they shall afflict mortals. But those men shall have a great (83) fall, whensoever they enter on a course of unjust insolence. (84) And straightway a stress of ungodliness shall fall on them, (85) and male shall draw near to male, and they shall set their children (86) in ill-famed houses, and there shall be in those days (87) great tribulation among men, and it shall set all things wrong, (88) and cut everything short, and fill everything with evils, (89) through covetousness the corrupter of life, and ill-gotten wealth, (90) in many lands and especially in Macedonia. (91) And it shall stir up hatred, and they shall show all manner of guile, (92) until the seventh reign when there shall reign (93) over Egypt a king, who shall be of Greek origin.

(94) And then the nation of the Mighty God shall be again powerful, (95) that nation which shall be to all mortals the guide of life. (96) But why has God put this too into my mind to say (97) what shall be the first evil and the next one and the last which is to fall (98) on all men, and what shall be the beginning of these? (99) First of all God shall inflict evil on the Titans, (200) for they shall suffer vengeance at the hands of the sons of the mighty Cronos, (201) because they bound Cronos and the honoured mother. (202) Then, secondly, the Greeks shall have tyrannies and haughty (203) kings, overweening and unchaste, (204) adulterous and evil in every way, and no longer shall mortals have (205) rest from war. And the terrible Phrygians shall perish, (206) all of them, and evil shall be upon Troy on that day. (207) Then to the Persians and Assyrians evil shall come, (208) and to the whole of Egypt, and to Libya and the Ethiopians, (209) and the Carians and Pamphylians an evil **hard** to remove, (10) and to all men. Why, then, do I detail each severally?

(11) But when the first have reached their end, straightway then shall (12) be a second series upon men. But now I will proclaim this first of all. (13) Evil shall come to the godly men, who dwell around the great temple (14) of Solomon, and who are the descendants of righteous (15) men. Yet of these also I will proclaim (16) the family and kindred of their fathers and the people of all, (17) everything expressly will I proclaim, O mortal of cunning wiles and crafty mind.

(18) There is a city <Camarina> down in the land of Ur of the Chaldees, (19) from which comes

167 ff. The list of world powers falls into five divisions: (a) Asia, (b) Greece, (c) Rome, (d) Egypt, (e) Jews.

168. **and the Phoenician invaders of Asia**, &c. MSS. have 'invaders of Phoenicia, Asia', &c.

172. **then**. *εἴτα* Volkmann for *ἄλλο*, MSS.

175-93. Rome is still a distant power, but it arouses intense apprehension. The lines seem to reflect a date between 190 (Magnesia) and 165 B.C. when Rome intervened to effect a peace between the Hasmoneans and Lysias.

176. **of many hoary heads**, lit. 'white and many headed', referring to the Roman Senate.

178. Perhaps referring to the check of Antiochus Epiphanes by G. Popilius Laenas in 168 B.C.; cf. Polyb. xxix. 27.

179. Referring to the tribute of 15,000 talents exacted after Magnesia.

180. **there shall be in the godlike earth gold**. The meaning seems to be that men would hide their treasures in order to prevent their being requisitioned to pay the tribute. The practice is condemned in Sirach xxix. 10; 2 Enoch li. 2.

183 ff. The particular vices are out of place as ascribed to the Romans of this early date.

188. The line is repeated in l. 613, where it refers to Antiochus the Great.

190. Macedonia was divided after the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.), and made a Roman province in 147 B.C.

192. The seventh king is Ptolemy VII, Philometor, son of Cleopatra I, and grandson of Antiochus III. He was proclaimed king in 182 B.C. Ewald, however, would understand the king to be Ptolemy Physkon.

194. The exaltation of the Jews refers to the age of the later Maccabees.

199-210. Another different enumeration of world powers beginning with the Titans.

200. i.e. *υἱοῖς γὰρ κρατεροῦ δικας τίσουσιν Κρόνῳ* emended from *υιοι γαρ κρτ. Κρονου τισουσιν δικας* (Badt).

204. **adulterous** refers to the abduction of Helen by Paris.

209. **an evil hard to remove**. Read *τ' ἄπορον* for *τε κακόν* (with Herwerden).

211-17. An introduction to a sketch of Jewish history, which extends to 294.

218. The lacuna is to be filled up by 'Camarina', which Eupolemus gives as an old name for Ur. Schrader points out that Camarina might be connected with the Arabic word for moon, Ur being one of the main seats of the worship of Sin the Moon God. Ewald understands *Ὀὐραλδαίου* to refer to Abraham, and 'the land of Abraham' to mean Palestine. He reads *σηκός τε* for *καμάρινα*. For *Ὀὐρ Χαλδαίων* *ψ* read *εὐρνώγνι*, but this seems a mere guess.

219. For *δὴ ψ* reads *μοι*, 'my race'; as if the Sibyl claimed a Mesopotamian descent.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 220-285

a race of most righteous men, (20) who ever give themselves up to sound counsel and fair deeds. (21) For they search not out the circling course of the sun or the moon, (22) nor monstrosities beneath the earth, (23) nor the depth of Ocean's shimmering sea, (24) nor portents of sneezes, and birds of augurers, (25) nor wizards, nor magicians, nor enchanter, (26) nor the deceits of ventriloquists' foolish words, (27) nor do they study the predictions of Chaldaean astrology, (28) nor do they astronomize: for all these things are in their nature prone to deceive, (29) such things as witless men are searching out day by day, (30) exercising their souls for a work of no profit. (31) Yes, and they have taught deceits to ill-starred men, (32) from which come many evils to mortals on the earth, (33) so that they are led astray from good paths and righteous acts. (34) But these diligently practise justice and virtue, (35) and not covetousness, which is the source of myriad ills (36) to mortal men, of war and desperate famine.

(37) But they have just measures in country and city, (38) nor do they carry out night robberies one against another, (39) nor do they drive off herds of oxen and sheep and goats, (40) nor does a neighbour remove his neighbour's landmarks, (41) nor does a man of much wealth vex his lesser brother, (42) nor does **anyone** afflict widows but rather assists them, (43) ever ready to supply them with corn and wine and oil. (44) And always the wealthy man among the people sends a portion of his harvest to those who have nothing, (45) but are in want, (46) fulfilling the command of the Mighty God, the **ever abiding** strain: (47) for Heaven has wrought the earth for all alike.

(48) But when the people of twelve tribes with their God-sent leaders (49) shall leave Egypt and pursue their road, (50) journeying with a fiery pillar in the night-time, (51) and in a pillar of cloud **whenever** the dawn leads on day, (52) over them He shall set up as leader the mighty man (53) Moses, whom the princess found and took home from a marsh, (54) and bringing up called her son. But when he came, (55) leading the people whom God was bringing from Egypt (56) to Mount Sina, then God gave them the law forth from heaven, (57) writing all its ordinances on two tables, (58) and commanded to keep them: and if so be any disobeyed, (59) he should pay the penalty, either according to law or by mortals' hands, (60) or if he escaped mortal men, he should perish by divine justice.

(63) To them alone does the fruitful field yield its fruit (64) up to an hundred fold from one, and the measures of God are yielded.

(65) But they too shall have evil, neither shall they escape (66) pestilence. Yea, and thou too shalt leave thy lovely shrine (67) and flee, since it is thy fate to leave thine holy soil. (68) And thou shalt be carried to the Assyrians, and shalt see thine infant children (69) enslaved to hostile men, (70) and thy wives: and all thy livelihood and wealth shall perish. (71) And every land shall be full of thee and every sea: (72) and every one shall be incensed at thy customs. (73) And the whole land shall be empty of thee: and the fenced altar, (74) and the temple of the Mighty God and the long walls (75) shall all fall to the ground, because thou didst not obey in thy mind (76) the holy law of the Immortal God, but wentest astray, (77) and didst serve miserable idols, and didst not fear (78) the Immortal Father of gods and of all men, (79) nor wouldst honour Him, but didst honour the idols of mortal men. (80) Therefore for seven decades of times thy fruitful land (81) shall all be empty of thee and (so shall) thy wondrous shrine. (82) But there awaits thee good at the end and exceeding great glory, (83) as the **Immortal** God has ordained for thee. But do thou tarry, (84) trusting in the holy laws of the Mighty God, (85) when **bowing** thy knee thou prayest toward the light of dawn.

227-8. **astrology . . . astronomize.** The distinction between *ἀστρολογεῖν* and *ἀστρονομεῖν* appears, apart from this passage, to be not earlier than Sextus Empiricus. For Chaldaea as the home of astronomy cf. Philo, *De Migratione Abrahami*, c. 32.

242. The line is metrically defective, and has to be emended. Read οὐδέ γέ τις χήρας θλίβει μᾶλλον δὲ βοηθεῖ (Mein.).

246. **ever abiding**, *ἔμμονον*, conjecture, for 'lawful', *ἐννομον*. For 'strain', *ἔμνον*, there is a variant, 'sleep', *ὑπνον*.

247. For the sentiment cf. ii. 319 ff., viii. 110 ff.

248. **God-sent leaders.** These are either Moses and Aaron, or, according to Jewish tradition, angels, who guided the Israelite host. Volkmann compares Philo, *Vita Moysis*, i, p. 628.

251. **whenever** (*ὅταν*), a conjecture of Geffck. for 'all' (*πάν*).

260. **divine** (*θεῖη*) seems required for MSS. 'all' (*πάση*). Compare the trespass of Achan (Judg. vii). After this line two lines are omitted. Lines 247 and 585 are inserted in some MSS.

264. **measures of God** perhaps = 'bounteous measures'. The imperfect *τελέθοντο* (are yielded) is, perhaps, used gnomically.

266. **leave.** *καταλιπών*, though metrically defective, need not be altered to *κάρτα λιπών* (Wilamowitz) or *καλλείπων* (Alex).

283. **Immortal.** MSS. *καὶ βροτός* for *ἄμβροτος*. Volkmann would read *ὁ καὶ βροτός*, and understand a reference to the Incarnation, but this is highly improbable.

285. The text is certainly corrupt. The MSS. have *ὁππότε σείο καμὸν ὀρθὸν γόνυ πρὸς φάος ἄρη*, 'whenever he lifts thy tired (or 'and my') knee upright toward the light.' The emendation is not very violent to *ὁππότε σου κάμπτων ὀρθρου γόνυ πρὸς φάος ἄρη*.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 286-340

(86) And then the God of heaven shall send a king, (87) and shall judge each man with blood and flame of fire. (88) There is a royal tribe, whose family shall (89) never stumble: and this in the circuit of times (90) shall have dominion and shall begin to raise up a new shrine of God. (91) And all the kings of the Persians shall succour it (92) with gold and brass and well wrought iron. (93) For God Himself shall give a holy dream by night. (94) And then the Temple shall be again as it was before.

(95) Then indeed my spirit ceased its God-sent strain, (96) and I besought the Great Father to ease me from my spell. (97) And again the word of the Great God fluttered in my breast, (98) and bade me prophesy of each several (99) land and to put in the minds of the kings that which is to be. (300) And this first God put it in my mind to say, (301) how many grievous woes the Eternal has devised for Babylon, (302) because it sacked His great temple.

(303) Woe unto thee Babylon and race of Assyrian men, a rushing destruction is coming one day upon the whole land of the sinners, (305) and a crash shall destroy the whole country of men, (306) even the scourge of the Mighty God †the inspirer of my strains†.

(307) For from the air from above there shall come to thee Babylon (308) (yea from heaven there shall come down to thee from the Holy Place) (309) and to the children of wrath eternal perdition. (10) And then thou shalt be as thou wast before as though thou hadst not been born. (11) And then thou shalt be surfeited with blood, as formerly thou thyself (12) didst spill the blood of good men and just, (13) whose blood even now cries unto the farthest heaven.

(14) Then shall come home to thee, O Egypt, a mighty plague (15) and dread, which thou didst never expect to come to thee. (16) †For a sword shall go through the midst of thee†, (17) and confusion and death and famine shall last (18) to the seventh generation of kings, and then thou shalt cease.

(19) Woe unto thee, land of Gog and Magog that art in the midst of (20) the rivers of Ethiopia; what an outpouring of blood shalt thou receive, (21) and thou shalt be called among men the habitation of judgement, (22) and the drenched earth shall drink thy life blood.

(23) Woe unto thee, Libya: woe to the sea and land! (24) Ye daughters of the West to what a bitter day shall ye come: (25) yea come pursued by a grievous struggle, (26) dreadful and grievous: a dreadful judgement shall there be again. (27) And perforce ye shall all come to perdition (28) forasmuch as ye utterly destroyed the great House of the Eternal, (29) and ground it fearfully with iron teeth. (30) Therefore thou shalt see thy land full of dead bodies, (31) some from war and all assaults of the devil, (32) by famine and pestilence, and by savage-hearted foes. (33) And all thy land shall be empty of thee, and thy cities deserts.

(34) In the west a star shall shine, which they shall call a comet, (35) a messenger to men of the sword, famine, and death, (36) and the †destruction† of ruling men and great notables.

(37) Again there shall be very great signs among men: (38) for deep eddying Tanais shall leave the Maeotic sea, (39) and down the deep bed a fertile furrow shall be drawn, (40) and the vast stream shall

286. **king.** The king is Cyrus, though possibly the writer has in mind his own times rather than the Babyionian captivity, and looks for a deliverer like Cyrus. Ewald understands the king to be the Messiah.

288. The royal tribe is Judah, from which tribe sprang Jesus son of Josedek.

293. The writer is probably thinking of the story in 1 Esdras iii. 3 ff.

295-488. The third main section in the book. The date is uncertain, various sections of different ages being apparently incorporated. Alexandre supposes the editor to be a Christian or semi-Jew of the age of the Antonines, but there is no trace of Christian influence. Badt puts the date at about 140 B. C.

306. **the inspirer of my strains.** The title ἡγήτορος ὕμνων is curious and of uncertain meaning.

307. **from the air**, or 'at dawn' (so Kautzsch, *Pseudeph.*).

314-18. Woe on Egypt. Bousset regards these lines as a later insertion.

316. Reference to the internal struggle between the two brothers Ptolemy VII Philometor and Ptolemy Euergetes II, who reigned conjointly in Egypt from 170 B. C. The MSS. reading is unmetrical, and emendations are purely conjectural.

318. Cf. supr. 192. Here, however, it is pointed out that there is a more obvious break in the Ptolemaic history after the death of Ptolemy Physkon in 117 B. C.

319-22. The names Gog and Magog occur frequently in apocalyptic literature, but their identification is not without difficulty. Nowhere else are they located as 'amid the rivers of Ethiopia'. Here, perhaps, they represent Nubians, who returned with Antiochus from Egypt, when he desecrated the Temple. In Rabbinic theology Gog and Magog are those who revolt against God and His Messiah. See references in Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, p. 176.

324. **daughters of the West.** These are probably Libyans in the army of Antiochus. Alexandre understands the phrase to refer to the Romans under Vespasian. Explanations differ widely, but there is, very probably, a reference to Ezek. xxxviii. 39, which represents Magog, Persia, Ethiopia, and Libya as marching to lay waste the Holy Land.

333. **thy cities deserts.** MSS. have 'the desolations of thy city'.

334. Perhaps refers to the comet mentioned in Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* vii. 15, as occurring at the death of Demetrius, King of Syria.

336. **destruction.** φθοράν, though metrically false, is not improbably original.

338. **Tanais** = the River Don. The 'Maeotic Sea' = the sea of Azov.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 341-392

bend its neck. (41) Chasms there shall be and yawning gulfs : and many cities (42) shall fall with all their people : in Asia's land Iassus, (43) Cebren, Pandonia, Colophon, Ephesus, Nicaea, (44) Antioch, **Cyagra**, Sinope, Smyrna, **Murine**, (45) Gaza rich in wealth, Hierapolis, Astypalaea, (46) and of Europe famous Tanagra, royal Meropea, (47) Antigone, Magnesia, and divine Mycenae. (48) Know then that the baleful race of Egypt is nigh its doom, (49) and then to the Magnesians the year that is past shall be better.

(50) For all the wealth that Rome received from tributary Asia, (51) threefold as much shall Asia receive back again (52) from Rome, and shall repay to her her hideous violence. (53) And for all those children of Asia who served Italian homes, (54) Italians to twenty-fold shall live in bondage and penury in Asia, (55) and shall pay back their debt ten thousand-fold.

(56) O Rome, pampered golden offspring of Latium ! (57) thou virgin oft intoxicated by thy many suitors in marriage, (58) as a slave-girl shalt thou be wedded without ceremony, (59) and oftentimes shall thy mistress shear thy luxuriant locks, (60) and passing sentence on thee shall cast thee from heaven to earth, (61) and shall lift thee up again from earth to heaven, (62) because men held to a bad and lawless life.

(63) Samos too shall be sand, Delos shall vanish (64) and Rome become a street : and all the oracles are being fulfilled. (65) Of perishing Smyrna there shall be no account. Outlaw shall she be, (66) but with evil counsels and the villainy of her leaders.

(67) But tranquil peace shall make its way to the land of Asia. (68) And Europe shall then be happy, the air salubrious, (69) year after year bracing and free from storms and free from hail, (70) producing everything, birds and creeping creatures of the earth. (71) Thrice happy who shall live unto that time, man (72) or woman : ***happy he whose life is as among country folk***. (73) For good law shall come in its fullness from the starry heaven (74) upon men, and good justice, and with it (75) the best of all gifts to men, sober concord, (76) and affection, faithfulness, friendship from strangers and **fellow-citizens** too. (77) And lawlessness, murmuring, envy, wrath, and folly (78) shall flee from men : penury, too, shall flee, and distress, (79) and murder, and destructive strifes, and baleful feuds, (80) and thefts by night and every evil in those days.

(81) But Macedonia shall bring forth a grievous calamity for Asia, (82) and for Europe there shall shoot up a desperate woe, (83) from the race of the son of Cronos, a family of bastards and slaves. (84) This shall subdue even the fortified city of Babylon, (85) and after being called mistress of every land on which the sun looks, (86) shall perish with miserable fate, (87) keeping but a name among its far-wandering sons of a later age.

(88) One day there shall come unexpectedly to Asia's wealthy land (89) a man clad with a purple cloak upon his shoulders, (90) savage, a stranger from justice, fiery : **for he hath exalted himself** (91) **even against the thunder**, a mortal as he is. And all Asia shall have an evil yoke, (92) and

344. **Cyagra**. Alex.'s emendation for Tanagra (see line 346).

Murine. An emendation of Alex. for *Mápos*.

347. The end of the line is uncertain. Meineke suggests Mycenae, Oiantheia (in Locris).

350-62. A great Roman disaster in Asia. If a specific occasion is to be found it may be the Mithradatic war of 88-84 B.C., or the defeat of Crassus at Carrhae in 53 B.C. But possibly it denotes merely the humbling of the world powers that is to precede the days of the Messiah.

356 ff. The picture suggested by Isa. xiii ; Apoc. xviii.

363. **Samos** . . . **sand**. For the play on words Σάμος ἄμμος, Δηλος ἄδελος, Ῥώμη ῥύμη, cf. iv. 92, viii. 165, 166. Also Tert. *De Pallio* 2, Lact. vii. 25.

366. There is apparently a gap after this : but the whole order of lines is uncertain.

372. The line is unintelligible and no satisfactory emendation has been suggested. Geffcken proposes *μακάρων κεν ἔη φάτις ὡς ἐν ἀγρῶν τοῖς*, and suspects a Christian interpolation. But the first part should probably be *μάκαρ ὅς κεν ἔη*. For the thought cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 50.

376. **from strangers and fellow-citizens too**. *ξείνων ἀπὸ κατῶν*, a conjecture for *ξείνων ἀπὸ κατῶν*.

381-7. Disaster to Asia and Europe arising from Macedonia : perhaps from the Persian Sibyl.

383. Alexander gave himself out to be the son of Juppiter Ammon after his visit to the shrine of that God in 332 B.C. The translation follows an emendation of Castalio. MSS. have *νόθον δοῦλόν τε*.

384. Babylon, captured in 331 B.C.

388-400. The reference is much disputed. The view adopted here is, in the main, that of Hilgenfeld, *Jüd. Apok.*, 68 ff. The unknown one (388) is Antiochus Epiphanes ; the race which he destroys (394) is his brother Seleucus Philopator's infant son. But Demetrius, the elder son of Seleucus, had the sons of Antiochus put to death (395). A certain Alexander Balas, however, came forward as the second son of Antiochus, and in 150 B.C. Demetrius I fell in battle against him (398). Alexander Balas was defeated by Ptolemy Philometor in 145, and shortly afterwards assassinated. Demetrius II then reigned alone, but a usurper, Tryphon, seized the throne (400), at first in the name of Antiochus, a young son of Alexander Balas. He, however, died, or was murdered, in 142, and Tryphon then became sole king.

388. **unexpectedly to Asia's wealthy land**, or 'unexpectedly from Asia to the wealthy land'. All MSS. have *ἐξ*, but *ἐς* seems required.

391. **for he hath exalted himself even against the thunder**. The rendering rests on a conjecture. MSS. have 'for the thunder raised him up before, a man'.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 393-446

the drenched earth shall drink large draughts of blood. (93) But even so Hades shall attend him utterly destroyed. (94) By the race of those whose family he wishes to destroy (95) by them shall his own family be destroyed. (96) Yet after leaving one root, which the Destroyer shall cut off, (97) he shall put forth a side-shoot of ten horns. (98) He shall cut down the warrior parent of the purple race, (99) †and he himself at the hand of his grandsons shall perish in a like fate of war† : (400) and then a parasite horn shall have dominion.

(401) Then fertile Phrygia shall have a sign (402) when in the land of Rhea an accursed race, a perennial **branch** (403) vigorous with roots that feel no thirst, (404) disappears stock and all in one night, (405) with men and all in the city of the earth-shaking Thunderer, (406) which in time to come they shall call from that event Dorylaeum (407) in ancient dark Phrygia, the land of many tears. (408) That time goes by the name of the Earth-shaking time. (409) It shall shatter the recesses of the earth and pull down the walls, (10) and signs shall spring forth which are the beginning not of good but of evil. (11) It shall have kings expert in the war of every tribe, (12) ***wily indigenous descendants of Aeneas, an aboriginal race***. (13) But in after times thou shalt be a prey to thy lovers.

(14) Ilium, I pity thee : for in Sparta an avenging fury (15) shall put forth a shoot exceeding fair, ever famed and noble, (16) leaving the far-spread sea of Asia and Europe. (17) But to thee above all it shall bring lamentations and labours and groanings, (18) and set them down ; yet to future generations thy fame shall never wax old.

(19) Then again there shall be an aged wight false in writing, (20) and false in birthplace : and the light in his eyes shall set. (21) Yet he shall have much wit, and a verse fitted to his thoughts (22) blended under two names. Chian shall he call (23) himself, and he shall write the story of Ilium, not truthfully indeed, (24) but with poetic skill ; for he shall gain possession of my verses and measures. (25) He first shall unfold my books with his hands : (26) and then right well shall he deck out the helmed men of war, (27) Hector Priam's son and Achilles, offspring of Peleus, (28) and all the rest who cared for doughty deeds. (29) Yea and he shall make gods stand by the warriors' side (30) leading astray in every way the mortals of empty head. (31) Their widespread glory rather will it be to have died (32) in Ilium : but he himself shall receive his recompense.

(33) To Lycia too the race of Locros shall bring forth many evils.

(34) Chalcedon, to whose lot has fallen the passage of the narrow sea, (35) to thee too shalt the scion of Aetolia come and work ruin.

(36) Cyzicus, from thee the sea shall rend away thy ponderous wealth. (37) ***And thou, Byzantium, one day wilt look on Ares' shield***, (38) and then thou shalt receive groanings and seas of blood.

(39) Thou too, Krasos, lofty mountain of Lycia, from a rock (40) opening in chasms from thy peak water shall bubble forth, (41) until it cause even Patara's prophetic wonders to cease.

(42) O Cyzicus, thou that dwellest in vine-growing Propontis, (43) the crested wave of Rhyndacus shall thunder round about thee.

(44) And thou, Rhodes, shalt for a long time escape slavery, (45) thou daughter of the day, and great shall be thy wealth in later times, (46) and on the sea thou shalt have strength pre-eminent over

396. **The Destroyer** is Demetrius I.
397. **side-shoot**. This is Alexander Balas, who gave himself out as a son of Antiochus Epiphanes. The 'ten horns', if it refers to him, may have reference to the ten letters of Alexandros. But cf. Daniel vii. 7 ff.
The reading in 397 and 399 is uncertain. The conjecture followed in 399 is *καὶ τὸς ὑφ' ὧν ὡν καθ' ὁμόφρονα αἶσαν Ἄρηος*.
398. The **parent** is Demetrius I : the **purple race** is Demetrius II, who married Cleopatra of Egypt.
399. This is wrong. Alexander Balas was assassinated by some followers after a defeat by Ptolemy Philometor, not by the hand of Demetrius' children.
400. **a parasite horn**, i. e. Tryphon.
401-18. The Fall of Troy. From the Erythraean Sibyl. Cf. Paus. x. 12. 2.
402. **the land of Rhea** = Phrygia. The 'accursed race' = the Trojans, ancestors of the Romans.
Lines 402-4 recur early in i. 184-6. For *κῶμα* it seems necessary to read *κλήμα*, 'branch'.
405. **the city of the . . . Thunderer**, i. e. Troy, whose walls were built by Poseidon.
406. **Dorylaeum** is in Phrygia, on the Thymbris. Coins of this city with the head of Poseidon have been found. But the whole passage 406-9, which appears to identify Troy with Dorylaeum, has not been satisfactorily explained. It is possible that Dorylaeum is merely suggested in its literal meaning (= *the prey of the spear*) as a nickname for Troy.
412. **wily indigenous descendants of Aeneas**. Read *Αἰνεάδας δολίους ἀντόχθονας*.
413. **thy lovers**, i. e. Paris and Helen. Geffcken compares Pausanias x. 12. 2 ἡ δὲ Ἡροφίλη, νεωτέρα μὲν ἐκείνης (sc. τῆς Δελφικῆς) φαίνεται δὲ ὅμως πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγονυῖα καὶ αὕτη τοῦ Τρωικοῦ καὶ Ἑλένην τε προεδήλωσεν ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς ὡς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης τραφῆσθαι ἐν Σπάρτῃ.
419. **aged wight**, i. e. Homer. For the contention that Homer borrowed from the Sibyl cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 6. 9, Diod. Sic. iv. 66. The argument is also found in Aristobulus in the second century B.C.
420. The blindness of Homer is alluded to as early as in the Homeric hymn to Apollo, quoted in Thucyd. iii. 104.
422. **two names**, i. e. the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.
433-88. A series of calamities on various towns and countries.
437. **look on . . . shield**. The rendering rests on an emendation (*ἀσπίδα δέρεξ* for *Ἄσιδι στέρεξ*).
441. **Patara**, the seaport of Xanthus, contained a famous oracle of Apollo. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* iii. 4. 64.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 447—499

others. (47) But in the end thou shalt be a prey to thy lovers (48) with thy beauty and thy wealth: a grievous yoke shalt thou put upon thy neck.

(49) Furthermore, a Lydian earthquake shall lay Persia in ruins, (50) bringing most direful woes on Europe and Asia. (51) †The Sidonians' baleful king, and the war of others (52) shall bring baleful destruction to the sea-faring Samians.† (53) With the blood of perishing men the plain shall bubble to the sea: and wives with bright-robed girls (55) shall shout aloud for their own hideous violence, (56) some for their **bridegrooms**, some for their perishing sons.

(57) The token of Cyprus: an earthquake shall destroy its ravines, (58) and Hades at one fell swoop shall possess himself of many souls.

(59) Trallis, neighbour to Ephesus, shall shake down with an earthquake (60) its well-built walls and people of stout-hearted men. (61) And the earth shall be drenched by boiling water, (62) and the stupefied earth shall drink in **mist** as well: and there shall be an odour of sulphur. (63) Samos too at that time shall build a royal mansion.

(64) Italy, to thee **no** foreign war shall come, (65) but a people of thy blood shall destroy thee, (66) shameless one, with many woes, stalwart as thou art and much renowned. (67) And thou, stretched by thine own warm **ashes**, (68) †careless of thy children's future, shalt slay thyself,† (69) and thou shalt be not the mother of heroes but the nurse of beasts.

(70) But when from Italy a destroyer shall come, (71) then Laodicea, (72) thou fair city of the Carians beside the wondrous waters of Lycus, thou shalt be dashed headlong, (73) and be silent after bemoaning thy much-vaunted parent.

(74) The Thracian **Crobuzi** shall rise throughout Haemus.

(75) On the Campanians there falls chattering of teeth, by reason of the **city-wasting** famine, (76) and they shall bewail their long-lived ancestor.

(77) Cynos and Sardo, by the great storm eddies (78) and the lashes of the Holy God through the depths of the sea, (79) shall sink beneath the wave with their sea-faring children. (80) Alas for all the maids that Death shall wed, (81) and the lads whom the deep shall attend unanealed. (82) Alas for the infant children floating on the sea, and the stores of wealth.

(83) The happy Mysian land shall suddenly produce a royal race. (84) But not for long shall Carthage †truly† be. (85) And the Galatians shall have a miserable and piteous fate. (86) To Tenedos too there shall come a final unequalled evil. (87) And brazen Sicyon and thou, Corinth, too (88) †**shalt resound** with howls for all: and **Aulis** shall shout in equal measure†.

(89) Then when my spirit ceased its inspired strain, (90) again the oracle of Mighty God stirred within my breast, (91) and bade me prophesy of several lands.

(92) Woe to the race of Phoenicians, men and women, (93) and to all their sea-coast cities: not one of you, (94) shall come to the light of the sun in that light that is common to all. (95) Nor shall there be any more any numbering of thy life nor tribe to thee, (96) because of thine unrighteous tongue and thy lawless and unclean life (97) which all have led, opening their mouth for uncleanness, (98) and because they covenanted with monstrous words, false and unjust, (99) and stood before God

447. **Rhodes** was subdued by Rome in 167 B.C., after having successfully maintained its independence and prosperity through many difficult years.

451-2. Reading very uncertain. A slight emendation would give 'a baleful king and war of others shall bring baleful destruction to the sea-faring sons of the Sidonians.' Sidon was barbarously ravaged by Artaxerxes Ochus in 352 B.C.

456. **bridegrooms** (*νυμφίων*), a conjecture of Rzach for 'corpses' (*νεκύν*).

462. **mist**: a conjecture (*ἀχλὺν* for *ἀντῆς*).

463. **Samos** fell into the hands of the Ptolemies some time before 274 B.C.

464 ff. Reference probably to the Social War.

no foreign war. For *οὐτις* MSS. have *οὗτος*.

467. **ashes**, *σποδιῇσι*, a conjecture for 'offerings', *σπονδῇσι*.

468. MSS. unintelligible. Various conjectures proposed. The text translates *ἀπροιδῆς τεκέεσσιν ἐοῖς ἐναρίξεται αὐτήν*.

470. **a destroyer**, i.e. probably Sulla, who sailed for Greece in 87 B.C. to prosecute the war against Mithradates.

472. For the earthquakes at Laodicea cf. iv. 107. The date is, however, uncertain.

473. **thy much-vaunted parent**, i.e. Zeus, whose figure is very common on the coins of the town.

474. **Thracian Crobuzi**. The restoration of these names is due to Meineke. *φ ψ Θρήκες ἀκρόβυζοι*.

475. **city-wasting**. MSS. 'fruitful' (*πολίπορθον* (So Castal.) for *πολύκαρπον*).

476. The end of the line is apparently corruptly restored from 473.

477. **Cynos and Sardo** = Corsica and Sardinia.

480. Compare the discussion on death represented as marriage in J. C. Lawson's *Ancient Greek folk-lore and modern Greek religion*, pp. 546 ff.

484. **Carthage**. It is proposed to read 'Chalcedon'. But the allusion may be to the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C.

487-8. The rendering is a mere conjecture, the text being unintelligible.

489-808. A further series of woes, the prosperity of the righteous, eschatological pictures, and exhortations to true worship.

495. **nor tribe**. Perhaps 'throughout thy race', *κατὰ φύλλον* for *καὶ φύλλον*.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 500—563

the Great King, (500) and opened with falsehood their filthy mouth. Therefore shall he (501) marvellously bring them low with His scourges more than any (502) land, and God shall send on them a bitter fate, (503) burning their cities from the ground and their many foundations.

(504) Woe to thee, much-vexed Crete. To thee shall come a scourge (505) and a dread eternal **destruction**. And all the earth shall see thee once more wreathed in smoke, (507) and fire shall never leave thee but thou shalt burn.

(508) Woe unto thee, Thrace: how shalt thou come to the yoke of bondage: (509) when Galatians mingled with the sons of Dardanus (10) **swoop on to ravage Hellas**, then shall be thine evil day, (11) and to a strange land thou shalt give <thine own> and receive nought.

(12) †Woe unto thee, Gog and Magog, and to all the several tribes, (13) Marsians and **Dacians**†, how many evils fate brings near to you: (14) <many, too>, to the sons of the Lycians, Mysians and Phrygians. (15) And many tribes of the Pamphylians and Lydians shall fall, (16) of Moors and Ethiopians and nations of barbarous speech, (17) Cappadocians and Arabians. But why should I proclaim the fate of each severally? (18) for upon all nations who dwell on the earth (19) the Most High shall send a grievous scourge.

(20) But whensoever a numerous barbarian race shall fall upon the Greeks, (21) it shall destroy many heads of picked men, (22) and many of men's fat flocks shall they ravish, (23) and herds of horses and mules and lowing oxen. (24) And well-built houses shall they lawlessly burn with fire. (25) And many miserable wights shall they carry by force as slaves to another land, (26) children and tender deep-girdled women, (27) snatched from their chambers and with delicate feet falling forward. (28) They shall see them in bonds at the hand of strange-tongued foes (29) suffering every horror of outrage. And they shall have (30) no man to lend them but a little aid in war and to succour their lives. (31) They shall see the foe reaping the enjoyment of their own possessions and of all their wealth, (32) and trembling shall be underneath their knees. (33) An hundred shall flee and one shall slay them all: (34) and five shall rout a heavy **squadron**; and they, thrown one against another (35) in shameful confusion by the dread din of battle, (36) shall bring exultation to the foe but to Greeks mourning.

(37) Then all Hellas shall lie under the yoke of slavery, (38) and war and pestilence shall come upon all mankind at once, (39) and God shall make the great heaven above brazen, (40) and drought over the whole earth, and it of iron. (41) Then all mankind shall grievously lament (42) no sowing and no ploughing: and fire upon earth (43) shall He send down **column upon column**, who created heaven and earth: (44) and of all mankind the third part shall be **destroyed**.

(45) Hellas, why dost thou put thy trust in governors, (46) mortal men who are powerless to escape the consummation of death? (47) With what view dost thou proffer vain gifts to the dead (48) and sacrifice to idols? Who has put error in thine heart, (49) that thou shouldst perform these rites and forsake the face of Mighty God? (50) Reverence the name of the Father of all and forget him not. (51) There are a thousand years and five hundred more, (52) since the reign of the haughty kings (53) of the Greeks who were the pioneers of evils to mankind, (54) **holding fast** to many idols of defunct gods, (55) whereby ye have been taught to think vain things. (56) But when the wrath of the great God shall be upon you, (57) then shall ye know the face of the great God. (58) And every soul of men with deep groans, (59) upraising their hands straight to the broad heaven, (60) shall begin to call to his succour the Mighty king, (61) and to seek who shall come as a deliverer from the mighty wrath.

(62) But come and learn this and store it in thy mind, (63) how many shall be the woes of the

505. **destruction**. The reading follows a conjecture of Wilamowitz, *ἐξάλαπαξις* for *ἐξάλαπάξει*.

509. The Gaulish invasion of 280 B.C.

510. The line as it stands is unmetrical.

swoop on to ravage Hellas, then shall be thine evil day. Read Ἑλλάδ' ἐπέσσουνται πορθεῖν, τότε σοι κακὸν ἔσται.

511. <thine own>. Supply τὸ σὸν after δώσεις.

512-13. The lines are corrupt and the names of the tribes cannot be restored with certainty. For **Marsians** we should perhaps read Mardians, a tribe inhabiting the hill country of Hyrkania.

520 ff. Probably referring to the Roman invasion culminating in the capture of Corinth in 146 B.C.: so Hilgenfeld. The reference, however, may be to the Gaulish invasion of 279 B.C.

533. Cf. Isa. xxx. 17; Deut. xxxii. 30.

534. **squadron** (λόχον), Wilamowitz's conjecture for 'wrath' (χόλον).

539. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 23; 1 En. lxxx. 2; Jub. xxiii. 18.

543. **column upon column**. Alexandre's suggestion πολύνηστον is followed for the unintelligible πολὺν ἰστόν.

544. **shall be destroyed**, ἔσσει' αἶστον, a conjecture for ἔσσεται αἶθις.

545, 547-9. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* i. 15. 15.

554. **holding fast**, κατέχοντες, a conjecture for θανεόντων, which leaves no governing verb.

563. A line has evidently dropped out after this. That inserted is a mere conjecture. Apparently the meaning is that the doom of Hellas is irrevocably fixed.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 564-633

circling years. [For not even if thou shouldst offer up hecatombs of sacrifices], (64) **as many as** Hellas offered of old, of kine and bellowing bulls, (65) bringing whole burnt sacrifices to the temple of the Mighty God, (66) not even so wilt thou escape from jarring war and panic (67) and pestilence, and the yoke of bondage again. (68) But so long the race of godless men shall exist, (69) until the day of fate reaches its appointed end. (70) Ye shall not sacrifice to God until all these things come to pass. (71) Whatsoever the one God purposes fails not of its accomplishment. (72) For that all things be accomplished the stress of necessity will insist.

(73) There shall be thereafter a holy race of God-fearing men, (74) adhering to the counsels and the mind of the Most High : (75) who pay full honour to the temple of the mighty God, (76) with drink offerings and fat offerings and sacred hecatombs, (77) with sacrifices of lusty bulls and unblemished rams, (78) and piously offer as whole burnt sacrifices rich flocks of firstling sheep and lambs upon the great altar. (80) And in righteousness possessing the law of the Most High, (81) they shall dwell happily in their cities and rich fields, (82) themselves as prophets exalted by the Immortal One, (83) and bringing great joy to all mortals. (84) For to them alone the Mighty God has given discreet counsel, (85) and faith and an excellent understanding in their hearts : (86) in that they give not themselves to vain deceits, nor honour the works of men's hands, (87) of gold and brass, silver or ivory, (88) idols of dead gods of wood and stone, (89) idols of clay vermilion painted, pictured likenesses of beasts, (90) such things as men with minds void of counsel do honour. (91) But they instead raise heavenwards holy arms, (92) rising early from their bed and ever cleansing their flesh (93) with water, and they honour Him alone who reigns for ever, (94) the Eternal, and after him their parents : and more than any (95) men they are mindful of the purity of marriage. (96) Nor do they hold unholy intercourse with boys, (97) as do the Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Latins, (98) and *spacious* Hellas, and many nations of other men, (99) Persians and Galatians and all Asia, transgressing (600) the holy law of the immortal God **which he ordained**. (601) For which cause the Eternal shall impose on all men (602) retribution and famine and woes and groans, (603) war, too, and pestilence and fearful calamities ; (604) because they would not honour in holiness the eternal Father of all men, (605) but revered and honoured idols (606) made by men's hands, which men themselves shall cast (607) into the crannies of rocks and hide in shame, (608) whensoever a youthful king of Egypt, seventh in line, (609) of his own land reckoned from the Greeks shall reign over (10) an empire, over which the doughty Macedonians shall reign ; (11) and there comes from Asia a mighty king, a fiery eagle, (12) who shall darken every land with foot and horse, (13) and shall break up everything and fill everything with miseries : (14) he shall cast down the kingdom of Egypt, and taking all (15) its wealth, shall ride upon the broad surface of the sea. (16) And then at length to God the great King, the Eternal, (17) they shall bend the white knee upon the fruitful earth, (18) and the works of men's hand shall all fall into the flame of fire. (19) And then God shall give great joy to men. (20) For the earth and the trees and the innumerable flocks of sheep, (21) shall give their true fruit to mankind, (22) of wine and sweet honey and white milk (23) and corn which is to men the most excellent gift of all.

(24) But thou, O man of wiles, tarry not with hesitation, (25) but turning round again make intercession to God. (26) Sacrifice to God hundreds of bulls and firstling lambs (27) and of goats in the circling seasons. (28) Yea, make intercession to Him, the Immortal God, if perchance He may have mercy upon thee. (29) For He alone is God, and there is none beside. (30) Honour righteousness and oppress no man : (31) for these are the commands of the Eternal to wretched mortals.

(32) But do thou beware of the wrath of the mighty God, (33) whenever the consummation of

564. The beginning of the line is quite uncertain. MSS. have 'even those which Hellas offered'.

573 ff. The happy state of the righteous. The writer has, perhaps, in mind the prosperity of the Jews under Simon Maccabeus.

578. **flocks**, *μῆλα*. For this Mendelssohn suggests 'thighs', *μῆρα*, but the correction is not convincing.

589. Cf. Wisdom xiii. 14. Such painting was common among the Romans : cf. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 45 ; Virg. *Ecl.* x. 25.

The reading is uncertain. Perhaps *πῆλινα μιλτόχριστ' ἢ ζωγραφίας τυποειδέις* (so Volkmann).

591-2. Cf. iv. 165-6. The insistence on lustration is specially Essene. Cf. Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 5. For prayer on waking cf. Pss. Sol. vi. 6.

600. The end of the line is a conjecture. (*ὅνπερ ἔθηκεν* for *ὃν παρέβησαν*). MSS. 'which they transgressed'.

606. Cf. Isa. ii. 18, 19, xxxi. 7.

608. **a youthful king**, i.e. Ptolemy Philometor, cf. 192. In fleeing from the invasion of Antiochus Epiphanes (170-169 B.C.) he was captured and brought back a prisoner. Antiochus failed to take Alexandria, but captured much booty and returned by sea (615).

613. Cf. supra 188.

616. The writer passes over an interval of years and comes to the prosperous conditions under the later Maccabees.

618. Lact. quotes this line (*Div. Inst.* vii. 19. 9) as *ἐργα δὲ χειροποίητα Θεῶν κατακαυθήσονται*. He refers it to the Erythraean Sibyl.

625-6. Quoted by Clem. Al. *Protrept.* vii. 74 as Orphic verses.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 634-696

pestilence comes upon all mortals, (34) and, overthrown, they meet with a terrible retribution (35) and king captures king and takes his land, (36) and nations ravage nations and potentates people, (37) and rulers all flee to another land, (38) and the land is changed in men and a barbarian empire (39) ravages Hellas, and drains the rich land (40) of its wealth, and men come face to face in strife (41) for the sake of gold and silver, (42) (the love of money shall be the shepherd of evils to many) (43) in a foreign land. And all shall be unburied, (44) and vultures and savage beasts of the earth (45) shall devour the flesh of some. And when all these things are fulfilled, (46) the giant earth shall devour the relics of the dead. (47) And it shall all be unsown and unploughed, (48) proclaiming in its misery the corruption of myriads of men. (49) And then for many spaces of time in circling years [men shall gather and burn in their houses] (50) targes and shields and javelins and divers kinds of weapons. (51) Nor shall wood be cut from the thicket to kindle fire.

(52) And then from the sunrise God shall send a king, (53) who shall give every land relief from the bane of war : (54) some he shall slay and to others he shall consecrate faithful vows. (55) Nor shall he do all these things by his own will, (56) but in obedience to the good ordinances of the mighty God.

(57) And again the people of the mighty God shall be laden with excellent wealth, (58) with gold and silver and purple adornment. (59) The land shall bear her increase, and the sea (60) shall be full of good things. And kings shall begin **to be weary** (61) **of repelling** evil one against another with wrath. (62) Envy is no good thing for miserable mortals. (63) But again the kings of the nations shall throw themselves against this land (64) in troops, bringing retribution on themselves. (65) For the shrine of the mighty God and the noblest men (66) they shall seek to ravage whensoever they come to the land. (67) In a ring round the city the accursed kings shall place (68) each one his throne with his infidel people by him. (69) And then with a mighty voice God shall speak unto all (70) the undisciplined empty-minded people, and judgement shall come upon them (71) from the mighty God, and all shall perish (72) at the hand of the Eternal. From heaven shall fall (73) fiery swords down to the earth : lights shall come bright (74) and great, flashing into the midst of men. (75) And earth, the universal Mother, shall shake in those days (76) at the hand of the Eternal, and the fishes in the sea, (77) and all the beasts of the earth and the countless tribes of flying things, (78) and all souls of men and every sea (79) shall shudder at the presence of the Eternal and there shall be panic. (80) And the towering mountain peaks and the hills of the giants (81) He shall rend, and the murky abyss shall be visible to all. (82) And the high-hung ravines in the lofty mountains (83) shall be full of dead bodies : the rocks shall flow (84) with blood, and each torrent shall flood the plain. (85) The well-built walls of the disaffected men shall all fall to the ground, (86) because they knew not the law (87) nor the judgement of the Mighty God, but with witless mind (88) with one united onslaught †ye cast your spears† against the Holy One. (89) And God shall judge all with war and sword, (90) and with fire and cataclysms of rain. And there shall be (91) brimstone from heaven, yea stones and hail (92) incessant and grievous : and death shall be upon the fourfooted beasts. (93) And then shall they know the Immortal God, who ordains these things. (94) †Wailing and lamenting through the length and breadth of the land† (95) shall come with the perishing of men : and all the **shameless** (96) shall be washed with blood. Yea, the land itself shall

635-7. An allusion to the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes (see on l. 608).

638. **a barbarian empire**, i. e. Rome. Cf. l. 520.

642. **to many**, *πολέσσω*, possibly intended as from *πολύς*.

648. **myriads** (*μυρίων*) is unmetrical. Possibly read *μερόπων*, ‘articulate’.

After this verse there is a gap in the text. The line supplied is a conjecture. The thought is taken from Ezek. xxxix. 9, and is referred to again in Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 26. 4.

651. Recurs in 729.

652 ff. The coming of the Messiah.

from the sunrise, *ἀπ’ ἡλίου*, may mean either ‘from the East’ or ‘from heaven’: cf. supr. 286 (of Cyrus), Sib. v. 414.

Holtzmann thinks of Simon Maccabeus as the heaven-sent king.

657. **people** (*λαός*). Meineke and Geffck. alter to ‘temple’ (*ναός*), but this seems unnecessary.

661-2. **shall begin . . . wrath**. MSS. ‘shall begin to be angry with one another (*κοσέειν*) avenging evils in their mind’. The translation renders *κοπίαν . . . ἀπαμύνοντες*.

663. A fresh onslaught against the Holy City. The description is borrowed in part from Jer. i. 15. Cf. 1 En. lvi. 5.

667. Cf. 4 Ez. xiii. 33; Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 5. 43.

673. Cf. Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 19. 5.

shall come. A comparison with 1 En. cii. 2. 3 suggests that for *ἔξονται* we should very likely read *φρίξονται*.

688. **ye cast your spears**. The change of person is awkward. Perhaps read ‘they lifted up reproach’ (*ἤραν ἔλεγχος* for *ἤρατε λόγχας*).

691. Cf. Apoc. ix. 17.

694. The text of the MSS. needs some emendation. Read (with Rzach) *οἰμωγή τ’ ἀλαλαγμός μοῦ κατ’ ἀπείρονα γαῖαν*.

695. **shameless** (*ἀναιδής*) for ‘speechless’ (*ἄναυδος*).

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 697-753

drink (97) of the blood of the perishing: the beasts shall eat their fill of flesh. (98) God Himself, the great eternal God (99) bade me prophesy these things: and they shall not lack their fulfilment. (700) Nothing fails of its appointed end when He but conceives the thought. (701) For all over the world the Spirit of God cannot lie.

(702) Then again all the sons of the great God (703) shall live quietly around the temple, rejoicing in those gifts (704) which He shall give, who is the Creator, and sovereign righteous Judge. (705) For He by Himself shall shield them, standing beside them alone **in His might**, (706) encircling them, as it were, with a wall of flaming fire. (707) Free from war shall they be in city and country. (708) For they shall not feel the touch of horrid war, for the Eternal shall be (709) Himself their champion, and the hand of the Holy One. (10) And then all the isles and the cities shall say, (11) How doth the Eternal love those men! (12) For all things work in sympathy with them and help them, (13) the heaven and God's chariot the sun, and the moon. (15) A sweet strain shall they utter from their mouths in hymns. (16) Come, let us all fall upon the earth and supplicate (17) the Eternal King, the mighty, everlasting God. (18) Let us **make procession** to His Temple, for He is the sole Potentate. (19) And let us all ponder the law of the Most High God, (20) who is the most righteous of all on earth. (21) But we had gone astray from the path of the Eternal, (22) and with foolish heart worshipped the works of men's hands, (23) idols and images of men that are dead. (24) So shall the souls of the faithful raise their cry. (25) Come, let us throughout God's people fall upon our faces, (26) and gladden with hymns God our Father throughout our households, (27) furnishing ourselves with the weapons of our enemies throughout the whole land (28) for seven spans of circling years, (29) targes and shields and helms and weapons of all and sundry kinds (30) in great numbers, and quantities of bows and arrows and **javelins**. (31) For even wood shall not be cut from the thicket for kindling fire.

(32) But, wretched Hellas, cease thine arrogance: (33) supplicate the great heart of the Eternal and take heed to thyself. (34) To dispatch indeed against this city thine ill-advised people, (35) which comes **not** of the holy land of the Mighty! (36) Arouse not Camarina: 'tis better not aroused. (Rouse not) (37) a leopard from its lair, lest mischief befall. (38) Nay, withhold thine hand, and cherish not a spirit of overweening arrogance in thy breast, (39) dispatching to a mighty contest. (40) And serve the Mighty God, that thou mayst have a share in these gifts.

(41) But when the fated day shall reach this consummation, (42) and there shall come to mortals the judgement of the Eternal God, (43) there shall come upon men a great judgement and empire. (44) For Earth the universal mother shall give to mortals her best (45) fruit in countless store of corn, wine and oil. (46) Yea, from heaven shall come a sweet draught of luscious honey, (47) **the trees** shall yield their **proper** fruits, and rich flocks, (48) and kine and lambs of sheep and kids of goats. (49) He will cause sweet fountains of white milk to burst forth. (50) And the cities shall be full of good things and the fields rich: (51) neither shall there be any sword throughout the land nor battle din: (52) nor shall the earth be convulsed any more with deep-drawn groans. (53) No war

702-31. The peace and prosperity of the sons of God.

705. **in His might** (μεγαλωσί) for 'and greatly' (μεγάλως τε). So Geffcken.

706. Cf. Zech. ii. 5.

710. **isles** = 'Gentiles': cf. Isa. xlix. 1, li. 5.

713. After this l. 675 is interpolated in the MSS.

715. Reading a little uncertain. The hymn is modelled on the theocratic Psalms xcv-c.

718. **make procession** (πομπῶμεν), a conjecture for 'send' (πέμπωμεν).

721 f. The confession of the converted is quoted by Justin, *Cohort.* 16.

725-31. Apparently an alternative hymn incorporating 649-51.

728 ff. Cf. 649 ff.

730. **javelins** (ἀκίδων), a conjecture of Meineke for 'of the unjust' (ἀδίκων).

732-40. A warning to Greece.

734-5. A passage that has given much trouble and occasioned many conjectures. The rendering keeps the MSS. reading with the single exception of μή for μέν in 735. It is probably a taunt sung at the expulsion of the Seleucid garrison from the Acra at Jerusalem in 141 B. C.

736. An ancient proverb quoted by Servius on Virg. *Aen.* iii. 701. There was a swamp round Camarina which protected the city till it was drained.

737. Another proverb: the verb is lacking.

739. **dispatching**. The participle is masc., whereas 'Hellas' is fem. Probably the writer has in mind the Seleucid king.

741 ff. The blessings of Messiah's reign.

741-3. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 20. 1 as from the Erythraean Sibyl.

742. Occurs only in Lact. and seems to be a doublet. Cf. Secrets of Enoch lxx. 6.

746-8. Are marked by Wilam. as an interpolation.

747. **trees . . . fruits**. It is best to read (with Fehr) δένδρων τ' ἀκροδρύων. For the fruitfulness of trees cf. 2 Enoch ix. 7.

749. Cf. Joel iii. 18. A similar idea in Koran, *Sura* xlvii.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINES 754-809

shall there be any more nor drought throughout the land, (54) no famine nor hail to work havoc on the crops. (55) But there shall be a great peace throughout all the earth, (56) and king shall be friendly with king till the end (57) of the age, and a common law for men throughout all the earth (58) shall the Eternal perfect in the starry heaven (59) for all those things which have been wrought by miserable mortals. (60) For He above is God and there is none else. (61) He too shall burn with fire the race of stubborn men.

(62) But **consecrate your minds** within your breasts, (63) and eschew unlawful service: serve the Living *God*. (64) Shun adultery and confused intercourse with males. (65) Rear thine own offspring and slay it not: (66) for the Eternal will surely be wroth with him who commits these sins.

(67) And then indeed he will raise up his kingdom for all ages (68) over men, he who once gave a holy law (69) to godly men, to all of whom He promised to open out the earth (70) and the world, and the portals of the blessed, and all joys, (71) and everlasting sense and eternal gladness.

(72) And from every land they shall bring frankincense and gifts to the house (73) of the great God: and there shall be no other (74) house for men even in future generations to know (75) but only that which He has given **to faithful men** to honour. (76) For mortals call that **alone** (the house) of the great God. (77) And all the paths of the plain and the sheer banks, (78) and the lofty mountains and the wild sea waves (79) shall become easy to travel over by foot or sail in those days. (80) For nought but peace shall come upon the land of the good: (81) and the prophets of the Mighty God shall take away the sword. (82) For they are the judges of mortal men and just kings. (83) Even wealth shall be righteous among men: (84) for this is the judgement and the rule of the Mighty God.

(85) Rejoice, O virgin, and exult: for to thee (86) the Creator of heaven and earth has given everlasting joy. (87) And in thee shall he dwell, and thou shalt have eternal light.

(88) And wolves and lambs together shall crop grass upon the mountains, (89) and leopards shall feed with kids. (90) Prowling bears shall lie with calves, (91) and the carnivorous lion shall eat hay in the manger (92) like the ox, and the tiniest infants shall lead them in bonds, (93) for He shall make the beasts upon the earth incapable of harm. (94) Serpents **and asps** shall sleep with babes, (95) and shall not harm them: for God's hand shall be *stretched* over them.

(96) Now I will tell thee a very evident sign, that thou mayst understand (97) when the end of all things is coming on the earth. (98) When swords in the star-lit heaven (99) appear by night towards dusk and towards dawn, (800) and straightway dust is carried from heaven (801) †to earth, and all the brightness of the sun (802) fails at midday from the heavens†, and the moon's (803) rays shine forth and come back to earth, (804) and a sign comes from the rocks with dripping streams of blood: (805) and in a cloud ye shall see a battle of foot and horse, (806) as a hunt of wild beasts, like unto misty clouds. (807) This is the consummation of war which God, whose dwelling is in heaven, is bringing to pass. (808) But all must sacrifice to the Mighty king.

(809) These are the acts of the wrath of God which I, leaving the far-off walls of Assyrian Babylon

761. **race**. Another reading is 'might' (γένος ψ, μένος φ).

762-6. An exhortation to right living. The lines interrupt, and are possibly out of place.

762. **consecrate your minds**. Reading uncertain. MSS. 'hastening my mind' (κατασπείσαντες ἐμὰς φρένας). The simplest emendation is, as above, κατασπείσαντες ἐὰς.

767-84. Further description of the Messianic kingdom. The passage may refer to the eternal condition of the godly, for the Messianic kingdom on earth was not regarded as permanent; contrast 767-8.

772. For the offerings of the converted heathen to the Temple, cf. Isa. lx; Tobit xiii. 11; 1 En. xc. 33, 37.

773-4. Perhaps a reference to the destruction of the Temple on Mount Gerizim, by John Hyrcanus.

775. **but only that which**. Lact. *Div. Inst.* iv. 6. 5 reads ἄλλον for ἀλλ' ὅν, 'God gave Another to faithful men to honour', and supposes a reference to the Son of God.

to faithful men. MSS. have πιστὸν ἄνδρα instead of πιστοῖς ἄνδρεςσι.

776. MSS. have 'for mortals call him the son of the Mighty God'. For 'son' (υἱόν) it is proposed to read 'temple' (ναόν). It is simpler to read 'alone' (οἶον). So Mendelssohn. Gfrörer, Hilgenfeld and Fehr regard the line as an interpolation.

777. For the smoothing away of the difficulties of nature cf. Isa. xi. 15, 16, xl. 3; Pss. Sol. xi. 5 f.

781. For the part assigned to the prophets cf. 1 Macc. xiv. 41.

785 ff. Cf. Zech. ii. 10; Isa. liv. 1.

788 ff. Cf. Isa. xi. 6. Virg. *Ecl.* iv. 17, 21 f.; Lactantius quotes 788-91, 794 as from the Erythraean Sibyl.

794. **and asps**, an emendation of the MS. reading ἅμα σφισι, 'with themselves.'

796-808. The signs that are to herald the end. Compare the signs related in 2 Macc. v. 1-4 as preceding the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes, and in Josephus, *B. J.* vi. 5 as presaging the fall of Jerusalem.

801. The line is defective and emendations can only be conjectural.

805. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* v. 13 'visae per coelum concurrere acies'.

807. **the consummation of war**. Reading again uncertain. Perhaps 'the end of all things', τοῦτο τέλος πάντων τελέει Θεός. So Rzach from 797.

809-29. Epilogue and credentials.

Lact. expressly assigns 809-18 to the Erythraean Sibyl, who, as he says, claims to have been born at Babylon. But it is not easy to see why the Erythraean Sibyl should come from Babylon, and it has been suggested that the

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK III, LINE 810—IV, 27

(10) impelled by frenzy, and coming as a fire launched forth against Hellas, (11) am proclaiming unto all mankind, (12) so as to proclaim unto mortals the mysteries of God.

(13) And mortals throughout Greece shall call me a stranger of another land, (14) born of Erythrae and shameless. Others shall call me, born of my mother Circe (15) and my father Gnostos, the Sibyl, (16) a crazy impostor. But when all these things come to pass, (17) then ye shall make mention of me, and no man any more (18) shall call me crazy, the prophetess of the Mighty God. (19) For he **did not reveal** to me those things which before he revealed to my parents, (20) but all those things which happened first of all God hath (not) detailed to me, (21) but of the later things God hath put all in my understanding, (22) so that I may proclaim the things that shall be and that were before (23) and tell them to mortal men. For when the world was being swallowed up (24) by the waters, and one man only who found favour was left, (25) floating on the waters in a dwelling of hewn wood, (26) with beasts and birds, that the world might be replenished again : (27) his daughter-in-law was I, and of his blood I came, (28) to whom the first things happened : and now the latter things have all been told. (29) So let all these things be accounted true that are spoken of my mouth.

BOOK IV

(1) Hear, O ye people of vaunting Asia and Europe, (2) what prophetic strains of truth I purpose to pour forth, through the honied speech of my mouth from our **shrine**. (4) No oracle-monger I of a false Phoebus whom vain (5) men have called a god and falsely termed a seer ; (6) but the prophetess of the mighty God whom men's hands fashioned not, (7) like to dumb idols of polished stones. (8) For He has not as His habitation a stone set up in a temple, (9) dumb and **helpless**, a bugbear of many woes to mortals. (10) But He is one whom none can see from earth, nor measure (11) with mortal eyes, seeing He was not fashioned by mortal hand. (12) With all-embracing view He beholds all, yet Himself is seen by none. (13) His is the murky night and day, the sun, (14) the stars and moon, and sea the haunt of fish ; (15) and land and rivers and the source of perennial streams, (16) creatures ordained for sustaining life and showers that cause the cornfield fruit to grow, (17) and trees and vines and olive trees. (18) He has driven a goad right through my heart (19) to tell out exactly all that is happening to men now and all that is to happen, (20) reaching from the first generation to the **tenth**. (21) For He shall vindicate all (22) by bringing it to pass. But do thou, O people, hearken in all things to the Sibyl (23) as she pours forth true speech from holy mouth.

(24) Happy shall those men be throughout the earth who shall truly love the Mighty God, blessing Him (26) before eating and drinking, staunch in their godliness. (27) Who, when they see them, shall

name of the Babylonian Sibyl has been purposely omitted and some lines from the Erythraean added without careful adjustment.

811. The sentence lacks a verb. Instead of 'mortals' (*θνητοῖς*) it is proposed to read 'I show' (*φαίνω*). After this line some MSS. show a gap. It is suggested that it contained the name Sambethe, who, according to Justin, *Cohort.* 37, was the daughter of Berossus the historian.

814. According to Virg. *Aen.* vi. 36, Deiphobe, the Cumaean Sibyl, is the daughter of Glaucus, and possibly of Circe.

819. Compare Plutarch's account of the Sibyl (*De Pyth. Or.* vii).

819-29. These lines are not referred to by Lact., and Alex. regards them as spurious.

819. **for he did not reveal to me**. MSS. read 'for he will not reveal to me' (*δηλώσει*). For οὐ Rzach reads *ὄς*.

823. Suidas represents the Chaldaean Sibyl as a descendant of Noah, and says she prophesied about the time of Alexander the Great. Epiph. *adv. Haer.* 26. § 8 says the Gnostics attributed certain books to Noria the wife of Noah.

Tatian, on the other hand (*Orat. c. Graec.* 41), says that the Sibyl was not older than Moses.

IV. 1-24. The Sibyl claims to be the prophetess of the true, invisible, and almighty God.

1. **Hear**, *κλῦτε*. Most MSS. have 'weep' (*κλαίτε*).

2. **shrine** (*μεγάροι*). Mendelssohn's emendation for 'great' (*μεγάλου*) agreeing with 'mouth'.

4. Cf. v. 326. Lines 4-7 are quoted in Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. 50.

8. **set up in a temple** (*ἱδρυνθέντα*). There is a variant 'dragged to a temple' (*ἐλκυσθέντα*).

habitation (*οἶκον*). Buresch would read 'likeness' (*εἰκόν*), but the fem. gender of this word would cause a difficulty. The writer appears to condemn the ancient Semitic idea of sacred stones as the dwelling-place of a god.

9. **helpless** (*νωθρόν*), an emendation for 'toothless' (*νωδόν*).

11. The end of the line is uncertain in reading. Perhaps read οὐδ' ἐπλάσθη χερὶ θνητῇ.

12. Cf. Frag. i. 8.

18. Cf. iii. 5.

20. **to the tenth**. Cf. ii. 15 ff. The MSS. have 'to the eleventh' (*ἐνδεκάτην* or *ἐνδεκάτης*). But the world's history is regularly divided into ten periods.

23. **as she pours forth**. The participle is, however, masculine.

24-34. The happiness of the godly.

24-30. Quoted by Just. *Col.* 16. The last three lines are also quoted in Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. 62.

26. For the custom of saying grace before meals cf. Arist. *Apol.* 15. It was a strict rule among the Essenes (Josephus, *B. J.* ii. 8. 5), and among the Pharisees. Cf. Mishna, *Berakhoth* iii ; Schürer, *Jewish People*, Div. ii, vol. ii, p. 117.

27. The abhorrence of temples and animal sacrifice is specially Essene. Cf. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 369 ff.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK IV, LINES 28—87

disown all temples (28) and altars, vain erections of senseless stones, (29) befouled with constant blood of living things and sacrifices (30) of four-footed beasts. But they shall look to the great glory of the one God (31) neither committing dastard murder, nor bartering for dishonest (32) gain, which things are altogether evil. (33) Nor do they set their foul affection on another's bed, (34) [nor on the hateful and hideous abuse of males].

(35) Whose conversation and godliness and manners other men (36) will never emulate, men whose affections are set on shamelessness. (37) But mocking them with ribald jest and laughter, (38) fools in their senselessness, they will falsely attribute to them (39) all the dastardly and evil deeds that they shall do. (40) For slow of faith is all the race of men. But when (41) the assizes of the world and of mortals shall come, which God himself (42) shall hold when he judges ungodly and godly alike: (43) then shall he send the ungodly in the fire beneath the murky gloom, (44) and then shall they know what grievous impiety they have committed. (45) But the godly shall remain upon the fruitful field, (46) when God has given them breath and life and grace. (47) But all these things are to be accomplished in the tenth generation. (48) Now I will tell all that is to come to pass from the first generation.

(49) First of all, the Assyrians shall rule over all mankind, (50) holding the world for six generations under their sway, (51) from the time when, since the heavenly God was wroth with (52) the cities themselves and all mankind, (53) the sea covered the earth with the outbreak of the flood.

(54) Them shall the Medes subdue and vaunt themselves on their throne, (55) yet their generations shall be but two. In their time shall be these mighty works. (56) Darkling night shall fall at the middle hour of day: (57) the stars and the moon's disk shall fail from heaven. (58) And the earth shaken by the upheaval of a mighty earthquake (59) shall cast down headlong many cities and works of men. (60) And then islands shall peep forth from the depths of the sea.

(61) But when great Euphrates shall run in torrents of blood, (62) then betwixt Medes and Persians the dread din of battle (63) shall arise in war. And the Medes, overthrown by the Persians' spears, (64) shall flee over the broad waters of the Tigris. (65) And the Persians' might shall be supreme in all the world; (66) yet they shall have but one generation of prosperous kingship.

(67) Then there shall be all those evil works which men pray to be spared, (68) wars and murders, schisms and exiles, (69) the headlong crash of towers and the overthrow of cities, (70) when proud Hellas shall sail to the broad Hellespont, (71) bringing grievous doom to Phrygians and to Asia.

(72) Then into Egypt the many-furrowed land of wheat, (73) famine and failure of crops shall stalk for twenty circling years, (74) when the Nile, the cornblade's nurse, (75) shall hide its black water somewhere else beneath the earth.

(76) There shall come from Asia a king brandishing a mighty sword (77) with ships innumerable; and over the watery paths of the deep (78) he shall journey on foot, and shall cut a path for his ships through a lofty mountain peak. (79) Yet craven Asia shall receive him back a fugitive from war.

(80) Wretched Sicily shall be burned up from end to end (81) by a stream of mighty fire when Etna's flame belches forth. (82) And Croton's great city shall fall into the deep stream. (83) Hellas shall have strife: and men distraught with rage one against another (84) shall cast down headlong many cities and shall slay many (85) in battle: and the strife shall be of doubtful issue.

(86) But when the race of mortals comes to the tenth generation, (87) then the Persians shall experience the yoke of slavery and terror.

28. The reading comes from Justin. In Clement a line is inserted here from Frag. iii. 49 and another after l. 30.

34. The line is probably a gloss and is omitted in Ω .

35-46. The impending judgement on the ungodly.

38. For the thought that the heathen are themselves guilty of the same charges which they bring against the godly cf. Tert. *Apol.* § 9.

46. The righteous are to be quickened again for a further life on earth. The line recurs infra line 189.

47-85. The history of the first nine generations.

50. **generation** is evidently a vague term. Assyrian supremacy may be said to have lasted roughly six centuries (c. 1250-630 B. C.). The Median empire closed with the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus in 546 B. C.

56. Possibly an allusion to the phenomenon mentioned in Herod. i. 71. During a battle between the Lydians and Medes in 585 B. C. the day suddenly became night.

65. The conquest of Egypt in 525 B. C. may be said to have given the Persians the empire of the world.

70. The Athenians sent maritime assistance to the Ionians in their revolt from Persia in 499 B. C.

72. **of wheat.** For *πυρόφορον τε Ω* has *φαῖλος ἐπέλθῃ*. The subjunctive would be used as future.

76-79. The expedition of Xerxes 491-490 B. C. Reference is made to the bridge of boats built across the Hellespont (Herod. vii. 35-54), and the canal cut through Mount Athos (Herod. vii. 22-8; Thuc. iv. 109; Juv. v. 174).

82. Possibly **Croton** is confused with Sybaris, over which, after its capture, the river Crathis was turned (Herod. v. 45). Some MSS. have 'a great city of men' (*βροτῶν*) for 'Croton'.

83-5. The Peloponnesian war, or, more probably, the fighting which ended in the Thirty Years' Truce in 446 B. C.

87. The reference would be to Alexander's victories, especially at the Granicus (334 B. C.) and Issus (333 B. C.).

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK IV, LINES 88-129

(88) But when the Macedonians boast of the sceptre, (89) then Thebes too in later days shall experience capture. (90) And Carians shall occupy Tyre and the Tyrians shall perish; (91) and sand shall envelop the whole of Samos under sandhills, (92) and Delos shall appear no more, but all Delos shall disappear. (93) And Babylon mighty to behold but puny in battle (94) shall stand buoyed up by ineffective hopes. (95) Macedonians shall occupy Bactra; and the fugitives from Bactra (96) and Susa shall all flee to the land of Greece.

(97) Posterity shall know a time when silvery eddying Pyramus (98) pushing forward its strand shall come to the holy island. (99) And **thou, Baris**, shalt fall and Cyzicus too when the earth (100) quivers with earthquakes and cities perish. (101) And to the Rhodians there shall come a last but crowning disaster.

(102) Nor shall the might of Macedonia last. But from the west (103) a great Italian war shall blossom forth, whereby the world (104) shall serve as slaves under the yoke of the sons of Italy. (105) And thou, ill-starred Corinth, shalt one day look on thy capture. (106) Carthage, thy tower, too, shall bend the knee to earth.

(107) Miserable Laodicea, thee too an earthquake shall one day raze (108) in precipitate ruin, but thou shalt stand built up again as a city.

(109) O fair Lycian Myra, thy quivering earth shall no longer (110) hold thee firm: but falling down headlong on the earth, (111) thou shalt be fain to flee as an exile to another land, (112) †what time over the impieties of Patara the Lord (113) shall spread the dark sea wave with thunderings and earthquakes†.

(114) For thee, too, Armenia, the stress of slavery is in store.

(115) To Solyma too the evil blast of war shall come (116) from Italy, and shall lay in ruins God's great temple, (117) whenever, confident in their folly, they shall cast godliness to the winds (118) and **commit hateful murders** before the temple. (119) And then from Italy a great king, like a fugitive slave, (120) shall flee unseen, unheard of, over the passage of the Euphrates; (121) when he shall dare even the hateful pollution of a mother's murder, (122) and many other things beside, venturing so far with wicked hand. (123) And many for the throne of Rome shall dye the ground with their blood, (124) when he has run away beyond the Parthian land. (125) And a Roman leader shall come to Syria, who shall burn down Solyma's temple with fire, (126) and therewith slay many men, (127) and shall waste the great land of the Jews with its broad way.

(128) And then an earthquake shall destroy Salamis and Paphos together, (129) when the dark stormy water shall swamp Cyprus.

89. Thebes was captured by Alexander in 335 B. C.
90. **Carians** perhaps = 'mercenaries'. Cf. Plato, *Laches* 187.
occupy Tyre. Capture of Tyre 332 B. C.
91, 92. Cf. iii. 363. Alexandre would place these lines after 96; Rzach after 100.
93. Babylon captured without resistance 331 B. C.
95. Alexander's invasion of Bactria. Cf. Strabo, xi; Arrian, iii. 29.
from Bactria. For *ἐπὶ τὸ Βάκτρων* it seems necessary to read *ἀπὸ Βάκτρων*.
96. **Susa** surrendered soon after Babylon.
97, 98. The **Pyramus** is a Cilician river. This oracle is quoted by Strabo, *Geogr.* i. p. 53, xii. p. 536, who in the second line has 'Cyprus' for 'island'.
99. **thou, Baris.** Badt's conjectural emendation for 'Sybaris'. Baris was a Pisidian town, mentioned by Pliny v. 42. The *a* is strictly long. Another conjecture is *Κιβύρα*, a Phrygian town.
101. Cf. viii. 166.
102. Macedonian Wars beginning in 214 B. C. and ending with the Battle of Pydna, 168 B. C.
105, 106. Capture of Corinth and Carthage, 146 B. C.
107. **Laodicea.** The famous earthquake here in A. D. 60 (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 27) seems too late. On the strength of *Sib.* iii. 471 Lightfoot (*Philippians*, p. 38) postulates an earthquake in Laodicea about 125 B. C.; but the inference is precarious.
112-113. The reading is uncertain, and the lines are omitted in many MSS. The rendering follows a conjecture *ὁ Μείδων* for *ὁ μάδων*.
114. Armenian wars A. D. 43-66, in which latter year Tiridates came to Rome to receive his crown from Nero.
115-28. Disaster to Jerusalem.
117, 118. Referring to the internal struggles in Jerusalem during the siege. Cf. Josephus, *B. J.* vi. 3.
118. **and commit hateful murders.** The reading of the MSS. is corrupt.
119 ff. Nero died by his own hand in A. D. 68, but there was a persistept belief that he would return. At least three false Nero's arose at different times.
119. **fugitive slave** (*δράστης*). Some MSS. have 'star' (*ἀστήρ*).
121. Nero had his own mother put to death (Suet. *Nero* xxxiv). Dio Cass. lxiv. 9 preserves a pseudo-Sibylline oracle: *ἔσχατος Αἰνεαδῶν μητροκτόνος ἡγεμονεύσει*.
123. The year of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.
125. The Roman leader is Titus.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK IV, LINES 130-190

(30) But when a firebrand starting from a deep cavern in the land of Italy (31) shall reach the broad heaven, (32) and burn many a city and consume its men, (33) and clouds of sooty ashes beset the great heaven, (34) and grains fall from the sky like red earth, (35) then recognize the wrath of the God of heaven, (36) because they shall destroy the guiltless race of godly men. (37) And to the west shall come the strife of gathering war, (38) and the exile from Rome, brandishing a mighty sword, (39) crossing the Euphrates with many myriads.

(40) Ill-starred Antioch, they shall call thee no longer a city, (41) when in thy folly thou fallest under Italian spears. (42) And **Cyrrhus** shall be consumed by pestilence and dreadful strife.

(43) Woe to thee, wretched Cyprus, the level sea-wave (44) shall envelop thee tossed up and down with wintry blasts.

(45) There shall come to Asia great wealth which Rome once (46) stole for herself and stored in her rich treasure-house. (47) And twofold and more shall she restore (48) to Asia, and then there shall be a surfeit of war.

(49) The cities of the Carians by the waters of the Maeander, (50) with all their battlements exceeding fair, shall be destroyed by pinching (51) famine, when Maeander buries her black water. (52) But when faith in godliness shall perish from men, (53) and justice is hidden away in the world, (54) †and men, becoming renegades† and living on unholy enterprises, (55) commit deeds of shame and acts dastardly and evil, (56) and no man takes account of the godly, but even (57) in their senselessness, fond fools, destroy them all, (58) rejoicing in acts of violence and turning their hands to deeds of bloodshed; (59) then be sure that God is no more of tender mercy, (60) but gnashing His teeth in wrath and destroying at once (61) the whole race of men by means of a mighty conflagration.

(62) O ill-starred mortals, let not these things be, and (63) drive not the great God to divers deeds of wrath; but have done with (64) swords and moanings and killing of men, and deeds of violence, (65) and wash your whole bodies in ever-running rivers, (66) and, stretching your hands to heaven, seek forgiveness for your former deeds, (67) and with praises ask pardon for your bitter ungodliness. (68) God will grant repentance (69) and will not slay: He will stay his wrath once more if with one accord (70) ye practise precious godliness in your hearts. (71) But if with evil mind ye obey me not, but delighting in ungodliness (72) ye receive all these words with ill-affected ears, (73) then fire shall come upon the whole world, and a mighty sign (74) with sword and trumpet at the rising of the sun. (75) The whole world shall hear a rumbling and a mighty roar. (76) And he shall burn the whole earth, and consume the whole race of men, (77) and all the cities and rivers and the sea. (78) He shall burn everything out, and there shall be sooty dust.

(79) But when at last everything shall have been reduced to dust and ashes (80) and God shall quench the giant fire, even as he kindled it, (81) then God Himself shall fashion again the bones and ashes of men, (82) and shall raise up mortals once more as they were before.

(83) And then the judgement shall come wherein God himself shall give sentence, (84) judging the world again. And all who have sinned with deeds of impiety (85) a heap of earth shall cover again, (86) and murky Tartarus and the black recesses of hell. (87) But all who are godly shall live again on earth (89) when God gives breath and life and grace to them, (90) the godly. †And then all shall

- 130-6. The great eruption of Vesuvius which overwhelmed Pompeii, August 23, 24, A. D. 79. Cf. Pliny, *Ep.* vi. 16. 20.
130. **starting from.** For *ἀποστραφθεῖς* it is tempting to read (with Alexandre) *ἀπαστραφθεῖς* 'shot out like lightning'.
139. It was expected that Nero would return from Parthia.
140. Probably the Syrian Antioch is meant, which revolted several times against Rome.
141. **folly . . . Italian spears.** The text renders *ἀφροσύνης Ἰτάλοις*. So $\phi\psi$. Geffcken reads *ἀφροσύνησι τεαῖς* with Ω .
142. **Cyrrhus** a conjecture. MSS. have 'Scyros' or 'Cyprus'. Alexandre suggests *Συρίην*.
143. Cf. *supra*, 129.
145-8. A Roman defeat. Probably the defeat of Paetus at Randeia in A. D. 62.
148. The line is omitted in $\phi\psi$.
153-4. The text has become corrupt. 154 is omitted in some MSS. and in others 153-4 are joined.
159-61. Quoted by Lact. *De Ira Dei* 23. 5.
160. **gnashing his teeth**, *βρύχοντα*. Lact. has 'heavy with wrath', *βρίθοντα*.
165. The stress on complete lustration seems Essene. Cf. iii. 592.
168. **God will grant.** *Θεὸς δώσει*. So Volkmann from Ω which reads *Θεὸς δὲ δώσει*. ψ has *Θεὸς δ' ἔξει*.
173. Another reading gives 'fire shall be throughout the world wherein this sign is wrought', *ἐν ᾧ τότε σῆμα τέτυκται*. So $\phi\psi$.
179-92. The Judgement following on the destruction of the world. The passage up to 190 is quoted in *Ap. Const.* v. 7 as a testimony of the Sibyl to the Resurrection, the New Life, the Judgement.
181. Cf. Ezek. xxxvii. 1-10.
183 ff. Cf. *supra* 40-6.
185. The text in *Ap. Const. l.c.* runs 'those mortals, who have sinned with deeds of impiety, the earth shall cover'.
187. After this there is a weak line inserted only in Ω and rejected by Rzach and Geffcken.
190. **then . . . shall behold themselves**, *τότ' εἰσόψονται ἑαυτοῦς*. The text comes from *Ap. Const.* Ω has *κόψονται*, 'bewail'. ϕ *εἰσονται χάριν αὐτοῖς* (or *αὐτοῖς*) perhaps 'shall have themselves to thank'. Possibly the true reading is *τότ' ὀψονται θεὸν αὐτόν*.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK IV, LINE 191—V, 39

behold themselves,† (91) beholding the lovely and pleasant sunlight. (92) Thrice blest the man who lives until that time.

BOOK V

(1) Now come, **hearken** unto the woful chronicle of the sons of Latium. (2) Verily first of all after the decease of the kings (3) of Egypt, all of whom a like measure of earth bore down; (4) and after the citizen of Pella, under whom the whole (5) East had been subdued and the West with its stores of wealth, (6) whom Babylon disillusioned and handed over, a corpse, to Philip, (7) famed by no true report a son of Zeus, of Ammon: (8) and after the man of the family and blood of **Assaracus**, (9) who **came from Troy**, who clave the onrushing fire; (10) and after many kings and warlike wights, (11) and after infants, children of the beast who preys on sheep, (12) there shall be a king first of all, who shall sum up twice ten (13) with his initial letter: and in wars he shall conquer for long. (14) He shall have his first initial of ten: and so after him (15) shall reign one who has the first of letters. (16) Before him Thrace shall cower, and Sicily, and, later, Memphis: (17) Memphis hurled headlong by the wickedness of its rulers (18) and of an untamable woman who fell upon the wave. (19) And he shall ordain laws for the people and bring all things under his sway. (20) After a long time he shall hand over the empire to another, (21) who shall have his first letter of the number of three hundred, (22) and a river's own name, who shall also reign over the Persians (23) and Babylon: then he shall subdue the Medes with his spear. (24) Then one shall reign who has the letter of the number three. (25) The next king who shall reign shall have twice ten for his first letter: (26) and he shall go to Ocean's farthest (27) water, †directing his ebb against the Ausonians†. (28) Then he shall be sovereign who has the letter of fifty, (29) a direful serpent causing grievous war, who shall one day put forth his hands (30) on his own family and slay them, and shall throw all into confusion, (31) as athlete, charioteer, murderer, and doer of a thousand extravagant acts. (32) He shall pierce, too, the **hill between two seas**, and besprinkle it with blood; (33) Yea, even when he disappears, he shall be malignant. Then he shall return, (34) making himself equal to God: but *God* shall convince him that he is not.

(35) Three kings after him shall perish at each other's hands. (36) Then there shall come a great destroyer of godly men (37) who displays the letter of seventy. (38) His son, who has the initial of three hundred, shall overcome him (39) and take away his power: and after him there

191. Omitted in $\phi\psi$.

192 Cf. iii. 371.

V. 1–51. A brief sketch of history till the reign of Hadrian.

1. **hearken**. The reading is due to Rzach. MSS. have no verb. $\phi\psi$ κλεινῶν τε Δατίνων.

The first eleven lines recur at the beginning of the twelfth book.

4. **The citizen of Pella** = Alexander the Great. Cf. Juv. x. 168 'Unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis'.

6. Alexander died of fever at Babylon 323 B.C. Clem. Al. *Protr.* x. 96 quotes the first part of this line as $\delta\nu$ βασιλῶν ἡλεγξε νεκρόν.

7. After his visit to the temple of Zeus Ammon in 332 B.C. Alexander seems to have persuaded himself that he was the son of that god.

8. **Assaracus**, king of Phrygia and great-grandfather of Aeneas. The restoration of the name is due to Castalio.

9. Referring to the escape of Aeneas from burning Troy. Text corrupt; restored by Rz. from xii. 9.

11. i.e. Romulus and Remus.

12. **twice ten**. The name is *Καῖσαρ* (K denoting 20); line 14 gives *Ἰούλιος* (I denoting 10).

15. **one who has the first of letters**. i.e. *Ἀγροστος*.

16. References to the Battle of Philippi, the war with Sextus Pompeius, and the struggle with Antony and Cleopatra in Egypt.

18. The desertion of Cleopatra's fleet at Actium. The parallel line in xii. 22 has *ὑπὸ δουρί* for *ἐπὶ κύμα*.

21. **who shall have . . . three hundred**. i.e. *Τριβέριος*.

23. War between Rome and Parthia A.D. 34–5.

24. **who has . . . three**. i.e. *Ταῖος*.

25. **twice ten** = K. *Κλαύδιος* is meant.

26. Claudius' short-lived expedition to Britain A.D. 43.

27. The reading is uncertain. Ausonia is strictly S. Italy, but is used poetically for the whole country.

28. **fifty** = N. *Νέρων* is meant.

29. A serpent was found around Nero's neck when he was an infant. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 11.

30. For Nero's murder of his mother cf. iii. 121.

31. A reference to Nero's competing as a charioteer in the Olympian Games. Cf. Juvenal x. 224 ff.

32. Nero made an attempt to pierce the Isthmus of Corinth, in A.D. 66–7. Cf. l. 138.

hill between two seas. *δίκυμον ὄρος* is a conjecture of Rzach from xii. 84: $\phi\psi$ have *δῆκμον ὕδωρ*.

33. For the expectation of the return of Nero cf. iv. 119.

34. For the claim of Antichrist to be God cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4; Iren. v. 25. 1; Asc. Isa. iv. 6.

35. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

37. i.e. *Οὐέσπαστιανος* the conqueror of the Jews.

39. An ungrounded suspicion charges Titus with attempting to supplant his father. Cf. Suet. *Tīt.* 5, 6.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK V, LINES 40-92

shall be a sovereign (40) of the letter of four, **a cursed man**. And next (41) a reverend man of the number of fifty. And after him (42) one whose initial signifies three hundred, (43) a Celtic mountaineer; and he, hot-footed for Eastern war, (44) shall not escape ignoble fate, but shall succumb. A foreign dust shall hide his corpse, (45) even one that has the name of the Nemean flower. And after him another shall reign, (46) a silver-helmed man: he shall have the name of a sea. (47) He shall be a most excellent man and shall understand everything. (48) And in thy time, most excellent, most noble, dark-haired prince, (50) and in the time of thy scions, all these days shall come. (51) After him three shall reign, but the third shall rule late in life.

(52) Thrice wretched I, I am wearied to conceive the message of evil in my heart, (53) I the familiar friend of Isis, and the inspired strain of oracles. (54) First of all around the steps of thy lamented temple, (55) frenzied priestesses shall rush, and thou shalt be in evil hands (56) on that day when the Nile passes over (57) the whole land of Egypt up to sixteen cubits, (58) so as to flood the whole land and drench it with its streams. (59) And the grace of the land shall subside and the glory of its face.

(60) Memphis, thou shalt mourn more than all for Egypt. (61) For thou, who before wast the mighty mistress of earth, shalt become (62) miserable, so that even He whose delight is in the thunder shall shout (63) from heaven with a loud voice: O Memphis, mighty in strength, (64) thou who of old didst boast so loudly to miserable men, (65) shalt mourn wretched and ill-starred, (66) so that the eternal immortal God will notice thee in the clouds. (67) Where is thy spirit that has been so masterful among men? (68) Forasmuch as thou hast spent thy fury upon my divinely anointed servants, (69) and hast launched forth evil upon men that are good, (70) in return for such things thou shalt have such a nurse for thy recompense. (71) Thou shalt have no longer any right †openly† among the blessed. (72) Thou hast fallen from the stars: thou shalt not ascend to heaven. (73) These things God bade me tell forth to Egypt (74) in the last time when men shall be wholly evil. (75) But wicked men exhaust wickedness awaiting (76) the wrath of the immortal, loud-thundering God of heaven, (77) and worshipping stones in place of God, and beasts, (78) and fearing a motley crowd of deities, which have no speech, (79) no understanding and no hearing, such things as it is a shame for me even to mention, (80) each several form of idols which owe their being to the hands of mortal men. (81) And from their own labours and miserable devices (82) men have taken to themselves gods of wood and stone, (83) of brass and gold and silver too, vain gods, (84) lifeless and dumb and smelted in the fire, (85) have they made, putting their trust in vain in such as these. (86) †Thmouis and Xouis are in tribulation. **Abydos laments**,† (87) and (the cities) of Heracles, Zeus and Hermes. (88) And thee Alexandria, famous nurse of cities, (89) war shall not leave, nor **famine**, but thou shalt pay **the penalty** (90) of thy haughtiness and all thy former deeds. (91) Long ages shalt thou be in silence and the day of return **thou shalt not see**. (92) And

40. **cursed**. MSS. untranslatable. It is simplest to emend *τέφθος μόρος* to *ἐφθαρμένος*. Compare the imprecation *φθείρεσθε*.

41. *Νερούας*, i. e. Nerva, who was over 60 at his accession, and was long remembered as the gentlest of the Emperors.

42. *Τραϊανός* born at Italica in Spain. After continual wars in the East he died at Selinus in Cilicia.

45. The parsley (*σέλινον*) furnished the wreath which was the prize at the Nemean games. Cf. Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 46: *Nem.* iv. 143.

46. i. e. Hadrian, whose name recalls the Adriatic Sea.

50. Hadrian had no children. He adopted first L. Verus and then Antoninus.

51. On this line see Intr. p. 373.

52-9. A calamity in Egypt.

53. **familiar friend** (*γνωστή*): perhaps 'kinswoman' (*γυνωτή*). A suggestion is 'Isis, thou shalt know God' (*Ἰσι, Θεὸν γνώσῃ*) from vii. 66.

55. **rush**, *αἰξουσι*: most MSS. 'increase', *αὔξουσι*.

60-72. Woes on Memphis.

67. Cf. the dirge on Babylon in Isa. xiv; also xix. 12 ff.

68. **divinely anointed**, perhaps = 'Christian'.

70. The **nurse** is probably Rome. Alex. would translate 'foster-child'.

71. The sense is unsatisfactory. We might read 'Thou shalt no longer have a right among the clans of the blessed' (*φρήτρας* for *φανερῶς*).

72. Cf. Isa. xiv. 12, 13.

73-110. The confusion of Egypt.

86. Text corrupt in the second half of the line.

Thmouis and **Xouis** are towns in Lower Egypt connected with the worship of Amen.

Abydos is merely a conjectural emendation (*κόπτετ' Ἀβυδος*).

87. The word for **cities** is missing. The three towns are Heracleopolis, Diospolis (= Thebes), and Hermopolis.

89. The latter part of the line is missing. The restoration is by Alex.

91. A gap in the MSS. after this line.

92. The line is cut short. Supply *Νεῖλος ἀπάξων*.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK V, LINES 93-141

no more shall the Nile flow for thee with its boon of delicious drink. (93) For the Persian shall come upon thy field like hail (94) and shall destroy thy land and thy men of evil arts, (95) with blood and corpses, †beside thy glorious altars†; (96) a people of uncouth mind, stalwart, red with blood, of senseless rage, (97) in full force like the sand to hasten thy doom. (98) And then, O thou rich with the wealth of cities, thou shalt be rich with distress. (99) All Asia shall mourn because of those gifts of thine from which (100) she joyed to crown her head, now falling upon earth. (101) And he to whose lot fell the Persians' land shall war thee down, (102) and killing man by man shall crush out thy whole life, (103) so that but a third part shall remain to wretched men. (104) And he shall leap on thee with light spring from the West, (105) blockading thy whole land and laying it all in waste. (106) But when he reaches his zenith of power, and his boldness **knows no shame**, (107) he shall come fain even to sack the city of the blessed. (108) And then a king sent from God against him (109) shall destroy all the mighty kings and the best of the men. (110) And so shall the judgement come from the Immortal upon men.

(111) Woe unto thee, my craven heart, why dost thou provoke me (112) to declare these things unto Egypt, even the grievous partition of sovereignty? (113) Go to the East, to the senseless Persian tribes, and signify to them the present and that which is to be.

(115) The stream of the river Euphrates shall bring on a flood (116) and it shall destroy Persians and Iberians and Babylonians, (117) and Massagetae lovers of war and trusting in bows. (118) The whole of Asia shall blaze with flames of fire as far as the islands. (119) Pergamus, of old so venerable, shall perish as a cluster of grapes, (120) and Pitane shall appear among men as a mass of ruins. (121) The whole of Lesbos shall sink into the deep abyss to perish. (122) Smyrna shall one day mourn rolled down the cliffs; (123) she that of old was revered and renowned shall perish. (124) The Bithynians shall mourn their land reduced to ashes, (125) and great Syria and Phoenice **with its multitude of peoples**.

(126) Woe to thee, Lycia, for all the evils that the sea is devising against thee, (127) invading of its own accord thy woebegone land, (128) so as to flood with evil earthquake and bitter streams (129) the myrrhless myrrh-breathing land of Lycia.

(130) Phrygia, too, shall have grievous wrath on account of the **infatuation** (131) whereby Rhea the (mother) of Zeus came and stayed there.

(132) The sea shall destroy the family of the Tauri and their barbarian folk, (133) and a **devourer** shall slay the Lapithae throughout their land†. (134) The deep-eddying river shall destroy the Thessalian land, (135) even Peneius with its deep stream chasing **mortals** from the land.

(137) Poets shall sing well-a-day for thrice-wretched Hellas, when one from Italy shall pierce the neck of the isthmus, even the mighty king of mighty Rome, a godlike man, (140) to whom, they say, Zeus himself gave birth and our lady Hera. (141) Who courting applause with honied strains uttered

93-111 are contained (except 98) only in the Paris excerpt, which has besides iv. 179-190 (see Introduction, p. 374). At the end of 111 there is a summary in prose of the contents of this passage.

93. The line is only found in the Paris excerpt, and the word for **fields** (*δάπος*) is omitted. Possibly the Persian is Nero representing the Antichrist returning at the head of a Parthian army, cf. 147. For the description cf. 1 En. lvi. 5. Fehr compares a striking passage in Commodian, *Carm. Apol.* 825 ff.

95. **beside thy glorious altars**. Text again uncertain. Geffck. proposes 'shall fill full thine altars'. *περιπλήσουσί τε βωμούς*.

101. Reading due to Buresch from Paris excerpt.

104. Nero is to lead a successful campaign in the West. For **spring** (*ἀλματι*) Par. excerpt has 'chariot' (*ἄρματι*).

107-10. The lines are quoted in Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 18. 5. In 106 read (with Geffcken) *ἀναιδής* for *ἀηδής*.

108. The Messiah is to intervene from heaven to save Jerusalem. *φ ψ* are unmetrical: *σθεναρὸς βασιλεὺς ἐκπεμφθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦτον*.

111-31. Calamities in various Eastern countries foretold.

112. The partition of sovereignty would refer to the disputes as to the imperial throne of Rome.

119. The simile is a little strained. Alex. would read 'from its foundations' (*βαθρηδόν*).

125. Read *πολύφυλον* for MSS. *πολύφυτον*.

129. The epithets *ἄμυρον*, *μυρίπουν*, are apparently chosen to play on the name Myra, the chief city of Lycia. But for *ἄμυρον* (*myrrhless*) we might possibly read *ἀμάραν* (*water-channel*).

130. **infatuation** (*λύσσης*), a suggestion for 'grief' (*λύπης*). Rhea is closely connected with Cybele, whose worship was attended with great orgies.

132-6. The whole text is corrupt and only a conjectural restoration is possible. In 133 a **devourer** (*δάπτων*) is a conjecture for 'ground' (*δάπεδον*). In 135 *μέροπας*, 'mortals', is read for *μορφάς*. 136 is regarded as a doublet of 135 and omitted. It runs, literally, 'Epidanus claiming (saying) one day to beget the forms of beasts'.

The *Lapithae* were a wild tribe living in Thessaly in heroic times, and the *Peneius* is the principal river of Thessaly.

137-54. The return of Nero.

138. Cf. 632. The description in the next two lines is bitterly sarcastic.

140. It was said that Nero's birth was wrapped in mystery, cf. Suet. *Nero* 6.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK V, LINES 142-188

with melodious voice (42) shall destroy many together with his ill-starred mother. (43) Then shall flee from Babylon a king fearful and shameless (44) whom all mortals and all the best men loathe. (45) For he destroyed many and laid his hands on the womb (46) and sinned against wives and was born of **abominable** parentage. (47) He shall come to the Medes and to the kings of the Persians, (48) the first whom he desired and to whom he added glory, (49) making his lair with these evil men against the true people. (50) He seized the temple built by God, and burnt the citizens and the people who went up to it, whom I have justly sung. (52) For **when he died the whole** of creation was shaken (53) and kings perished, and those among whom the empire remained (54) destroyed the great city and the righteous people.

(55) But when after the fourth year a great star shines, (56) which by itself shall destroy the (whole) land, †because of the honour (57) which they first paid to Poseidon god of the sea†, (58) then shall come a great star from heaven into the divine sea, (59) and shall burn up the deep sea and Babylon itself, (60) and the land of Italy on whose account (61) many faithful saints of the Hebrews have perished, and the true people.

(62) Thou shalt be afflicted with evil among evil men, (63) but thou shalt remain utterly desolate for whole ages hereafter, (65) hating thy soil because thou didst love magic. (66) Adulteries are with thee and unlawful intercourse with boys, (67) effeminate and unjust, thou wicked city, most ill-starred of all. (68) Woe unto thee all unclean city of Latin land, (69) frenzied and †poison-loving†, in widowhood shalt thou sit beside thy banks, (70) and river Tiber shall mourn for thee, his wife, (71) that hadst a bloodthirsty heart and a godless mind. (72) Didst thou not know what God can do and what are his designs? (73) But thou hast said, I am unique, and none shall bring ruin on me. (74) But now God whose Being is for ever shall destroy thee and all of thine, (75) and there shall be no token of thee in that land, (76) as of old when the Mighty God found for thee thine honour. (77) Remain, O lawless one, unique, and, wedded unto flaming fire, (78) make thine home in the nether region of Hades where laws are not.

(79) But now once more, Egypt, I bemoan thy doom. (80) Memphis, thou shalt be in the van of troubles, †smitten in thine ankles†. (81) The very pyramids in thee shall utter a speechless voice. (82) Python, thou that of old wast justly called the double city, (83) be thou silent for ages that thou mayst cease from thy wickedness. (84) Insolence, storehouse of evil woes, frenzied with much lamentation, (85) direful sufferer, full of tears, thou shalt remain a widow for ever. (86) For many a year thou wast the sole sovereign of the world.

(87) But when Barca puts on the white kilt (88) over soiled clothes, may I not live or be born.

143. Babylon probably means Rome. But it is noticeable that in the Avesta Azhidaka has his seat at Babylon, and some have supposed that the Nero myth has borrowed certain features from this source.

146. **abominable**, *μικρῶν*. Most MSS. read 'small', *μικρῶν*, but the correction is certain. It is noticeable in how many details Nero and the Antichrist are confused.

148. Nero desired to transfer his seat of empire to the East. Cf. Suet. *Nero* 40.

150. Nero did not, of course, capture Jerusalem. But his sending Vespasian to the East to quell the Jewish revolt was the beginning of the end.

152. **died**, *θανέοντος*. MSS. 'appeared', *προφανεύοντος*. But Nero's death was followed by a terrific earthquake (Dio 63. 28), and the kings who perished would be Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

MSS. have 'the' ἡ for 'the whole of', *ὅλη*, and the line is left unmetrical.

155-61. An apocalyptic passage suggested by a notable comet which appeared in A.D. 73 (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* ii. 25), and is supposed to presage the fate of Rome.

157. The line is corrupt; perhaps we should read 'because of the precious things which aforesaid they put on Poseidon god of the sea'. The arrogance of Babylon (= Rome) is based to a large extent on the wealth of its sea-borne merchandise, cf. Apoc. xviii. 4-20.

162-78. A dirge on Rome suggested by Isa. xiii. and Apoc. xviii.

164. The line omitted ('it shall be, but it shall remain utterly desolate or ever') is evidently a doublet.

165. **magic**, *φαρμακίη*. Cf. Apoc. xviii. 23.

169. **poison-loving**, *ἐχιδνοχάρης*, properly 'delighting in vipers'. The word may have been suggested by the story of the death of Cleopatra.

173. Cf. Isa. xiv. 5.

177. A reference to the great fire of A.D. 63.

179-205. A dirge on Memphis and other Egyptian towns.

180. **smitten in thine ankles**, *πληχθείσα τένοντος* (Geffck.) may refer to the system of canals which crossed ancient Memphis. But the MSS. reading gives *πλησθείσα τένοντος*, and it is simple to read with Alex. *πλησθείσα θανόντων*, 'filled with the dead'.

181. A reference to the sounding pyramid mentioned in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 58, Juv. xv. 5.

182. **Python** = Pithom, the treasure city partially built by the Israelites. The Romans built another city close by, called Heropolis. It is Egypt in general rather than Memphis or Python that is now addressed.

For **speechless** (*ἄναυδον*) the MSS. have 'shameless' (*ἀναιδῆ*).

184. Cf. l. 231 ff.

187. **Barca**, a city of Cyrenaica captured by the Persians in the time of Darius. The **kilt** (*κνῆσσιον*) was a Persian garment. The oracle is probably an ancient one: *γενοίμην* shows a Doric ending.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK V, LINES 189-238.

(89) O Thebes, where is thy great strength? a savage man (90) shall utterly destroy thy people. And thou, taking thy sombre garments (91) shalt mourn, poor wretch, alone, and shalt make full amends (92) for all that thou didst before in the shamelessness of thine heart. (93) And they shall make grievous lament because of their lawless deeds.

(94) Syene an Ethiopian hero shall destroy. (95) Teuchira the dark-skinned Indians shall forcibly occupy. (96) Pentapolis, thou shalt mourn: †a man of mighty strength shall destroy thee.† (97) O Libya, steeped in tears, who shall tell forth thy dooms? (98) And what mortal, Cyrene, shall weep piteous tears for thee? (99) Thou shalt not cease thy lament to the time of thine hateful destruction.

(200) Among the Britains and the Gauls rich in gold (201) the ocean shall roar filled with streams of blood: (202) forasmuch as they too committed wickedness against the children of God (203) †when the red king brought against the Sidonians (204) a great horde of Gauls out of Syria†. And he shall slay even thee, (205) O Ravenna, and shall rule over thee with bloodshed.

(206) Ye Indians, be not overbold, and ye stout-hearted Ethiopians. (207) For when the circle of the **arched** Axis, Capricorn (208) and Taurus among the Twins revolve round mid heaven, (209) and Virgo is coming forth, and the sun (10) reigns fixing his fire-flashing belt about his brow: (11) then there shall be a great celestial conflagration on the earth, (12) and in the battle of the stars a new creation shall come forth, so that (13) the whole land of the Ethiopians shall perish with fire and moanings.

(14) Do thou too, Corinth, bemoan the piteous destruction that is in thee. (15) For when with their weft of twisted thread the three sister-Fates (16) bring back him that fled by guile to the bank of the Isthmus (17) in mid-air that all may see him, (18) who once pierced the rock with ductile brass, (19) then he shall destroy thy land and waste it, as it was determined before. (20) For to him God hath given strength to do (21) such things as none of all the former kings have done.

(22) For first of all **cutting off** with a mighty blow the roots from three heads, (23) he shall give them to his **mighty comrades** to devour (24) so that they shall eat the flesh of the parents of the unholy king. (25) For for all men blood and horrors are in store (26) because of the great city and the righteous people, (27) brought safe through all, whom Providence exalted.

(28) O thou unsettled and of evil counsel, beset with evil fate, (29) source of trouble and its great end unto men (30) when creation is vexed and again saved by the Fates, (31) O violence, fountain-head of evils and great bane unto men, (32) who of mortals hath desired thee, who within him hath not been vexed? (33) By thee a king cast down has lost his august life. (34) Thou hast ordered all amiss and hast brought on all the flood-tide of evil, (35) and through thee the fair plains of the earth have been altered. (36) Throw out these seeds of strife (perhaps they are thy last) for our contention. (37) How and what dost thou speak? I will persuade thee, yea, even if I blame thee I say it. (38) There was once among men the bright sun-ray, when the beam of the

193. **make lament** (κόψονται), an emendation for 'see lament' (ὀψονται). The ending of lines 192, 193 are transposed in the MSS.

194. **Syene**, modern Assouan. There was an Ethiopian invasion of Egypt in 24 B. C.

195. **Teuchira**, a city in Cyrenaica, afterwards called Arsinoe.

196. **Pentapolis**, a district on the coast embracing Cyrene. The text is uncertain.

200-5. Woes on Western peoples.

200. **Britains**. MSS. Βρύττεσι. Wilam. suggests Βρύγεςσι.

203. Meaning uncertain. βασιλεὺς Φοῖνιξ may refer to Vespasian who brought Gallic troops to the campaign in Palestine. Or there may be an allusion to the phoenix which reappeared at certain intervals, and if so the reference would probably be to Nero.

205. MSS. 'thee, Ravenna here' (σε . . . αὐτῇ 'Ραβέννῃ).

206-13. A conflagration to occur among the Ethiopians at a certain conjunction of stars.

206. **be not overbold**, μὴ θαρσείτε. MSS. 'fear not', μὴ ταρβεῖτε.

207. **arched**, κυρτοῦ, an emendation for τοῦτους which gives no sense.

210. **fire-flashing**. The word is uncertain.

214-28. A dirge on Corinth.

216. Reading uncertain. If the restored text as translated is accepted there is apparently a reference again to Nero. In the next line he seems confused with Simon Magus, who, according to tradition, met his death while flying in the air. Line 218 would then return to Nero and his attempt to pierce the Isthmus of Corinth.

bank, ὄχθην. φ ψ have ὁμφήν, 'voice'.

222. Cf. the picture in Dan. vii. 8. The three heads may be the three Flavian Emperors.

cutting off (σπασσάμενος), a suggestion for 'weighing' (στησάμενος).

223. **his comrades** (ἐτέροις), a conjecture for 'others' (ἐτέροις). So μεγάλοις for μεγάλως.

224. For **parents** (γονέων) we should perhaps read 'race' (γενέας). The unholy king is Nero.

228-46. A much disputed passage. Hildebrandt sees in it a direct allusion to the Avesta. Fehr regards it as an address to Rome. It seems more probable that it refers to the Rabbinic conception of the fall of Adam brought about by the envy of the Angels, and of the withdrawal of the Shechinah from earth. But the whole passage is obscure.

230. **by the Fates** (Μοίραις). MSS. have 'when destiny is again saved', σωζομένης πάλι Μοίρης.

237. Alex. would read 'If thou hast aught against me, speak it', εἰ δέ τι μέμφεται αὐδα.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK V, LINES 240-294

prophets was shed forth in concord. (40) A tongue distilling a fair **honied** drink to all mortals (41) came forth and waxed greater, and reared its gentle crop for all. (42) Therefore, O thou of cramped counsel, fountain-head of the greatest of evils, (43) the hooked knife and mourning shall come on that day. (44) O thou source of trouble and its great end unto men, (45) when creation is vexed and again saved by the Fates, (46) listen to my bitter speech of evil sound, thou bane unto men.

(47) But when the Persian land shall be quit of war (48) and of pestilence and lamentation, then there shall be on that day (49) the godlike heavenly race of the blessed Jews, (50) who dwell around the city of God at the centre of earth. (51) Building a great ring-wall as far as Joppa (52) they are exalted on high up to the darkling clouds. (53) No more shall the trumpet hiss forth the blast of war's turmoil, (54) nor shall they perish any more by the fanatic hands of their foes. (55) But they shall set up trophies **around** in an age **innocent of harm**.

(56) Then there shall come from the sky a certain exalted man, (57) whose hands they **nailed** upon the fruitful tree, (58) the noblest of the Hebrews, who **shall** one day **cause** the sun to stand still, (59) when he cries with fair speech and pure lips.

(60) Let thy spirit within thy breast no longer be vexed, thou blessed one, (61) child of God, excellent in wealth, only longed-for blossom, (62) pleasant light, august **offshoot**, longed-for **branch**, (63) well-favoured Judaea, fair city, inspired in hymns. (64) No longer shall the Greeks' unclean foot run riot in thy land, (65) for they shall have within their breasts a mind that conforms to thy laws. (66) But thy noble sons shall encircle thee with honour, (67) and with holy music they shall attend thy table, (68) with divers kinds of sacrifices and prayers to the honour of God. (69) All those righteous men who from short-lived affliction have endured troubles, (70) shall **have** a more ample and well-favoured **rope of life**. (71) But the evil men who trim to the breeze a lawless tongue (72) shall cease to speak one against another, (73) and they shall hide themselves †until the world pass away†. (74) And then shall come from the clouds a rain of flaming fire. (75) No longer shall men gather in the blithe corn-blade from the earth. (76) All shall remain unsown and unploughed, until mortal men take note of (77) God, the Chief of all, the Immortal and Eternal, (78) and no longer pay homage to mortal things, (79) nor dogs and vultures, which Egypt has taught (80) to reverence with **vain** mouths and foolish lips. (81) But the holy land of the godly alone shall bear all these things. (82) An ambrosial stream distilling honey and milk shall flow from rock and fountain for all the righteous. (84) For they fixed their hope on the one God, the Father who alone is excellent, (85) and they held fast to great piety and faith.

(86) But why, O why, does my wise mind lay this burden on me? (87) Now it is thou, O wretched Asia, that I piteously lament, and the race of the Ionians, Carians, and Lydians rich in gold. (89) Woe to thee, Sardis: and to thee, lovely Trallis. (90) Woe to thee, Laodicea, fair city, how shall ye perish (91) destroyed by earthquakes and reduced to dust. (92) To dusky Asia and (the race) of the Lydians rich in gold. . . .

(93) The shrine of Artemis fashioned (by the citizens) of Ephesus (94) shall one day by yawnings

240. The **tongue** was perhaps a comet, a sign of peace and prosperity. μέλι σταγέουσα, 'distilling . . . honeyed' is a conjecture of Alex. for μέν σταγέουσα φ. (ψ has μέν στυγέουσα.)

241. For φαίνε τέ read φαίνετο.

249. Lact. quotes this line and refers it to the Christians.

250. For the Rabbinic idea that Jerusalem was the centre of the earth cf. 1 En. xxvi. 1; Jubilees viii.

255. The text is corrupt, and the emendation proposed is slight. Read ἀλλὰ περίξ στήσουσ' ἀκάφ' αἰῶνι τρόπαια.

256-9. A Christian interpolation.

257. MSS. 'whose hands he spread out', οὐ παλάμας ἥπλωσεν. For ἥπλωσεν read ἥλωσαν. Fehr, reading δαριστός in 258, renders 'whose hands the company of the Hebrews spread out'. Blass refers this line to Moses (Exod. xvii. 12).

258. In the MSS. the verb is in the past, στήσε. Many commentators treat this as referring to Joshua, but manifestly the allusion is to St. Luke xxiii. 43, 44.

260-85. The coming prosperity of Judaea and the plight of the ungodly.

Bleek and Geffrörer treat this section as one of the oldest (c. 160 B.C.), but without convincing reason.

262. Read θάλος for τέλος, and ἔρνος for ἄγνος.

267. **attend thy table**. Perhaps 'set up (ἐπιστήσουσι) thy table'. Referring to the restoration of the Temple sacrifices, which was to be one of the features of the new Jerusalem.

270. **rope** is a conjecture (κάλων for καλόν: cf. iii. 45). The metaphor would be a nautical one, but it is not very convincing, and there is probably a corruption in the text.

273. **until the world pass away**. Read (with Rzach) ἕως ἀλλαχθῇ ὁ κόσμος for ἕως κόσμος ἀλλαγῇ.

280. **vain mouths**, κενοίς. MSS. 'new' (νέοις). Alexandre suggests 'their mouths' (στοματέσσιν ἐοῖς).

286-97. Disasters in Asia following an earthquake.

There was a specially severe earthquake in A.D. 17, details of which are given in Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 86. Twelve cities were destroyed in one night and Sardis suffered most severely.

292. Obviously there is a gap after this line. It may be filled in with a line like iv. 101.

293. The temple of Ephesus survived, and was changed into a Christian Church.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK V, LINES 295-341

and quakings of the earth sink into the divine sea (95) headlong, even as tempests overwhelm ships. (96) Ephesus shall lament **prostrate** and weeping by her shores, (97) and seeking for her temple which is no longer inhabited.

(98) And then in wrath the Immortal God who dwells in heaven (99) shall hurl from the sky a fiery meteor down on the unholy head. (300) And instead of winter there shall be summer on that day, (301) and then indeed shall be **autumn's end** to mortal men. (302) For He who thunders from on high shall utterly destroy all the shameless men, (303) with thunderings and lightnings and flaming thunderbolts, (304) on those who are his enemies, and he shall destroy them as ungodly (305) so that dead bodies shall remain on the earth more numerous than the sand.

(306) Smyrna too shall come bemoaning her **minstrel** (307) to the gates of Ephesus, and she shall perish more thoroughly.

(308) And Cyme, the foolish, with her streams inspired of God, (309) hurled down by the hands of godless men, unjust and lawless, (310) shall not so much as **put forth a branch** toward heaven, (11) but shall remain dead by its **swelling** streams. (12) And then they shall groan together awaiting an evil doom. (13) They shall know when they have a token wherefore they have laboured, (14) that stubborn folk and shameless race of the Cymaeans. (15) Then when they shall bemoan their wicked land reduced to ashes (16) Lesbos shall be for ever destroyed by Eridanus.

(17) Woe unto thee **Cibyra**, thou fair city, cease thy rout, (18) and Hierapolis, thou land uniquely wedded to the god of wealth. (19) Thou shalt have, what thou hast **longed** to have, **gold** but **gold** of many tears, (20) burying it in the earth by the streams of Thermodon. (21) And rock-clinging Tripolis by Macander's waters, (22) **left widowed** by the billows at night against the shore, (23) God's Providence shall one day make a full end of thee **unto the ground**.

(24) May it never befall me to choose willingly the land that is neighbour to Phoebus. (25) One day a meteor from on high shall destroy delicate Miletus, (26) forasmuch as she chose the deceitful verse of Phoebus, (27) and men's learned study and prudent counsel.

(28) Be favourable, Father of all, to the delicate fruitful land, (29) to great Judaea, that we may see thy purposes. (30) Her first didst thou know, O God, with thine acts of favour, (31) so that she seemed to all mankind to be the object of thy special grace, (32) and to realize what a charge she had from thee.

(33) Thrice wretched me, I long to see the Thracians' works, (34) and the wall that spans two seas, dragged by Ares (35) river-like in the dust **like** a fishing diver.

(36) Wretched Hellespont, a son of the Assyrians shall one day yoke thee. (37) †The Thracians' battle shall come and utterly destroy thy might†: (38) and an Egyptian king shall take Macedonia, (39) and a barbarian clime shall cast down the might of rulers. (40) Lydians and Galatians, Pamphylians and Pisidians (41) bear rule with all their people armed with bitter strife.

296. **prostrate**. Read *ὑπτία* for *ὑπτία* δ'.

298-305. Further calamities and reversal of seasons. The section seems misplaced here.

301. **autumn's end**. *μετόπωρ* for MSS. *μετέπειτ*.

306. **minstrel**, *λυρουργόν*. Geffck's emendation for *λυκουργόν*. The reference would be to Homer. The idea seems to be that in the general distress even the inveterate rivalry between Ephesus and Smyrna would cease.

308. The people of the Asiatic Cumae were regarded as specially foolish. But the reference to the inspired streams would fit in better with the Cumae in Campania.

310. Read *κλῆμα προήσει* for *ἄρμα προδώσει*.

311. **swelling** (*κυμαίνουσι*) for 'Cumaeon' (*κυμήουσι*). The play on words seems to make this emendation preferable to Geffcken's *κυανέουσι*.

316. The Eridanus was a river famous in old legends. Here, perhaps, used for the sea. Cf. Virgil's 'Achelolia pocula'.

317. **Cibyra**. Mendelssohn's emendation for Corcyra. Cibyra was on the borders of Caria and Lycia.

319. **longed to have** (*πεπόθηκας*). MSS. 'made' (*πεποίηκας*). *Gold*, *χρυσόν*, is a suggested emendation for *place*, *χωρὸν*. It carries on the idea of 'wedded to the god of wealth' (*Πλούτωνι μγείσα*).

One of the features of Hierapolis was the Ploutonium, a hole just wide enough to admit a man, reaching deep into the earth, from which issued a mephitic vapour. See Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 86.

322. **left widowed**. Read *χρηρευθείσα* for MSS. *κληρωθείσα*. Should we read 'hurled down,' *καρρυφθείσα*?

Tripolis was situated on a hill overhanging the Maeander.

323. Read *πέδονδε* for *ποθ' ἦδε*.

324. Miletus was not far from the famous temple of Apollo at Branchidae.

327. **study** = *μελέτην*, a play on *Μίλητον*. Miletus was proud of her philosophers, and especially of Thales.

334. The great wall that spanned the isthmus on which Byzantium stood.

335. **like** (*ὡς*) a suggestion for 'to' (*ἐπ'*). The **diver** was probably a sea bird.

336. Xerxes' bridge across the Hellespont.

337. Reading uncertain. It is suggested to read *Λυσίμαχον* for *εἰς σὲ μάχην*, and translate 'The Thracians' might shall utterly undo Lysimachus'. The reference would be to the death of Lysimachus in the battle of Corupedium in 281 B. C. His vanquisher, Seleucus, was slain by Ptolemy Keraunos, and he in his turn was defeated and killed by the Gauls in 280 B. C.

341. **bear rule** (*κρατεῖουσι*). Perhaps read *κρατέουσι*, 'resound with din of arms'.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK V, LINES 342-404

(42) Thrice-wretched Italy, thou shalt remain all desolate, unwept. (43) A baleful beast in thy luxuriant land shall destroy thee.

(44) †**When** the broad heaven above is **clear**†, (45) men shall hear a crash, as of thunder, even the voice of God. (46) And even the imperishable fires of the sun itself shall be no more, (47) nor shall there be any more the bright moonlight (48) in the last time when God shall reign. (49) All things shall become black and darkness shall be over the earth, (50) (and mortals shall be blind and beasts evil) and trouble. (51) That day shall last long time, so that (52) men will take note of God Himself, the King, the Watcher of all from heaven. (53) Then he shall have no pity for those who are his foes, (54) when they spend themselves in sacrificing herds of lambs and sheep and lowing bulls, (55) of great calves too with gilded horns (56) to lifeless Hermes and gods of stone. (57) But let justice, wisdom, and glory hold sway over the just, (58) lest the Immortal God in anger destroy (59) the whole **bloodstained** race of men and their shameless kin. (60) We needs must love God the Father, the Wise, the Everlasting.

(61) There shall be at the last time, about the waning of the moon, (62) a world-convulsing war deceitful in guilefulness. (63) And there shall come from the ends of the earth a matricide (64) fleeing and devising sharp-edged plans in his mind. (65) He shall ruin all the earth, and gain all power, (66) and surpass all men in the cunning of his mind. (67) That for which he perished he shall seize at once. (68) And he shall destroy many men and great tyrants, (69) and shall burn all men as none other ever did. (70) And those that were fallen he shall raise up again through contrary zeal. (71) And from the west shall come much war to men, (72) and streams of blood shall flow up to the banks of the deep-eddying rivers. (73) And gall shall distil in the plains of Macedonia† . . . (74) alliance, but to the king from the west destruction†. (75) And then a wintry blast shall blow throughout the earth, (76) and the plain shall be filled again with cruel war. (77) For fire shall rain on mortal men from the fields of heaven, (78) fire and blood, water, meteor, darkness, heaven's night, (79) and consumption in war and a mist over the slain (80) shall destroy at once all kings and the best of men.

(81) Then at last war's piteous ruin shall be stopped (82) and no man shall fight any more with swords or steel, (83) nor with javelins either, for these things shall no more be permitted. (84) But the wise people that are left shall have peace, (85) having had trial of evil that later they might rejoice.

(86) Ye matricides, cease from your shamelessness and wicked boldness. (87) Ye that of old foully furnished boys for abuse, (88) and set in your houses as harlots those who before were pure (89) with wanton violence and punishment and laboured foulness. (90) In thee a mother had incestuous commerce with her child, (91) and a daughter became the bride of her own father. (92) In thee even kings befouled their ill-starred mouth: (93) in thee evil men even found means to lie with beasts. (94) Silence, thou miserable, wicked city, from the revel that thou hadst. (95) For no longer under **the roof of thy virgin-loving court** shall the virgins tend the divine fire. (97) Quenched from thee was thine house, desired of old, (98) when for the second time I saw thine house hurled (99) headlong down, lapped with fire, by an unholy hand, (400) thine ever flourishing house, the temple that guarded thy god, (401) made with holy hands, (402) and such as men from their soul and body itself trusted would be ever immortal.

(403) Not recklessly do they praise a God of **senseless** earth, (404) nor did a cunning workman

343. The reading of the MSS. needs some correction. Read *ἐξαπολεί σε* for *ἐξαπολέσθαι*.

344. MSS. unintelligible. Read *ἔσται δ' ὀπισταν αἰθριος οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθευ*.

358-60. Quoted by Lact. *De Ira Dei*, xxiii. 8.

359. **bloodstained** (*βροτόεν*) a conjecture for 'life' (*βίονον*).

361-85. Wars and disasters preceding the end.

363. **The ends of the earth**. Either Parthia, or the West conceived of as the scene of the appearance of the Antichrist in the form of Nero. A similar description in Testament of the Lord v.

The passage is referred to in Lact. *De Morte Pers.* ii. 8.

367. Probably the sovereignty.

370-3. Friedlieb supposes these lines to be an interpolation.

373. A gap after this line. The sense was probably, 'But God shall send from on high to that people help (or alliance)'.

386-402. Outburst of hatred against Rome. For the description cf. iii. 185 ff.

395. No good sense can be obtained from the MSS. A somewhat bold emendation is proposed. Read *ὠκέτι γὰρ παρυσείο τέγει φιλοπαρθένου αὐλῆς*. The reference is apparently to the burning of the Temple of Vesta in A.D. 64 (or possibly the second burning in A.D. 191).

398. The Sibyl claims to have seen the Temple at Jerusalem twice destroyed, and regards its destruction as the reason for the burning of Vesta's Temple.

401. The indestructibility of Herod's Temple was a dogma deep-rooted in the Jewish mind. Compare the story in Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* vi. 5.

403. **senseless** (*ἄφρονος*) for 'vanished' (*ἀφανοῦς*).

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK V, LINES 405-463

among them make a god of stone: (405) no ornament of gold to lead souls astray do they worship. (406) But God, the great Father of all within whom is the breath of God, (407) they were wont to reverence with holy sacrifices and hecatombs. (408) But now an obscure unholy king has gone up (409) and cast it down and left it without inhabitant (10) with a great multitude and with doughty warriors. (11) But he himself perished **when he landed on the mainland from the Eternal Land**, (12) and no such sign has yet been wrought on men (13) that others should think to lay in ruins the great city.

(14) For there has come from the plains of heaven a blessed man (15) with the sceptre in his hand which God has committed to his clasp: (16) and he has won fair dominion over all, and has restored to all (17) the good the wealth which the former men took. (18) And he has destroyed every city from its foundations with sheets of fire, (19) and burnt up the families of the men who before wrought evil, (20) and the city which God loved he made (21) more radiant than the stars and the sun and the moon; (23) **and he set it as the jewel of the world, and made a temple** (23) exceeding fair **in its fair sanctuary**, and fashioned it (24) in size of many furlongs, with a giant tower (25) touching the very clouds and seen of all, (26) so that all the faithful and all the righteous may see (27) the glory of the invisible God, the vision of delight. (28) East and West have hymned forth the glory of God: (29) for no longer are wretched mortals beset with deeds of shame, (30) adulteries and unnatural passions for boys, (31) murder and tumult, but rivalry is fair among all. (32) It is the last time of the saints, when God accomplishes these things, (33) God the sender of thunder, the Creator of the great Temple.

(34) Woe to thee, Babylon, golden-throned and golden-sandalled, (35) thou who for many a year wast queen, sole sovereign of the world, (36) of old so great and cosmopolitan, no more shalt thou lie (37) on golden mountains and by Euphrates' streams. (38) Thou shalt be levelled by an earthquake's shock: and the dread Parthians (39) have made thee **rattle** through and through. Keep thy mouth **with** the bridle of constraint, (40) thou race of the Chaldees, and ask not nor care (41) how thou mayst rule the Persians or have dominion over the Medes. (42) For because of the empire that thou hadst, †thou shalt send hostages (43) to Rome, even those who were in bondage to Asia†. (44) Therefore thou thyself, thou haughty queen, shalt come to the **summons** of thine (45) adversaries on whose account thou hast sent ransom, (46) and for thy crooked words thou shalt give a bitter reckoning to thine enemies.

(47) And in the last time the sea shall be dry, (48) and no longer shall ships sail to Italy, (49) and great Asia which produces everything shall be water, (50) and Crete a plain. Cyprus shall have a great sorrow (51) and Paphos shall **lament** aloud her grievous fate, so that (52) even Salamis the great city shall perceive that she has suffered a great sorrow. (53) Now again the dry land up to the sea-shore shall be barren, (54) and swarms of locusts shall waste the land of Cyprus. (55) Ye ill-starred mortals, ye shall weep when ye look toward Tyre. (56) Phoenicia, grievous wrath awaits thee, till thou fallest (57) with a grievous fall so that the Sirens in very truth should weep.

(58) There shall be a time in the fifth generation, when Egypt's destruction shall cease, (59) when kings ally themselves in shameless marriages. (60) And Pamphylian races shall settle in Egypt, (61) and in Macedonia and in Asia and among the Lycians (62) *there shall be* a world-convulsing war with streams of blood in the dust, (63) which a king of Rome and western princes shall arrest.

408. The **king** is Titus.

411. Text uncertain. Titus lingered for some time in Egypt after the capture of Jerusalem, and there was an expectation among the Jews that he would die directly he set foot on Italian soil. Read *χέρσφ ἀπ' ἀθανάτης ἐπιβὰς γῆς* and understand *χέρσφ* of the mainland of Italy.

414-33. The coming of the Messiah, conceived of as already having occurred.

420, 421. Quoted by Lact. *Div. Inst.* vii. 24. 6.

422. The line is mutilated in the middle. The emendation suggested is *καὶ κόσμον κατέθηκεν ἄγαλμα, νεώδ' τ' ἐποίησεν ἐν σιγκῶ καλῶ περικαλλέα*.

434-46. Woes on Babylon and the Parthians.

435. Cf. Isa. xlvii. 5.

437. The **golden mountains** are merely a proverbial figure for immense wealth.

439. **rattle** (*κρατεῖν*) for MSS. 'rule' (*κρατεῖν*). In the latter half of the line the MSS. reading has been kept with the single alteration of *φίμῶν* to *φίμῳ*.

443. The text is again corrupt. Read *εἰς Ῥώμην πέμψεις σὺ καὶ Ἀσιδι θητεύοντας*. Augustus, by diplomacy, induced the Parthians to restore the Roman prisoners captured at Carrhae.

444. Reading again uncertain. For *εἰς κρίσιν* read *ἐπὶ κλήσιν*.

447-57. Convulsions of nature.

451. **lament**, *αἰάξει*. Alexandre's emendation for *αἰζει*.

457. For the Sirens as spirits of lamentation cf. 2 Bar. x. 8.

458. War in Egypt. For 'when . . . shall cease' (*ὅτε παύσεται*) we should, perhaps, read 'when . . . shall come' (*ὅτ' ἐλεύσεται*).

459. Perhaps a reference to Cleopatra and Caesar.

461. For **Lycians** Alex. suggests 'Libyans', referring to Octavian's capture of Pelusium and Alexandria.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS. BOOK V, LINES 464-530

(64) When a wintry blast distils in form of snow, (65) and a great river and the largest lakes are frozen, (66) straightway a barbarian horde shall make its way to the land of Asia, (67) and shall destroy the race of the dreaded Thracians as though it were but puny. (68) And then mortals in desperation shall devour their own parents (69) in the last stages of famine, and shall consume them greedily as food. (70) And from every house beasts shall devour the table (71) and the very birds shall devour all mortals, (72) and as a result of grievous war the bloodstained ocean shall be filled (73) with the flesh and blood of the insensate men. (74) Then such faintness shall there be throughout the earth (75) that one may tell the number of men and the measure of women. (76) Myriad shall be the lamentations of the **wretched** generation about the term (77) when the sun sets never to rise again, (78) waiting to be bathed in the waters of ocean. (79) For it has seen the unholy villainies of many men. (80) There shall be a moonless darkness even around the great heaven, (81) and no slight mist shall envelop the folds of earth (82) a second time. But then God's light shall guide (83) all those good men who have raised their hymns to God.

(84) Isis, thou goddess thrice ill-starred, thou shalt remain by the streams of Nile (85) alone, frenzied but speechless by the sands of Acheron, (86) and no memory of thee shall remain throughout the whole earth. (87) And thou, Sarapis, **covered with many useless stones**, (88) shalt lie a giant corpse in Egypt thrice ill-starred. (89) And all who have brought the precious things of Egypt to thee, (90) shall weep for thee bitterly, bethinking them of the Immortal God. (91) They shall know thee to be nothing, all who have sung hymns to thee as God. (92) And then one of the priests shall say, a linen-clad man, (93) Come, let us set up the fair temple of the true God. (94) Come, let us change the grievous custom we have received from our fathers, (95) whereby, performing processions and rites to gods of stone and earthenware, they had no sense. (97) Let us turn ourselves and hymn the Immortal God, (98) the Father himself who is from everlasting, (99) the Chief of all, the True, the King, (500) the Father, Sustainer of souls, the Great Eternal God. (501) And then in Egypt there shall be a great and holy temple, (502) and to it the people whom God made shall bring sacrifices. (503) To these God shall grant a life without decay.

(504) But when, leaving the shameless tribes of the Triballi, (505) the Ethiopians tarry to till **the land of Egypt**, (506) they shall begin their evil deeds that all the latter things may come to pass. (507) For they shall destroy the great temple of the land of Egypt. (508) And God shall rain grievous wrath upon them down to earth, (509) so as to destroy all the evil and all the lawless. (10) And there shall be no more any sparing in that land (11) because they did not keep that which God entrusted to them.

(12) I saw the threatening of the gleaming sun among the stars, (13) and the moon's grievous wrath among the lightning flashes. (14) The stars travailed with **war**: and God suffered them to fight. (15) For instead of the sun long flames rose in revolt, (17) and the two-horned **revolution** of the moon was changed. (16) Lucifer waged battle, mounted on Leo's back. (18) Capricorn smote the heel of the young Taurus: (19) and Taurus snatched from Capricorn his day of return. (20) Orion removed the Scales so that they remained no more. (21) Virgo changed her sphere with the Twins in Aries. (22) The Pleiad appeared no more: and the Dragon disowned the Belt. (23) Pisces entered into the girdle of Leo. (24) Cancer did not stay, for he feared Orion. (25) Scorpio drew up his tail, because of savage Leo: (26) and the dog-star perished from the sun's flame. (27) The might of doughty Lucifer burned up Aquarius. (28) Heaven itself was stirred till it shook the warriors, (29) and in anger cast them headlong to the earth. (30) And smitten swiftly into the waters of Ocean, (31) they kindled the whole earth: and the sky remained starless.

464-74. A Gaulish invasion. Probably an ancient oracle on the Gaulish inroad into Asia after their repulse at Delphi in 279 B.C.

476-83. A plague of darkness, the righteous only having light.

476. **wretched**, δειλὴ, a conjecture for MSS. δεινὴ.

482. The writer has in mind probably the darkness that reigned in Egypt when only the Israelites had light.

484-503. The conversion of Egypt. Four lines are quoted by Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv. 56 with slight alterations from the MSS.

487. So Clem. But the MSS. have 'stretched on thy stones thou shalt have many toils', λίθοις ἐπικείμενε πολλὰ μόγησεις.

489. Or perhaps 'whom the spell of Egypt hath brought to thee'. ὅσους δ' Αἰγύπτου πόθος ἤγαγεν εἰς σε (so Rz.).

501. The Temple of Onias at Heliopolis was destroyed by order of Vespasian.

504-11. Destruction of the Temple followed by God's vengeance.

504. The Triballi, properly a rude tribe living on the borders of Thrace, are here used generally for savages.

505. The MSS. **tarry** is to be kept. But 'the land of Egypt' is Alexandre's emendation (Αἰγύπτου γαῖαν for Αἰγύπτου ἐγὼ τε).

512-31. The battle of the stars; cf. Lucan, *Phars.* i. 72. If the stars are taken as representing angelic beings, the scene is parallel to the 'war in heaven' in Apoc. xii. 7. Only here all are finally expelled.

514. **war**. A necessary emendation for the MSS. reading, which gives no sense.

517. **revolution** (ῥοιζός) for 'trouble' (δίζυς).

525. MSS. uncertain.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Assumption of Moses was in all probability a composite work, and consisted of two originally distinct books, of which the first was the Testament of Moses, and the second the Assumption. The former was written in Hebrew, between A.D. 7 and 29, and possibly also the latter. A Greek version of the entire work appeared in the first century A.D. Of this a few phrases and sentences appear to have been preserved in Acts vii. 36, Jude 9, 16, 18, 2 Baruch, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and other Greek writers. The Greek version was translated into Latin not later than the fifth century. Of this version a large fragment was discovered by Ceriani in a sixth-century MS. in the Ambrosian library in Milan.

The book was written by a Pharisaic Quietist and was designed by its author as a protest against the growing secularization of the Pharisaic party through its fusion with political ideals and popular Messianic beliefs. Its author sought herein to recall his party to the old paths, which they were fast forsaking, of simple unobtrusive obedience to the law. He glorifies accordingly the old ideals which had been cherished and pursued by the Chasid and Early Pharisaic party, but which the Pharisaism of the first century B.C. had begun to disown in favour of a more active rôle in the life of the nation. And yet he was full of patriotism; for he looked for the return of the Ten Tribes, the establishment of the theocratic kingdom, the triumph of Israel over its foes. But though a patriot he was not a Zealot. The duty of the faithful was not to resort to arms, but simply to keep the law, and prepare, through repentance, for the personal intervention of God in their behalf. Accordingly, though he depicts in all its horrors the persecution under Antiochus, he leaves unmentioned the great achievements of the Maccabean leaders and only once refers to the entire dynasty from 165 to 37 B.C., and that in most disparaging terms. For him the true saints and heroes of the time were not Judas and his great brethren, but an obscure group of martyrs—Eleazar and his seven sons, who unresistingly yielded themselves to death on behalf of God and the law. In setting forth his ideal saints and heroes our author idealized deliberately the facts of history and represented as a single incident two distinct events—a pardonable liberty on the part of an Apocalypticist—not to speak of an unconquerable optimist and idealist. His action in regard to the Maccabean movement was the natural outcome of his conception of religion, and reflected his attitude towards the present dominant form of Pharisaism; for he clearly saw the growing secularization of the religion of his time, and perhaps foresaw the doom to which his country was hurrying under such a shortsighted and unspiritual policy, and laboured with all his power to stay its downward progress. But all in vain. He but played afresh the part of Cassandra. The leavening of Pharisaism with earthly political ideals went on apace, and the movement thus initiated culminated finally in the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D.

It adds no little to the interest of the book that it was written during the early life of our Lord, or possibly contemporaneously with His public ministry, and that its conception of spiritual religion as opposed to an alliance of religion with politics generally or with any specific school of politics was essentially one with His.¹

§ 2. THE PRESENT BOOK IN REALITY A TESTAMENT OF MOSES—NOT THE ASSUMPTION, WHICH IS PRESERVED ONLY IN A FEW GREEK QUOTATIONS.

In the lists of Apocryphal books we find mention of a Testament of Moses (Διαθήκη Μωυσέως) followed immediately by an Assumption of Moses (Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως). In the 'List of Sixty Books' and in the Synopsis of Athanasius the number of stichoi is omitted, but this desideratum is supplied by the Stichometry of Nicephorus, which assigns to them respectively 1,100 and 1,400 stichoi. Schürer conjectured that these designations were titles of two separate divisions of one

¹ This section is mainly taken from my edition of the *Assumption of Moses*, pp. xiii sq.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

and the same book, the first of which has been preserved, whereas the quotations in the Fathers almost all belong to the second. The studies of the present writer have led him to accept this suggestion in a modified form. The 'Testament' and 'Assumption' mentioned in the above lists are not to be regarded with Schürer as 'two separate divisions of one and the same work', but as two originally independent works subsequently put together and edited as one.

Of the Latin fragment of the Assumption (i. e. the Testament), which consisted originally of 1,100 stichoi, about one-half is preserved.¹ Some writers, as Rönsch (*Das Buch der Jubiläen*, pp. 480 sq.), have sought to identify this Testament with the Book of Jubilees. But this is impossible; for since 4,300 stichoi are assigned to the Canonical Book of Genesis in the Stichometry of Nicephorus, this Testament, if it were identical with the Book of Jubilees, would have run to 5,000 or 6,000 stichoi and not to 1,100, as it is there stated. Independently of this fact on a variety of grounds this identification is inadmissible.

We shall now give some of the grounds for regarding the Latin version and the Greek fragments in the Fathers as belonging to two originally independent works, which were subsequently edited together.

1°. The book quoted by Jude, Clement of Alexandria, and later Greek writers,² was wholly concerned with the individual destiny of Moses, i. e. his assumption and incidents connected with it. This was the original Assumption of Moses.

2°. The book partially preserved in the Latin version is the 'Testament' which was wholly taken up with the destinies of the chosen people: it was distinct also from the Assumption of Moses; for according to the Latin version (i. e. the 'Testament') Moses was to die an ordinary death. Thus in i. 15 Moses says: 'I am passing away to sleep with my fathers even in the presence of all the people,' and similarly in x. 14. In iii. 13 the Tribes speak of Moses' death. In these three passages the death referred to is obviously an ordinary one, and the same fact was stated in x. 12, before it was interpolated by the editor who joined the 'Testament' and the 'Assumption of Moses' into one book. In x. 12, i. e. 'From my death [assumption] until His advent, there will be CCL times,' this word 'assumption' was introduced by the final editor into the Testament, which knew nothing of Moses' assumption, in order to prepare the reader for the main subject of the added work, 'The Assumption of Moses'.

3°. In the thirteenth section of the Palaea Historica edited by Vassiliev—an O.T. history of events from Adam to Daniel—of the portion which deals with the death of Moses, part seems to be ultimately derived from the 'Testament' and part from the 'Assumption' properly so called. The following lines (pp. 257–58) would form a fitting close to the 'Testament'.

καὶ εἶπεν Μωϋσῆς πρὸς Ἰησοῦν (τὸν) τοῦ Ναυί. Ἀνέλθωμεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει. καὶ ἀνελθόντων αὐτῶν εἶδεν Μωϋσῆς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτόν. κάτελθε πρὸς τὸν λαόν, καὶ ἀνάγγειλον αὐτοῖς ὅτι Μωϋσῆς ἐτελεύτησεν. καὶ κατήλθεν Ἰησοὺς πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ὁ δὲ Μωϋσῆς τὰ τέλη τοῦ βίου ἐκτίσασατο. Here Moses dismisses Joshua and dies apparently an ordinary death. But according to the Assumption proper (see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 15) both Joshua and Caleb were present, when the assumption

¹ It is not improbable that the lost half of the Testament dealt with certain revelations made by Moses, and that it closed with his disappearance in a cloud, so that his death was hid from human sight. We make this conjecture on the ground of the following statement in an old Catena on the Pentateuch (Fabric. *Cod. Pseud. VT*, ii. 121–2) 'Est quidem in apocrypho mysticoque codice legere, ubi *de creatis rebus subtilius agitur, nubem lucidam*, quo tempore mortuus est Moses, locum sepulcri complexam oculos circumstantium perstrinxisse ita ut nullus neque morientem legislatorem neque locum videre potuerit ubi cadaver conderetur'. Here there is an extraordinary disappearance of Moses' body as in Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6 but no assumption. If the writer had been acquainted with the original Assumption, in which the details of Moses' ascension to heaven were recorded, he could not have written in these vague terms.

² On pp. 105–10 of my edition I have shown by an examination of the existing Greek fragments of the *Assumption proper*, that the order of action in it was probably as follows:

1°. Michael was commissioned to bury Moses.

2°. Satan opposed the burial on the ground (a) that he was the lord of matter (ἐλῆ) and that accordingly the body should be rightfully handed over to him; (b) that Moses was a murderer, having slain the Egyptian.

3°. Michael having rebutted Satan's accusations proceeded to charge Satan with having instigated the serpent to tempt Eve.

4°. Finally, all opposition having been overcome, the assumption took place in the presence of Joshua and Caleb, and in a very peculiar way. A two-fold presentation of Moses appeared: one was Moses in company with angels, the other was the dead body of Moses, being buried in the recesses of the mountains.

The passages in support of 1° will be found in Severus, Patriarch of Antioch (A.D. 512–19). See Cramer, *Cat. in Ep. Cathol.*, p. 160; likewise the two anonymous passages *op. cit.* on pp. 161, 163; two scholia from Oecumenius (c. 990). In support of 2° Jude 9; Clem. Alex., *Adumbrat. in Ep. Iudae*; Didymus Alex. (309–94); Severus of Antioch; *Acta Synodi Nicaen.*, ii. 20; anonymous passages in Cramer's *Cat. in Ep. Cathol.*, pp. 160, 161, 163 and the scholia of Oecumenius. In support of 3° Origen, *De Princ.* iii. 2. 1. In support of 4° Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi. 15; Origen, *In Jos. Hom.* ii. 1; Euodius, *Ep. ad August.* 258. All these passages are given in full in my edition, pp. 105–10.

INTRODUCTION

of Moses took place. The words that follow on the above in the Palaea Historica are based ultimately on the Assumption proper and deal with the strife of Sammael and Michael over the body of Moses, the real Moses in a spiritual form having been borne off to heaven by angels.

4°. The two books—the ‘Testament’ and the ‘Assumption’—were probably put together in one work in the first century A.D., since Jude draws upon both in his Epistle. See § 10. Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8. 48), while holding fast to Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6, shows that he is aware of the new claims made on Moses’ behalf in the Assumption: *νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ στάντος, ἀφανίζεται κατὰ τινος φάραγγος. Γέγραφε δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τεθνεῶτα, δείσας μὴ δι’ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι τολμήσωσιν εἰπεῖν.* Does the account of the Transfiguration point in any respect to popular belief in Moses’ assumption?

§ 3. OTHER BOOKS OF MOSES.

i. In Jewish literature.

(a) *Midrash Tanchuma Debarim* translated by Wünsche into German (1882). *Petirath Moshe* (פֶּטִירַת מֹשֶׁה) ed. by Gaulmyn (Paris 1629) with a Latin translation, which latter was republished by Fabricius in 1714 and Gfrörer in 1840. Two other recensions of this work were printed by Jellinek in his *Beth ha-Midrash* i. 115–29, 1853; vi. 71–8, 1877.

גְּדוּלוֹת מֹשֶׁה. This Hebrew Apocalypse tells of Moses’ transformation into the form of a fiery angel and his ascent through the seven heavens. Since it shows many affinities with 2 Enoch, some of its contents will be found under § 4 of the Introduction to that book.

Another legend dealing with the temporary translation of Moses before his death into heaven is preserved in the Midrash Bereshit Rabbati of R. Moses Ha-Darshan published by Jellinek in his *Beth ha-Midrash* vi, § 22. When translated into heaven the heavenly Jerusalem and the Temple were revealed to him, and he was told these would descend to earth after God had gathered Israel a second time from the ends of the earth.

On the above legends see Beer, *Leben Moses nach Auffassung der jüdischen Sage*, 1863; M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde*, 183.

(b) In Greek. Philo’s *Vita Moses*; Josephus, *Ant.* iv. 8. 4, 48.

βίβλος λόγων μυστικῶν Μωυσέως. This book is mentioned in the Acts of the Nicene Council ii. 18. Its contents as there given have their parallels in Rabbinic literature. See *Jewish Encyc.* ix. 53.

(c) In Arabic and Slavonic. See my edition of *The Assumption*, p. xvi.

ii. In Christian literature.

Apocalypsis Moses in Tischendorf’s *Apocalypses Apocryphae*. This book is wrongly named and belongs really to the Adamic literature.

Apocryphum Moses (Ἀπόκρυφον Μωυσέως). According to Euthalius and others Gal. vi. 16 was borrowed from this book, but there can be little doubt that the borrowing is just the other way.

§ 4. THE LATIN VERSION OF THE ASSUMPTION.

The solitary MS. of this version was discovered in the Ambrosian library in Milan by Ceriani and published by him in his *Mon. sacr. et prof.* I. i. 55–64 in 1861. This MS. is a palimpsest of the sixth century. It consists of eight folios written on both sides. There is no division of words, and occasionally whole verses are undecipherable. It is not, as scholars have supposed, the actual work of the original Latin translator, but only a fragmentary copy of that version; for our text contains duplicate renderings and attempts at a better translation, which were primarily marginal glosses, but were afterwards introduced by a copyist into the text; cf. v. 6, xi. 13, and probably in vi. 3 and viii. 5.

The Latin belongs in style and orthography to the fifth century. Nearly all its chief characteristics can be paralleled from the fifth-century Bobbio MS. *K* edited in 1886 by Wordsworth, Sanday and White. A full study of our MS. and its idiosyncrasies and critical worth will be found in my edition, pp. xxx–xxxvi.

§ 5. THE LATIN VERSION—A TRANSLATION FROM THE GREEK.

Of the derivation of our Latin text from the Greek there can be no question.

Thus (1) Greek words are transliterated, as *chedrio* i. 17 from κεδρώ, *heremus* iii. 11 from ἐρημος, *acrobistia* viii. 3 from ἀκροβυστία.

(2) Greek forms and idioms survive in the Latin. Thus scene i. 7 = τῇ σκηνῇ: ‘usque nos duci captivos’ iii. 13 is an imitation of the Greek ἕως τοῦ ἡμᾶς αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

(3) Not infrequently we must translate not the Latin text, but the Greek which it presupposes but which was misrendered by the translator. Thus *nam* must not be rendered by 'for' in ii. 4, 5; viii. 2, 4; x. 11, &c. In vii. 7 'ab oriente ad occidentem' is to be rendered not 'from east to west' but 'from sunrise to sunset', i.e. ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνατέλλοντος μέχρι δυσμένου. The Greek is susceptible of either meaning.

(4) Fragments of the Greek version are still preserved: see note on i. 14.

§ 6. THE GREEK—A TRANSLATION FROM THE HEBREW.

The view maintained by Hilgenfeld that this book was written originally in Greek has been long universally abandoned. The only question at issue now is as to the original being Hebrew or Aramaic. Schmidt-Merx, Colani, Hausrath, and Carrière decide for the latter, and Rosenthal for the former. Of these scholars only Schmidt-Merx and in a minor degree Rosenthal have treated the question seriously. In the *Archiv f. wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. T.* i. ii. 111–52 Schmidt-Merx show how readily the text admits of retranslation into Aramaic; but this proof is wholly inadequate, for the same passages can be just as readily rendered into Hebrew. In two passages, however, they urge that the idiosyncrasies of the Latin text can be explained on the hypothesis of an Aramaic original but not on that of a Hebrew. The first is i. 10 'promitte . . . omnia quae mandata sunt ut facias'. Here the position of 'ut facias' (which = לעשות) after its object is usual in Aramaic כל די אחפקר למעבר. But the same order is found also in Hebrew. See Isa. xlix. 6; 2 Chron. xxviii. 10. The second instance of alleged Aramaic order is that in iii. 2 'sancta vasa omnia' = קדושיא מאניא בלהון. The position of 'omnia' is no doubt conformable to Aramaic, but it is also possible in classical Hebrew, בלי קדש בלם. Cf. 2 Sam. ii. 9; Jer. xiii. 19, xlviii. 31.

Among the positive grounds for a Hebrew original might be enumerated the following:

1°. *Hebrew idiomatic phrases survive in the text.* 'Circumibo' ii. 7 = אסובב = 'I will protect': cf. Deut. xxxii. 10; Jer. xxxi. 22; Ps. xxxii. 10. 'Dividentur ad veritatem' v. 2 = יִחְלְקוּ בִּאֱמֶת: cf. 1 Kings xvi. 21. 'In sacerdotes vocabuntur' vi. 1 = יִקְרְאוּ עַל-הַכֹּהֲנִים: cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 14. These are pure Hebraisms, and cannot apparently be explained from Aramaic.

2°. *In some cases we must translate, not the Latin, but the Hebrew presupposed by it.* Thus in i. 7 'successor' = δόδοχος = מִשְׁרֵת, which must here be rendered 'minister'. In i. 13 'non coepit' = οὐκ ἤρξατο = לֹא הוֹאִיל, which must here be rendered 'he was not pleased', 'did not consent'.

3°. *Frequently it is only through retranslation that we can understand the source of the corruptions in the text.* In iv. 9 we have the impossible text 'x tribus crescent et devenient apud ἑθνησ' in tempore tribuum'. Here 'tribum' is for 'tribuum' and 'natos' corrupt for 'nationes'. Clemen renders the text thus emended: 'zehn Stämme werden immer mehr zu Heiden werden.' Now, to translate 'devenient apud nationes' by 'become heathens' is highly questionable. But, even if this were possible, 'crescent et devenient' cannot, if the original was Semitic, mean 'will become more and more', and it cannot do so in either Greek or Latin. And finally this idea of the Ten Tribes becoming heathen is contrary to the beliefs expressed in 4 Ezra xiii. 36–48, and in Philo, *Leg. ad Caium* 31, as to their religious character and their immense numbers in the first century A.D. That our author shares in this view is clear from iii. 5–14, where he represents all the Tribes as joining in a general confession of sin with the Two Tribes, and all the Tribes in iii. 9 as claiming that God had sworn that the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and of Jacob should never fail from the land that He had given them, and from x. 8, where all the Tribes are represented as ultimately triumphant. We conclude, therefore, that iv. 9 speaks favourably of the Ten Tribes. The verb 'crescent' is therefore what we might expect. The corruption, therefore, lies in 'devenient' and 'tribuum'. The former = κατελεύσονται = יִרְדּוּ, which is obviously corrupt for יִרְבוּ. Next in the phrase 'in tempore tribuum' we should have the time defined during which this increase took place. From Philo, Josephus, and 4 Ezra we know that it was while the Ten Tribes were in exile. Hence שְׁבַטִים (i.e. 'tribuum') is corrupt for שְׁבִיתָם or שְׁבִים = 'captivitatis suae'. This reconstruction of the original is not possible from an Aramaic background.

In i. 13 'non coepit' = οὐκ ἤρξατο, but the text requires a verb of another meaning. Now οὐκ ἤρξατο = לֹא הוֹאִיל, which can also mean 'was not pleased'.

For other passages see the notes on v. 5, v. 6, vii. 4, xii. 7.

INTRODUCTION

§ 7. THE DATE.

The book was written before A. D. 70; for the temple was to stand till the establishment of the theocratic kingdom, i. 17. It was standing when the book was written; for if it had fallen such an event could not have been passed over in silence. It could not have been passed over in a book, where all the fortunes of the temple, even its temporary profanations by a faithless priesthood, are carefully recorded: see ii. 4, 8, 9; iii. 2; v. 3, 4; vi. 1, 9; viii. 5. When the temple did fall it left an ineffaceable mark on all subsequent literature.

So far for the latest limit of composition, i. e. A. D. 70. Now as to its earliest. This is 3 B. C.; for Herod is already dead, vi. 6, and the War of Varus already past, vi. 9. Thus the limits lie between 3 B. C. and A. D. 70. But there are data for a nearer determination. In vi. 7 the statement, 'And he (Herod) shall beget children, who, succeeding him, shall rule for shorter periods,' is true of Archelaus alone; for Philip and Antipas reigned longer than their father. Hence the book must have been written before A. D. 30. But the limits may be defined still more closely. For the prediction that Herod's sons should rule for shorter periods than their father may be reasonably explained from two considerations: (a) from the general expectation that the sons of such a wicked king could not long preserve their authority; but still more (b) from the actual deposition of Archelaus after a short reign of ten years, 4 B. C.—A. D. 6—an event that would naturally be construed by our author in the light of a divine judgement, and suggest to him the prediction that appears in our text. Hence, however we may interpret the 'four hours' in vii. 1, it may be fairly concluded that part of these had already elapsed when the author wrote, and that the earliest limit of composition was A. D. 7. Thus the book was written between the years A. D. 7–30.

§ 8. THE AUTHOR—A PHARISAIC QUIETIST.

The school to which the writer of our book belonged cannot be mistaken. (1) He was not a Sadducee; for he looks forward to the direct intervention of God on behalf of Israel, and his establishment of the theocratic kingdom on earth. He dwells on the future blessedness of the righteous (x. 10, 11). Finally, he attacks the Sadducean party in the most bitter terms. (2) He was not a Zealot, as Dillmann and Schürer suppose, for his complete silence as to the Maccabean rising forms an emphatic censure of their appeal to arms. This silence is all the more impressive, as the writer was thoroughly acquainted with all the history of the Maccabean movement. Moreover, whilst he evinces clearly his aversion to a militant Judaism, he indicates just as clearly his admirations. He will not trust an arm of flesh. His ideal hero (ch. ix) was not one who flew to arms on behalf of Israel, but one who amid the most bitter persecution in the history of Israel raised no hand in self-defence, but committed his cause to God. Ch. x further is wholly against the idea of a Zealot author. The theocratic kingdom is here introduced, not by the militant acts of the saints, but by the direct intervention of God.

(3) He was not an Essene—a view that has been advocated by Schmidt and Merx. For the entire book is interpenetrated with national hopes and aspirations. The ideal of the Essene was individualistic and ethical, and not national. The greatest interest is taken in all the fortunes of the temple, ii. 4, 8, 9; v. 3, 4; iii. 2; vi. 1. Such an interest would not be natural in an Essene. The author also was much concerned in the character of the temple sacrifices, but the Essene disapproved wholly of animal sacrifices.

(4) From the preceding facts it follows that our author was neither Sadducee, Zealot, nor Essene, but a Pharisaic Quietist. He was a Pharisee of a fast-disappearing type, recalling in all respects the Chasid of the early Maccabean times, and upholding the old traditions of quietude and resignation.

§ 9. THEOLOGY.

Good works. On the doctrine of merit or good works, our author's views are more nearly allied to O. T. conceptions than to the legalism of the rabbinic doctrine of man's righteousness, which bulks so largely in Jewish literature from A. D. 50 onwards, and against which the Pauline dialectic was so vigorously directed. So far was man's righteousness from involving merit over against God, that the greatest hero of Judaism is represented as declaring: 'Not for any virtue or strength of mine, but of His good pleasure have His compassion and long-suffering fallen to my lot' (xii. 7). Similarly the election of the nation was not due to any righteousness of its own: 'For I say unto you, Joshua, it is not on account of the godliness of this people that thou shalt root out the nations' (xii. 8). This call, therefore, alike of the individual as of the nation was a matter of grace, and the covenant relation between God and Israel was based on divine grace and not on human merit. But whilst the divine grace is made the absolute pre-condition of Israel's election and salvation,

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

the necessity of works is no less insisted on and moral responsibility affirmed, xii. 10-12: 'Those, therefore, who do and fulfil the commandments of God shall increase and be prospered; but those who sin and set at nought the commandments shall be without the blessings before mentioned, and they shall be punished with many torments.' There is, however, one passage from which the sense of demerit is wholly absent, i. e. ix. 4 sq.: 'Observe and know that neither did the fathers nor their forefathers tempt God, so as to transgress His commands. And ye know that this is our strength.' These words imply that a faithful remnant existed at all times. But even so they introduce a note of discord into the writer's theology.

Quietism. We have touched repeatedly on this characteristic in our author, so that it does not call for further notice here. It was typical of the older Pharisees, and in this respect the tone of the book has its affinities with that of the Sermon on the Mount, which essentially exhibits this temper.

The Messianic kingdom. There is no Messiah. This is probably due to the fact that the conception of the Messiah, as a man of war, was gaining more and more acceptance amongst the Pharisees, and was thus of a nature to promote the growing secularization of Pharisaism. No such Messiah could be acknowledged by our author.

The kingdom was to be ushered in by a day of repentance (i. 17). 1750 years after the death of Moses, between A. D. 75 and 107 (?) God was to intervene on behalf of Israel—of Israel and not merely of Judah and Benjamin. Our author always dwells on the solidarity of the nation. As the tribes suffered vicariously for each other's sins (iii. 5), so the promises were made to the Twelve Tribes collectively (iii. 9), and they were all to be glorified together (x. 8). During their kingdom Israel's national enemies were to be destroyed (x. 8). Finally, Israel was to be exalted to heaven (x. 9), whence they should see their enemies in Gehenna (x. 10).

Moses' unique relation to Judaism. Moses was prepared from the foundation of the world to be the mediator of God's covenant with His people (i. 14; iii. 12). Pre-existence is here ascribed to Moses, but to him uniquely. In Alexandrian Judaism it was conceived to be the prerogative of mankind generally.¹ During his life Moses was Israel's intercessor with God (xi. 11, 17); for forty years he suffered many things at their hands in Egypt, the Red Sea, and the wilderness (iii. 11). When about to die, he chose Joshua in his stead (x. 15), apparently as the prophet promised in Deut. xviii. 15. His death was an ordinary one (i. 15; iii. 13; x. 12, 14), but no single place was worthy to mark the place of his burial; for his sepulchre was from the rising to the setting sun, and from the south to the confines of the north (xi. 8). His relation, moreover, with Israel did not cease with death; he was appointed by God to be their intercessor in the spiritual world (xii. 6).

Israel. Israel was God's own people (i. 12); the world was created in their behalf (i. 12), and Moses prepared, before the foundation of the world, to establish the covenant relation between God and His people (i. 14), and Jerusalem prepared in like manner to be the centre of the worship of Yahweh till the establishment of the theocratic kingdom.

§ 10. INFLUENCE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Jude was unquestionably acquainted with the Testament of Moses and the Assumption of Moses properly so-called. From the latter Jude 9 is derived: ὁ δὲ Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχάγγελος, ὅτε τῷ διαβόλῳ διακρινόμενος διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ Μωυσέως σώματος, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε κρίσιν ἐπενεγκεῖν βλασφημίας, ἀλλ' εἶπεν· Ἐπιτιμῆσαι σοι Κύριος.

Jude's acquaintance with the Testament of Moses may be reasonably concluded from the following parallels:

Jude 16 γογγυσταί, μεμψίμοιροι	vii. 7 querulosi
κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν πορευόμενοι· καὶ τὸ στόμα	vii. 9 et manus eorum et mentes eorum immunda
αὐτῶν λαλεῖ ὑπέρογκα	tractantes, et os eorum loquetur ingentia
θαυμάζοντες πρόσωπα, ὠφελείας χάριν.	v. 5 mirantes personas cupiditatum et accipientes munera.

The ἀσεβεῖς who are mentioned in Jude 4 appear twice in Ass. Moys. vii. 3, 7 (*impii*). The classes of evildoers are those who shall be 'in the last time', Jude 18, and when 'the times shall be ended', in Ass. Moys. vii. 1.

¹ This belief appears in Wisdom and 2 Enoch as the prerogative of mankind generally. This view is challenged by Dr. Porter ('The Pre-existence of the Soul in The Book of Wisdom and in the Rabbinical Writings' in the *American Journal of Theology*, Jan., 1908, pp. 53-115), but I cannot agree with him.

INTRODUCTION

² Peter ii. 13 ἡδονὴν ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τρυφῆν,
ibid. ἐντρυφῶντες ἐν ταῖς ἀγαπαῖς αὐτῶν συνευωχούμενοι
ὑμῖν.

Acts vii. 36 ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ
καὶ ἐν Ἑρυθρᾷ θαλάσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτη τεσσαρά-
κοντα.

Ass. Moys. vii. 5 omni hora diei amantes convivia.
vii. 8 habebimus discubitiones et luxuriam.

iii. 11 Moyses . . . qui multa passus est in Aegypto
et in mari rubro et in heremo annis xl.

For other possible borrowings or parallels see my edition, pp. lxiv. sq.

§ 11. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(a) CHIEF EDITIONS OF THE TEXT.

Ceriani, *Mon. sacr. et prof.*, I. i. 55-64, 1861.

Hilgenfeld, *Novum Testamentum extra Canonem receptum*², 107-35, 1876; *Messias Judaeorum*, 435-68, 1869
(retranslated into Greek).

Volkmar, *Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt*, 1867.

Schmidt and Merx, 'Die Assumptio Mosis' (Merx, *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Erforschung des Alten Testa-*
ments, I. i. 111-52, 1868).

Fritzsche, *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Testamenti*, 700-30, 1871.

Charles, *The Assumption of Moses . . . the unemended Text . . . together with the Text in its . . . critically*
emended Form, 1897.

Clemen, *The Assumption of Moses*, 1904.

(b) CHIEF CRITICAL INQUIRIES.

Colani, 'L'Assomption de Moïse' (*Revue de Théologie*, iv. 65-94, 1868).

Rönsch, *ZfWT*, xi. 76-108, 466-8; xii. 213-28; xiv. 89-92; xvii. 542-62; xxviii. 102-4.

Rosenthal, *Vier apocryphische Bücher*, 13-38, 1885.

Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 25-31, 1888.

Deane, *Pseudepigrapha*, 95-130, 1891.

De Faye, *Les Apocalypses juives*, 67-75, 1892.

Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. xiii-lxv.

Clemen in Kautzsch, *Apok. u. Pseud.*, 1899. II. 311-31.

Burkitt, 'The Assumption of Moses' in Hastings' *B.D.* iii. 448-50, 1900.

(c) EDITIONS OF THE BOOK.

Volkmar, *Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt . . . zum erstenmale deutsch herausgegeben*, 1867.

Charles, *The Assumption of Moses translated from the Latin sixth century MS., the unemended Text of which is*
published herewith, together with the Text in its restored and critically emended Form, 1897.

In this last work (pp. xviii-xxviii) a full bibliography is given; see also Schürer³, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, iii. 222 sq.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES

1 1 The Testament of Moses *even the things which he commanded in the one hundred and twentieth*
2 *year of his life*, that is the two thousand five hundredth year from the creation of the world :
3 [But according to oriental reckoning **the two thousand and seven hundredth, and the four hundredth**
4 after the departure from Phoenicia], when the people had gone forth after the Exodus that was made
5 by Moses to Amman beyond the Jordan, in the prophecy that was made by Moses in the book Deutero-
6, 7 nomy : and he called to him Joshua the son of Nun, a man approved of the Lord, that he might be
8 the minister of the people and of the tabernacle of the testimony with all its holy things, and that he
9 might bring the people into the land given to their **fathers**, that it should be given to them according
to the covenant and the oath, which He spake in the tabernacle to give (it) by Joshua : saying to Joshua

I. 1. Three lines are wanting. These must not consist of more than forty-eight or forty-nine lines, or less than forty-five as the following lines in the MS. show. Now since, as I have shown elsewhere, this book is the actual *διαθήκη* *Μωυσέως* or *Testamentum Moysi* (see p. xlv of my Comm.), and since the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs begin always with the title of the Testament (cf. T. Reub. i. 1 *ἀντίγραφον διαθήκης Ρουβήμ, ὅσα ἐνετείλατο*) so here the text most probably ran :—

‘Testamentum Moysi
Quae precepit año vi
tae eius Cmo et xxmo.’

Here I have put *quae* and not *quod* since in every case the Testaments have *αἱ* or *ὅσα* in this very same context.

Hilgenfeld restores : ‘Assumptio Moysis quae facta est anno vitae ejus Cmo et xxmo ; Volkmar : Liber profetiae Moysis quem scripsit año aetatis centesimo vicesimo ; Rönsch : Liber receptionis Moysi factae anno vitae ejus Cmo et xxmo ; Clemen : Liber profetiae Moysis, quae facta est anno vitae ejus Cmo et xxmo.’

Schmidt Merx’s restoration (‘et factum est anno aetatis Moysi centesimo et vigesimo’) will not do here owing to its being too short as well as on other grounds. The need of a title such as Testamentum or Assumptio is against Volkmar’s and Clemen’s restoration : while the fact that the book is not the Assumption but the Testament is against Hilgenfeld’s and Rönsch’s.

2–4. These verses are an interpolation—apparently made by a Greek scribe and in the West. No Hebrew writer would regard himself other than an Oriental, and a Jew is beyond question the author of this book. Hence he could not have written verse 3. Nor could a Jew have described Hebron, from which Jacob set out for Egypt, as being in Phoenicia. Moses, moreover, could not have spoken of Amman as beyond the Jordan : only a dweller in Jerusalem could have so described it.

2. **two thousand five hundredth year.** Contrast the dates given in Jubilees (2450 A.M.), Josephus, *Ant.* viii. 3. 1 and xx. 10 (2550), Samaritan Pentateuch (3309), LXX (3859), while the Massoretic chronology (2706) seems unknown to all the others. But cf. the ‘Oriental reckoning’ of verse 3 (as restored).

3. **the two thousand and seven hundredth, and the four hundredth.** Text = ‘numerus . . mus et . . . mus et . . . mus’. I restore (with Clemen) ‘numerus MMMus et DCCmus, et CCCmus’.

four hundredth after the departure from Phoenicia. The number of years varies in different authorities ; as some give 400 (cf. Gen. xv. 13), others 430. The *terminus a quo* of reckoning also varies. The Samaritan reckoning (cf. also LXX, Jubilees, Gal. iii. 17 ; Josephus, *Ant.* ii. 15. 2 ; Ps. Jon. on Exod. xii. 40) embraces in the four hundred and thirty years the sojourn of the patriarchs in Canaan. Exod. xii. 40 (Mass. text) states that Israel sojourned in Egypt four hundred and thirty years, while Gen. xv. 13 may be interpreted either way. See also Acts vii. 6.

4. **Amman**—in the tribe of Gad, *Onom. Sacr.*, ed. Lag., 88, 31 ; 92, 2.

5. **in the prophecy.** *profetiae* I take as = *profetiā*. *ae* occasionally is found for *a* in fifth-century Latin. Cf. *in scenae* for *in scena*, i. 9.

6. **called to him . . . Nun.** Cf. Deut. xxxi. 7.

the son of Nun. Text = *filium Nave*, the LXX spelling of the name.

approved of the Lord. Cf. Acts ii. 22 ; 2 Tim. ii. 15.

7. **minister of the people.** Text = *successor plebi*. *διάδοχος* means the chief minister of the king in LXX of 1 Chron. xviii. 17 ; 2 Chron. xxvi. 11, xxviii. 7 ; also in Philo, and Josephus, *Ant.* xv. 10. In Sirach xlvi. 1 the Hebrew equivalent is מְשִׁיב, the special term used in Exod. xxiv. 13, xxxiii. 11 ; Num. xi. 28 ; Josh. i. 1 to describe Joshua’s relation to Moses ; also in Num. viii. 26, &c., it is used of service in the tabernacle. Cf. Ass. Mos. x. 15 (note).

tabernacle of the testimony, i.e. the tabernacle in its aspect of a witness to God’s presence, with the ark and the tables of testimony. In its aspect of meeting-place it was the spot where God spoke to Moses and Joshua, Deut. xxxi. 14–23.

8. **bring . . . into.** So Deut. xxxi. 7 (Samaritan text, Syriac and Vulgate versions), against ‘enter’ (Massoretic, LXX, Targum of Onkelos).

to their fathers = *patribus*. So I emend text *ex tribus*.

9. **the covenant and the oath.** Cf. ii. 7 (restored), iii. 9, xi. 17, xii. 13.

which He spake, Deut. xxxi. 14, 20, 23.

by Joshua. Text = *de Iesum*, cf. v. 1 *de reges*.

saying to Joshua, resumes verse 6, ‘And he called’.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES 1. 10—2. 2

- 10 these words: '⟨Be strong⟩ and of a good courage so as to do with thy might all that has been com-
 11, 12 manded that thou mayst be blameless unto God.' So saith the Lord of the world. For He hath created
 13 the world on behalf of His people. But He was not pleased to manifest this purpose of creation from
 the foundation of the world, in order that the Gentiles might thereby be convicted, yea to their own
 14 humiliation might by (their) arguments convict one another. Accordingly He designed and devised
 me, and He prepared me before the foundation of the world, that I should be the mediator of His
 15 covenant. And now I declare unto thee that the time of the years of my life is fulfilled and I am
 16 passing away to sleep with my fathers even in the presence of all the people. And receive thou this
 17 writing that thou mayst know how to preserve the books which I shall deliver unto thee: and thou
 shalt set these in order and anoint them with oil of cedar and put them away in earthen vessels in
 18 the place which He made from the beginning of the creation of the world, that His name should
 be called upon until the day of repentance in the visitation wherewith the Lord will visit them in
 the consummation of the end of the days.
 2 1 And now they shall go by means of thee into the land which He determined and promised to give to
 2 their fathers, in the which thou shalt bless and give to them individually and confirm unto them their

10. ⟨Be strong⟩ and of a good courage. Text = *et promitte*. *Promitte* is due to a corruption in the Hebrew נאמן for נאמן, while the *et* betrays a word lost after *verbum hoc* = הרכר הזה. Probably הון was omitted after הזה. Clemen's suggestion, 'And promise' has no support in the O.T. text. Moses exacted no promise from Joshua, while my restoration is upheld by Deut. xxxi. 7, &c.

that thou mayst be . . . unto God. Text = *est ideo*, corrupt for *sis Deo*. Clemen renders 'as is blameless. Therefore thus saith, &c.', putting a full stop after *est*.

blameless unto God. Cf. Deut. xviii. 13, &c.

11. So saith the Lord. God says these words 'Be strong', &c., directly in Deut. xxxi. 23; by Moses, xxxi. 6, 7. Lord of the world. Cf. iv. 2 'Lord of all . . . who rulest the world'. Cf. xi. 17.

12. created the world on behalf of His people. The prevalent Judaistic view from first century A.D. onwards. Cf. 4 Ezra vi. 55, 59, vii. 11; 2 Bar. xiv. 18 (note). The still more narrow view that the world was created for the sake of the righteous in Israel occurs in 2 Bar. xiv. 19, xv. 7, xxi. 24. Cf. Hermas' Shepherd, *Vis.* i. i. 6, ii. 4. i, iv, v (for the Church's sake). The larger view—that it was for the sake of mankind, we find in 2 Bar. xiv. 18; 4 Ezra viii. 1, 44; Hermas, *Mand.* xii. 4; Justin Mart. *Apol.* i. 10 and post-apostolic writers generally.

13. was . . . pleased. Text = *coepit* = הוֹאִיל which also means 'was pleased'.

purpose. Text = *inceptionem*.

13, 14. These verses are strongly predestinarian. The Gentiles are fore-ordained to ignorance and blind conjecture, while Moses is the chosen agent of the true revelation.

14. Quoted by Gelasius of Cyzicum in his *Comm. Act. Syn. Nic.* ii. 18, 'the prophet Moses being about to depart from life, as is written in the book of the Assumption of Moses, summoned Joshua, the son of Nun, and, speaking with him, said: *καὶ προσθεῖσθαι με ὁ Θεὸς πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εἶναι με τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μεσίτην.*'

Moses here is assigned pre-existence as is the Son of Man in 1 En. xliii. 2 (note). Later Judaism, like the Alexandrian form of first century A.D., held the pre-existence of all souls alike. See 2 En. xxiii. 5.

Note that the Latin has 'ab initio orbis terrarum' = Gelasius' *πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*.

mediator. Moses is not given this title in the O.T. where indeed the word only occurs once, in Job ix. 33 (LXX), but he obviously exercises mediatorial functions in Exod. xx. 19; Deut. v. 2, 5. The title was commonly assigned to him by the first century A.D. Cf. i. 14, iii. 12; Gal. iii. 18; Philo, *Vit. Moys.* iii. 19; Talmud (see Levy, *Neuhebr. und Chald. Lex.* iii. 595, 596). It is implied in Heb. viii. 6, ix. 15, xii. 24.

15. sleep with my fathers. Cf. iii. 13, x. 12, 14; Deut. xxxi. 16; 2 Bar. xlv. 2. Observe there is no reference to Moses' Assumption. Unlike our text, Deut. xxxiv. 5, 6 state that his death was witnessed by no one, while the Greek fragments of the Assumption make Joshua and Caleb alone view it, and not all the people.

16. thou. Supply *tu* to fill the space in the text. Cf. x. 11, xi. 1.

the books, i.e. the Pentateuch.

17. anoint. Books were thus preserved. Even the heavenly books shown to Enoch, 2 En. xxii. 12, are 'fragrant with myrrh'.

from the beginning of the creation of the world. Cf. verse 14.

the place, i.e. Jerusalem. Zion is said to be the centre of the earth in Ezek. xxxviii. 12; 1 En. xxvi. 1, xc. 26; Jubilees viii; while in Joma 54^b the world is said to be created with Zion as a starting-place.

18. until the day of repentance. This must have been written before A.D. 70, as the existing temple is expected to stand until the Theocratic kingdom is set up.

the day of repentance. A great national repentance was to usher in the new kingdom of God, and was a necessary condition to its coming. 'If Israel practises repentance, it will be redeemed; if not, it will not be redeemed,' Sanh. 97^b. 'Israel will not fulfil the great repentance before Elijah comes,' Pirke R. Eliezer, xliii; cf. Mal. iv. 6, and Luke i. 16, 17; Matt. xvii. 10-12. 'If all Israel together repented for a single day, redemption through the Messiah would follow', Pesikta 163^b.

the visitation, in a good sense. Cf. Luke i. 79; Acts xv. 14. For the bad sense cf. 2 Bar. xx. 1 (note). The time of visitation, Wisd. iii. 7; Luke xix. 44, is the setting up of the kingdom of God.

the consummation, i.e. the time of the kingdom. Cf. 2 Bar. xxvii. 15, xxix. 8. Contrast 2 Bar. xxx. 3.

II. 1. And now. Supply *et nunc* in lacuna.

2. their inheritance in me. Cf. 'inheritance in the son of Jesse', 2 Sam. xx. 1. Or for 'in me' read *in eam*, a Hebrew repetition after *in qua*.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES 2. 2—3. 8

inheritance in me and establish for them the kingdom, and thou shalt **appoint** them prefectures according to the good pleasure of their Lord in judgement and righteousness. And **it shall come to pass** five years after they enter into the land, that thereafter they shall be ruled by chiefs and kings for eighteen years, and during nineteen years the ten tribes **shall break away**. And the twelve tribes shall go down and transfer the **tabernacle of the testimony**. Then the God of heaven will make the **court** of His tabernacle and the **tower** of His sanctuary, and the two holy tribes shall be (there) established: but the ten tribes shall establish kingdoms for themselves according to their own ordinances. And they shall offer sacrifices throughout twenty years: and seven shall entrench the walls, and I will protect nine, but **four** shall **transgress** the covenant of the Lord, and profane the **oath** which the Lord made with them. And they shall sacrifice their sons to strange gods, and they shall set up idols in the sanctuary, to worship them. And in the house of the Lord they shall work impiety and engrave every **form** of beast, *even* many abominations.

3 ¹ And in those days a king from the east shall come against them and his cavalry shall cover their land. And he shall burn their colony with fire together with the holy temple of the Lord, and he shall carry away all the holy vessels. And he shall cast forth all the people, and he shall take them to the land of his nativity, yea he shall take the two tribes with him. Then the two tribes shall call upon the ten tribes, and shall march as a lioness on the dusty plains, being hungry and thirsty. And they shall cry aloud: 'Righteous and holy is the Lord, for, inasmuch as ye have sinned, we too, in like manner, have been carried away with you, together with our children.' Then the ten tribes shall mourn on hearing the reproaches of the two tribes, and they shall say: 'What have we done unto you, brethren? Has not this tribulation come on all the house of Israel?' And all the tribes shall mourn,

- appoint.** Text = *dimittes* seems corrupt.
prefectures. Text = *magisteria locorum*, i.e. *τοπάρχιας*. Perhaps we should translate 'local magistrates'. Cf. Deut. xvi. 18; 1 Chron. xxiii. 4.
3. it shall come to pass. There is a gap in the text.
five years. I supply 'five'. The conquest of Canaan took five years, Josh. xiv. 10; Josephus, *Ant.* v. 1. 19.
eighteen years, i.e. the fifteen judges, and the three kings, Saul, David, and Solomon.
nineteen years, the nineteen kings of Israel from Jeroboam to Hoshea. This is an anticipation, as verse 4 returns to the removal of the ark to Jerusalem by David.
tribes shall break away. Text = *abrumpens tib.* Read 'se abrumpent tribus'.
4. twelve. Text = 'two'. The reference is to David's action in 2 Sam. vi. 1, 2. Cf. 1 Kings viii. 1-4.
tabernacle of the testimony. Text = 'testimony of the tabernacle'.
the God of heaven. Cf. iv. 4, v. 3; Gen. xxiv. 7. After the exile this title became frequent. Cf. Ezra v. 11, vi. 9, &c.; Dan. ii. 18, &c.
court. Text = *palam* emended to *aulam*. Cf. Exod. xxvii. 9.
tower. Text = *ferrum* emended to *turrem*. Cf. the tower in 1 En. lxxxix. 50, 67, 73. The text is uncertain. For *aulam* and *ferrum* Volkmar suggests *locum* and *terram*; Haupt *portam* and *forem*.
5. A parenthesis.
6. twenty years, the twenty sovereigns (including Athaliah's) of Judah.
7. Apparently the 'seven', 'nine', and 'four' reigns must be taken successively of three periods, of the advance, power, and falling away of Judah.
The 'seven' are Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa, Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah, and Athaliah. The 'nine' are Joash, Amaziah, Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh, Amon, Josiah; while the 'four' are Jehoahaz, Jehoiaxim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah.
four, inserted to complete the twenty.
transgress. Text = *adcedent ad* = *προσβήσονται* corrupt for *παράβήσονται*. Cf. Ezek. xvi. 59, &c.
the oath. Text = *finem* = *ῥπον* corrupt for *ῥπον*. Thus the combination of covenant and oath is restored. Cf. Gen. xxvi. 28; also Ass. Mos. i. 9; iii. 9, xi. 17, xii. 13.
8. idols in the sanctuary. Text = *idola scenae*. For this form of the ablative cf. i. 9 'in scenae'. Röscher proposes *idola obscena*, comparing LXX of Jer. xxxii. 34 *τὰ μύσματα αὐτῶν*.
9. form. Text = *similitudinem* omitted in text after *omnem* through hmt. For 'beast . . . many abominations' cf. Ezek. viii. 10, where there is the same apposition.

- III. 1. **a king from the east.** Nebuchadnezzar, 588-586 B.C.
2. colony. This gives a clue to the date of the Greek or Latin translation as being later than 135 A.D., when Hadrian rebuilt Jerusalem as a Roman colony. Cf. v. 6, vi. 9.
all the holy vessels, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. Part had been removed in Jehoiaxim's reign, according to Dan. i. 2; Jer. xxvii. 19, 20; while 2 Bar. vi describes the concealment of the vessels by angels, 2 Macc. ii. 4-8 by Jeremiah, to preserve them for the future Messianic kingdom.
4. march. Possibly the text *ducent se* is wrong, and is due to a corruption of *ἀχθέσονται*, 'will be indignant,' into *ἀχθήσονται*. This suits the simile of the lioness better.
hungry and thirsty, 2 Bar. lxxvii. 14. Text adds 'with our children'. I transpose to the end of verse 5.
5. Righteous and holy. 2 Bar. lxxvii. 3, 4.
inasmuch as ye have sinned. Judah suffers for the sins of Israel. 2 Bar. lxxvii. 10; Jer. xi. 17; Dan. ix. 7;
1 Baruch ii. 26 ascribe the captivity to the sins of Judah as well.
7. have we done. Text = 'shall we do'.
this tribulation. The allusion seems to be to some recent calamity.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES 3. 8—5. 3

- 9 crying unto heaven and saying: 'God of Abraham God of Isaac and God of Jacob, remember Thy covenant which Thou didst make with them, and the oath which Thou didst swear unto them by
 10 Thyself, that their seed should never fail from the land which Thou hast given them.' Then they
 11 shall remember me, saying, in that day, tribe unto tribe and each man unto his neighbour: 'Is not
 12 this that which Moses did **then** declare unto us in prophecies, who suffered many things in Egypt
 13 and in the Red Sea and in the wilderness during forty years: and **assuredly** called heaven and
 14 earth to witness against us, that we should not transgress His commandments, in the which he was
 15 a mediator unto us? **Behold** these things have befallen us after his death according to his declaration,
 as he declared to us at that time, **yea behold these** have taken place even to our being carried away
 16 captive into the country of the east.' Who shall be also in bondage for about seventy and seven years.
 4 1 Then there shall enter one who is over them, and he shall spread forth his hands, and kneel upon his
 2 knees and pray on their behalf saying: 'Lord of all, King on the lofty throne, who rulest the world,
 and didst will that this people should be Thine elect people, then (indeed) Thou didst will that Thou
 shouldst be called their God, according to the covenant which Thou didst make with their fathers.
 3 And yet they have gone in captivity in another land with their wives and their children, and
 4 †around† the gates of strange peoples and where there is great **vanity**. Regard and have compas-
 5 sion on them, O Lord of heaven.' Then God will remember them on account of the covenant which
 6 He made with their fathers, and He will manifest His compassion in those times also. And He will
 put it into the mind of a king to have compassion on them, and he shall send them off to their land
 7 and country. Then some portions of the tribes shall go up and they shall come to their appointed
 8 place, and they shall anew surround the place with walls. And the two tribes shall continue in their
 prescribed faith, sad and lamenting because they will not be able to offer sacrifices to the Lord of their
 9 fathers. And the ten tribes shall increase and **multiply** among the **Gentiles** during the time of their
 captivity.
 5 1 And when the times of chastisement draw nigh and vengeance arises through the kings who share
 2, 3 in their guilt and punish them, they themselves also shall be divided as to the truth. Wherefore

8. **heaven**, an equivalent for 'God'. Cf. Dan. iv. 23.
 9. **the oath**. Gen. xvii. 8. Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 5; Test. xii Patr., Jud. 22.
 10-13. These verses are the source of 2 Bar. lxxxiv. 2-5, or else both passages are derived from the same
 original. Cf. Dan. ix. 11-13.
 11. **then**. Text = *cum*, which I emend with Schmidt-Merx to *tum*.
 in Egypt . . . years. Cf. Acts vii. 36; 2 Bar. lxxxiv. 3.
 12. **and assuredly called**, &c. So I render *et testans* (*testatus et* in text) *invocabat* . . . *testes*. Deut. iv. 26,
 xxx. 19, xxxi. 28; 2 Bar. xix. 1, lxxxiv. 2.
 mediator. See i. 14 (note).
 13. **Behold these**. Text = *quae* corrupt for *ecce ea*. Cf. 2 Bar. lxxxiv. 5.
 after his death, *de isto* = 'after him'. Cf. Job xxi. 21.
 14. **seventy and seven years**. Perhaps this number is to be taken as implying an indefinite period. Cf. Gen.
 iv. 24; Matt. xviii. 22. In any case it is a modification of Jeremiah's prophecy of the seventy years' captivity, Jer.
 xxv. 11, 12, xxix. 10, which Dan. ix. 24 reinterprets as being seventy weeks of years, i.e. 490. Merx suspects a play
 on עֶן = 77 and עֲבֹדָה זָרָה, 'strange service', i.e. 'idolatry,' which is often denoted by עֶן.
 IV. 1. **one**, i.e. Daniel; Dan. ix. 4-19.
 2. **elect people**. Cf. Isa. xlii. 1, &c.
 3. †around†. Text = *circa*. Read perhaps 'go about in the gates'.
 vanity. Text = *maiestas* = *μεγαλειότης* corrupt for *ματαιότης*, i.e. an idol. Cf. Ps. xxxi. 6; also 2 Kings
 xvii. 15; Jer. ii. 5, x. 3.
 4. Dan. ix. 18, 19; 2 Bar. xlviii. 18.
 6. Cyrus. Cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23; Ezra i. 1-4.
 8. **not be able to offer sacrifices**. For the low value set on the worship of the restored temple, cf. 2 Bar.
 'not as fully as in the beginning', lxxviii. 5, 6 (Hag. ii. 3; Ezra iii. 12). The sacrifices were unacceptable, cf. the
 'polluted bread' of Mal. i. 7; 1 En. lxxxix. 73. The objection here indeed is not an Essene one to sacrifice as such,
 but to the imperfection of the worship of God's people so long as they were subject to heathen powers. God would
 restore their glory and freedom when they repented, i. 17, but on no other condition, ix.
 9. **multiply among the Gentiles during the time of their captivity**. Text = 'devenient apud natos† in tempore
 †tribum†. *Devenient* cannot refer to a going up to Jerusalem, nor can *apud* mean anything but 'among' or 'with'. Now
devenient = יִרְדּוּ, which is an easy corruption of יִרְבּוּ = *multiplicabuntur* and *natos* is corrupt for *nationes*. *tribum*, i.e.
tribuum = שְׂבִיטִים, which Rosenthal takes to be corrupt for שְׂפָטִים = *iudiciorum*. But I prefer to emend to שְׂבִיטָם or
 שְׂבִיטֵם, *captivitatis suae*, comparing Josephus, *Ant.* xi. 5. 2; 4 Ezra xiii. 36-48; Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 31. Clemen's
 rendering 'werden immer mehr (*crescunt et devenient*) zu Heiden werden' is quite impossible.
 V. 1. **through the kings**. Text = *de reges*, cf. *de Iesum*, i. 9. These kings are the Seleucidae who had encouraged
 the disuse of the Jewish law and worship, and later, in the person of Antiochus, punished the apostate nation. Cf.
 2 Macc. iv. 16.
 2. **divided as to the truth**. Already under the Seleucid domination the enormities of the Sadducean priesthood
 reacted upon the stricter scribes and led to a religious awakening and the formation of what was later known as the
 Pharisaic party. See 1 En. xc. 6, 7 (note).

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES 5. 3—6. 5

it hath **been said**: 'They shall turn aside from righteousness and approach iniquity, and they shall defile with pollutions the house of their worship,' and [because] 'they shall go a-whoring after 4 strange gods.' For they shall not follow the truth of God, but some shall pollute the altar with the 5 **(very)** gifts which they offer to the Lord, who are not priests but slaves, sons of slaves. And **many** in those times shall have respect unto desirable persons and **receive** gifts, and **pervert** judge- 6 ment [on receiving presents]. And on this account the colony and the borders of their habitation shall be filled with lawless deeds and iniquities: **those who wickedly depart** from the Lord shall be judges: they shall be ready to judge **for money** as each may wish.

6 1 Then there shall be raised up unto them kings bearing rule, and they shall call themselves priests of 2 the Most High God: they shall assuredly work iniquity in the holy of holies. And an insolent king shall succeed them, who will not be of the race of the priests, a man bold and shameless, and he shall 3 judge them as they shall deserve. And he shall cut off their chief men with the sword, and shall 4 **destroy them** in secret places, so that no one may know where their bodies are. He shall slay the 5 old and the young, and he shall not spare. Then the fear of him shall be bitter unto them in their

3. **hath been said** = *fatum fuit* emended by Schmidt-Merx from *factum fuit*. This saying is pieced together from the O.T., e.g. Ezek. iii. 20, 'turn . . . righteousness'; xlv. 7, 'defile . . . worship.' Cf., too, Pss. Sol. i. 9, viii. 26. 'They will go . . . gods,' Deut. xxxi. 16. [because]. Text = *quia*, which may, however = 'that' introducing a new quotation.
- 3, 4. These verses cannot refer to the Maccabean high-priests. They did not go astray after strange gods. Moreover, they were of true priestly descent (1 Macc. ii. 1-5), and not sons of slaves. They are referred to in vi. 1, and so their mention here would be premature. But the statements suit Jason and Menelaus exactly, the Hellenizing priests who preceded the Maccabees. Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 13, 19, 20, v. 8. A decisive factor in the identification is the statement 'who are not priests but slaves, sons of slaves'. Menelaus was not of the tribe of Levi, but a Benjamite, 2 Macc. iii. 4, iv. 23. Cf. the implication in 1 Macc. vii. 14 that other high-priests had belonged to non-Aaronic families. Moreover they were the nominees and absolute tools of Antiochus, 2 Macc. iv. 7-9, 23-9. Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 10. 5 mentions, but only to deny, the slander that Hyrcanus's mother had been a captive under Antiochus. Cf. the Talmud also for the tale.
5. **And many**. So I emend 'qui enim magistri sunt' = הרבנים, i.e. 'the many' or 'the Rabbis'. Text adds 'doctores eorum', a gloss on the word in the latter meaning.
- shall have respect unto desirable persons and receive gifts and pervert**. The text reads 'erunt mirantes personas cupiditatum et acceptiones munerum et pervident', which is un-Semitic. *Acceptiones* is an easy corruption of *accipientes*, after which, taken as a noun, *munerum* could stand. Now leaving for the present *cupiditatum* let us pass on to the next clause. This runs *pervident iustitias*. This phrase does not occur in Jewish literature, but we find, 1 Sam. viii. 3 'acceperunt munera et perverterunt iudicium' = LXX ἐλάβανον δῶρα καὶ ἐξέκλινον δικαιώματα, וַיִּקְחוּ שֹׁחַד וַיַּטְוּ כִּשְׁפֹט. Hence I accept Wieseler's emendation *pervertent*. We have now 'erunt mirantes personas cupiditatum et accipientes munerum et pervertent iustitias'. Now if we compare Deut. xvi. 19 we find οὐκ ἐκκληνοῦσι κρίσιν οὐδὲ ἐπιγνώσκονται πρόσωπον οὐδὲ λήψονται δῶρα, וְלֹא תִפְחַת פָּנִים וְלֹא תִפְרֹחַ שָׁחַד, which is exactly what we have arrived at above. The original of our text could be reconstructed from this verse save that instead of הִפְרִיר we should use הִפְרִיר. Cf. 2 Chron. xix. 7 οὐδὲ θανατώσαι πρόσωπον οὐδὲ λαβεῖν δῶρα (LXX), וַיִּשְׁחָד וַיִּכְשֹׁף שֹׁחַד.
- We have still to consider *cupiditatum*. Clemen compares Dan. ix. 23, x. 11, 19. He might have added Ezek. xxiii. 6, בְּחֹרֶךְ הָקֵד, And yet in none of them have we a real parallel. *Accipiendo poenas* I have bracketed as an explanatory gloss.
6. **those who wickedly depart from the Lord shall be judges**. There is a curious dittography in the text here: 'a deo ut qui facit erunt impii iudices', 'a domino qui faciunt erunt impii iudices': the first and inferior version was intended to be deleted. For *qui faciunt erunt impii* read *qui faciunt impie erunt* and the text is restored = מִיָּהוָה הַרְשָׁעִים יִהְיוּ שֹׁפְטִים. Cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 22 Vulg. 'non egi impie a Deo meo,' מִיָּהוָה רָשָׁעִי מִיָּהוָה, and Ass. Mos. xi. 17 'si . . . impie fecerunt'.
- they shall be ready to judge for money**. Text = 'erunt in eam post iudicare', 'inerunt in campo iudicare'. The second version of the doublet gives the right clue. *In campo* = ἐν ἀγρῷ corrupt for ἐν ἀργύρῳ = בכסף.
- VI: 1. **kings bearing rule**, i.e. the Maccabees like Judas, Jonathan, and Simon, though not technically styled kings. Cf. 'king of the west', vi. 8.
- they shall call themselves priests of the Most High God**. Jonathan became high-priest in 153 B.C., and the office was declared to be hereditary in the Maccabean family in 141 B.C.
- call themselves**. Text = *in . . . vocabuntur*, a Hebraism. Cf. 1 Chron. xxiii. 14 (LXX).
- priests of the Most High God**. This title was claimed by the Maccabean prince-priests. Cf. Ps. cx, a hymn to Simon. 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek.'
- shall assuredly work iniquity**. Text = *facient facientes*, a Hebraism.
2. **an insolent king**, Herod the Great, 37-4 B.C. He was only half a Jew, Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 15. 2, the son of Antipater of Idumea, though Nicolas of Damascus claimed a Jewish origin for Antipater.
- judge them**. Herod cut off the Maccabean family, the Sadducean aristocracy, and according to vi. 4, 5 oppressed the nation at large. The Pharisees and the Essenes did not suffer under him.
3. **their chief men**. Herod on becoming king executed forty-five of the Sadducean nobles (*Ant.* xv. 1. 2; *Bell. Iud.* i. 18. 4).
- destroy**. I read *stinguet* for *singuli* corrupt. Hilgenfeld emends into *sepeliet*, which is weak. I have omitted 'et corpora illorum' before 'ut nemo sciat'.
- secret places**. These secret murders are mentioned in *Ant.* xv. 10. 4.
4. **young, and he**. Perhaps, we should read 'young he', &c. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 50.
5. Cf. 2 Macc. vi. 3 for the phraseology.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES 6. 6—7. 7

6 land. And he shall execute judgements on them as the Egyptians executed upon them, during
 7 thirty and four years, and he shall punish them. And he shall beget children, **who** succeeding him
 8 shall **rule** for shorter periods. Into their **parts cohorts** and a powerful king of the west shall come,
 9 **who** shall conquer them: and he shall take them captive, and burn a part of their temple with fire,
 (and) shall crucify some around their colony.
 7¹ And when this is done the times shall be ended, in a moment the (second) course shall be (ended),
 2, 3 the four hours shall come. They shall be forced. . . . And, in the time of these, destructive and
 4 impious men shall rule, saying that they are just. And these shall stir up the **poison** of their minds,
 being treacherous men, self-pleasers, dissemblers in all their own affairs and lovers of banquets at
 5, 6 every hour of the day, gluttons, gourmands. . . . Devourers of the goods of the (poor) saying that
 7 they do so on the ground of their **justice**, but *in reality to destroy them*, complainers, deceitful,
 concealing themselves lest they should be recognized, impious, filled with lawlessness and iniquity

6. **thirty and four years.** Herod reigned for thirty-four years after Antigonus's death, and thirty-seven after he had been declared king by the Romans.

7. **children . . . shorter periods.** The text is defective: '(p)roduct natos (qui su)ccedentes sibi breviora tempora donarent' (we must read *dominarent*). Herod's sons are to reign for shorter periods than their father. This is true of Archelaus only, as Antipas reigned forty-three years and Philip thirty-seven. So that this book must be earlier than A.D. 30, i.e. thirty-four years from Herod's death in 4 B.C.; unless we suppose that the author is thinking of Archelaus and Agrippa, who alone had close connexion with Jerusalem.

8. **Into their parts cohorts.** Text = 'in pares eorum mortis', emended into 'in partes eorum cohortes'.
 a powerful king of the west. Varus, governor of Syria, quelled a Jewish rebellion in 4 B.C. (*Ant.* xvii. 10. 9, 10. 11. 1).

who. Text = *quia* corrupt for *qui*.

9. **burn a part of their temple.** The soldiers of Varus's lieutenant Sabinus did such damage that the repairs were not completed till Nero's reign (*Ant.* xx. 9. 7).

crucify some. Varus crucified 2,000 (*Ant.* xvii. 10. 10).

VII. 1. **the times shall be ended.** We have now arrived at the date at which the author is writing, and so leaves obvious historical allusions for obscure predictions and enigmatical symbols. The text is often doubtful.

(second) . . . (ended). Text defective, '. . . etur cursus a . . .' Merx reads *sequetur* not *finietur*, and Hilgenfeld *aevi* not *alter*.

2. The text, which defies translation, is: 'Coguntur secund . . . ae . . . pos . . . initiis tribus ad exitus viiii propter initium tres septimae secunda tria in tertia duae h . . . ra . . . tae.' For attempted restorations see my Comm., p. 78.

3-10. The identification of the persons here attacked is much disputed. They cannot be the Herodian princes, as ver. 10 would suit none of them. Nor can they be the Pharisees. Their worst enemies never accused them of open unblushing gluttony and profligacy. Matt. xxiii. 25 mentions only their secret 'extortion and excess'. (Colani ingeniously suggests that the Jewish doctors at Jabne and Usha after A.D. 135 are meant. But he requires too late a date for the book.) Nor yet can verses 3, 4 be assigned to the Sadducees, and 6-10 to the Pharisees. This division is not justified by the text. The Roman procurators, again, are excluded by phrases like 'Do not touch me lest thou shouldst pollute me', and 'concealing themselves lest they should be recognized'. The most probable explanation is that the Sadducees are meant. The play on צדק, the priestly aloofness of ver. 10, and their rule (the Sanhedrim, which was almost entirely Sadducean, was the virtual ruling power under the Romans from A.D. 6 till 70). The close parallels with the attacks on the Sadducees in the Psalms of Solomon seem to clinch the matter.

3. **in the time of these.** Text = *de his* = ἐπὶ τούτων (?). Perhaps translate 'some of these' = ἐκ τούτων.

destructive. Cf. verse 5.

impious, could not be said of a Pharisee.

shall rule. Cf. ver. 8, also for the Sadducean constitution of the Sanhedrim Pss. Sol. iv. 1 σὺ κάθησαι βέβηλε ἐν συνεδρίῳ.

saying that they are just, a play on צדוקים 'Sadducees' and צדיקים 'just'. **saying.** I read *dicentes* for *docentes* corrupt.

4. **poison.** Here I take *iram animorum suorum* = θυμὸν τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν = לִבָּהּ לְמַת, where לְמַת should have been rendered *lōn* = poison. This gives a good sense, but the change of *animorum* into *amicorum* (so Clemens) does not.

treacherous. Pss. Sol. iv. 27 ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων δολίων καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν.

self-pleasers. Probably the Hebrew original was misread עצמם, 'of themselves', instead of עצומים, 'of the mighty.' The designation 'pleasers of the mighty' would then be parallel to ἀνθρωπάρεσκοι, Pss. Sol. iv, used of the Sadducees.

dissemblers. Text = *ficti*. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 7 ἐν ὑποκρίσει.

5. This verse of seven lines is undecipherable, except for *omnis*.

6. **Devourers of the goods of the (poor).** Cf. the charge against the Sadducees in Pss. Sol. iv. 11, 13, 15, 23; xii. 2, 4; also the charge in Matt. xxiii. 14; Mark xii. 40; Luke xx. 47.

(poor). Text = *pauperum*.

justice, misericordiam. The Hebrew צדקה is often thus rendered, here mistakenly. The Sadducees were as proverbially severe (*Ant.* xx. 9. 1) as the Pharisees were merciful in judgement (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 6). See also Pss. Sol. iv. 2, 3.

7. **to destroy them.** Text = *et exterminatores*, corrupt for *ut exterminarent*.

deceitful. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 4, 12, 14.

concealing themselves, &c. Cf. Pss. Sol. iv. 5 ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἀποκρύφοις ἀμαρτάνει ὡς οὐχ ὁρώμενος. Cf. also i. 7.

impious . . . iniquity. For παράνομοι and ἀμαρτωλοί as epithets of the Sadducees see Ryle and James, *Psalms of Solomon*, Introd. xlv-xlviii.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES 7. 8—8. 5

8 from sunrise to sunset: saying: 'We shall have feastings and luxury, eating and drinking, **and we**
9 **shall esteem ourselves as princes.**' And though their hands and their minds touch unclean things, yet
10 their mouth shall speak great things, and they shall say furthermore: 'Do not touch me lest thou
shouldst pollute me in the place (where I stand)' . . .

8 1 And there shall come upon them a second visitation and wrath, such as has not befallen them from
the beginning until that time, in which He will stir up against them the king of the kings of the
earth and one that ruleth with great power, who shall crucify those who confess to their circumcision:
2 and those who **conceal** (it) he shall torture and deliver them up to be bound and led into prison.
3 And their wives shall be given to the gods among the Gentiles, and their young sons shall be operated
4 on by the physicians in order to bring forward their foreskin. And others amongst them shall be
punished by tortures and fire and sword, and they shall be forced to bear in public their idols, polluted
5 as they are like those who keep them. And they shall likewise be forced by those who torture them
to enter their inmost sanctuary, and they shall be forced by goads to blaspheme with insolence the
word, finally after these things **the laws** and what they had above their altar.

from sunrise to sunset, not 'from East to West' as the phrase in Greek might also mean.

8. **shall esteem ourselves**. Text = *et putabimus nos*. Possibly *potabimus*, 'we shall drink,' but *nos* is against this.
princes. Text adds 'we shall be'. An intrusion due to the difficulty of *nos*.

9. **though . . . yet**. Text = *et . . . et*. A Hebraism. Cf. 1 Sam. ix. 11.

mouth . . . speak great things. Dan. vii. 8, 20; Jude 16.

9, 10. For this combination of priestly aloofness with an unclean and worldly life, cf. Pss. Sol. i. 8; ii. 14, 15;
viii. 13; xvii. 17.

10. Isa. lxxv. 5. Four lines are defective at the end of 10.

VIII-IX. This 'second visitation' is too accurate an account of Antiochus Epiphanes' persecution to refer to any
other calamity, or to have been a bare prediction, e.g. of Bar Cochba's suppression in A.D. 136. Strangely enough
there is a gap in the history between V and VI of this book, where an account of Antiochus's devastation is required.
It is equally out of place here. Thus we have a clear case of transposition by the final editor. Cf. 1 En. xci-xciii.
V ends with the Hellenizing priests under Antiochus, VI begins with the Maccabean princes. Such a tragic time
would not be omitted in a work like this, still less could the greatest desecration of the temple have been overlooked
when minor injuries to it are mentioned, e.g. ii. 4, 8, 9; iii. 2; iv. 7, 8; v. 3, 4; vi. 1, 9.

VIII. 1. **a second visitation**. So ix. 2. The final woes would not be so described. The text has . . . *ta* (or *te*)
only. Fritzsche restores *tanta*. I read *altera* with Merx.

such as has not, &c. Dan. xii. 1; cf. Jer. xxx. 7; 1 Macc. ix. 27; Matt. xxiv. 21; Rev. xvi. 18. 'from the
beginning', *a saeculo*, which is nearer the Syriac (= *a diebus saeculorum*) of Dan. xii. 1 than the LXX or Theod.
Compare *am' arxhs kosmon*, Matt. xxiv. 21.

king of the kings of the earth, used of Artaxerxes in Ezra vii. 12, so naturally here of the despot Antiochus IV.

one that ruleth. Text = *potestatem*. I read *potentatem*.

crucify . . . : circumcision. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 48, 60, 61; 2 Macc. vi. 10, viii. 4. For the crucifying cf. Joseph.
Ant. xii. 5. 4.

2. **conceal**. Text = *necantes*. I read *celantes*. Possibly we should read *secantes*, 'circumcise', or even *negantes*,
'refuse to confess'.

3. **wives shall be given to the gods**, &c. For the cult of Venus see 2 Macc. vi. 4. But *dis donabuntur* may be
corrupt for *disdonabuntur* (Haupt). Then translate 'will be distributed among the Gentiles'.

their young sons, &c. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 15; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1. Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 18.

4. **tortures**. Cf. 2 Macc. vi. 28, vii; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 4.

fire. 2 Macc. vi. 11.

bear in public their idols. 2 Macc. vi. 7. For the carrying of idols cf. Amos v. 26; Isa. xlvi. 7; Epist. Jer. 4, 26.

polluted, &c. The rendering is uncertain and difficult.

like. Text = *pariter* = also 'likewise' in the next verse.

5. **inmost sanctuary** of the heathen temples which the Jews were compelled to build. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 47; Joseph.
Ant. xv. 5. 4. Or it may be the Holy Place.

the word = *ὁ λόγος* = *הַדְבָּר*, which in late Hebrew (Jer. Shabb. vii. 10^a, &c.) and Aramaic = 'the person' of God.

the laws and. I read *leges et* for text *et leges*.

what . . . above their altar, i.e. the sacrifice upon it, Matt. xxiii. 18. Clemens states that under *altarium* we
are to understand *בִּימֶה*. But this latter word simply means the raised platform in the Synagogue from which prayers
were said and the Law read. There is no ground, so far as I am aware, for ever connecting the two ideas. See *Religion
and Worship of the Synagogue*, Box and Oesterley, 309 sqq. = Schürer³, ii. 450. The expression favours our inter-
preting the inmost sanctuary of the Temple.

IX. The historical references seem to be to 2 Macc. vi. 18 (Eleazar the Scribe) and vii (the seven brothers, sons of
the widow), who went to the tortures rather than eat swine's flesh; while in 1 Macc. ii. 29-38 we are told of those who
fled to the secret places of the wilderness, to avoid the 'unclean visitation' (Ass. Mos. ix. 2) of Antiochus. For the close
parallels with 1 and 2 Maccabees see the notes.

This piecing together of details has a purpose. The author intentionally avoids a reference to Mattathias, and
thus by implication censures the Maccabean uprising with its methods and aims. He emphasizes the opposed policy
of the Chasids, as evidenced by the passages quoted above, by way of suggesting and urging their stricter and quietistic
methods. The ideal is not 'Let us war', but 'Let us die rather than transgress'.

The Chasids' temporary coalition with the Maccabees, 1 Macc. ii. 42, &c., is not mentioned. It soon ended, and
the Pharisees returned to their old attitude of non-resistance. But by the close of the first century B.C. Pharisaism, as
the Psalms of Solomon show, was being leavened with patriotism and earthly political ideas. Our author must have
been in the minority by the time he wrote.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES 9. 1—10. 4

- 9₁ Then in that day **there shall be** a man of the tribe of Levi, whose name shall be Taxo, who having
 2 seven sons **shall speak** to them exhorting (them): 'Observe, my sons, behold a second ruthless (and)
 3 unclean visitation has come upon the people, and a punishment merciless and **far exceeding** the first.
 4 For what nation or what region or what people of those who are impious towards the Lord, who
 5 have done many abominations, have suffered as great calamities as have befallen us? Now, there-
 6 fore, my sons, hear me: for observe and know that neither did the fathers nor their forefathers
 7 tempt God, so as to transgress His commands. And ye know that this is our strength, and thus we
 8 will do. Let us fast for the space of three days and on the fourth let us go into a cave which is in
 9 the field, and let us die rather than transgress the commands of the Lord of Lords, the God of our
 10 fathers. For if we do this and die, our blood shall be avenged before the Lord.
- 10₁ And then His kingdom shall appear throughout all His creation,
 2 And then Satan shall be no more,
 3 And sorrow shall depart with him.
 4 Then the hands of the angel shall be filled
 5 Who has been appointed chief,
 6 And he shall forthwith avenge them of their enemies.
 7 For the Heavenly One will arise from His royal throne,
 8 And He will go forth from His holy habitation
 9 With indignation and wrath on account of His sons.
 10 And the earth shall tremble: to its confines shall it be shaken:
 11 And the high mountains shall be made low
 12 And **the hills shall be shaken** and fall.

1. **day there shall be.** I read *die erit* for text *dicente*.

of the tribe of Levi. Thus the Chasid movement emanated from the priestly tribe. Our author seems to identify the Eleazar here with the Eleazar of 2 Macc. vi. 18, who was one of the chief scribes, and, according to 4 Macc. v. 3, a priest.

Taxo. Professor Burkitt has offered the right interpretation. Taxo is a mistake for Taxoc = Ταξωκ = תכסוק, which by Gematria = אלעזר, Eleazar. Cf. 4 Macc. i. 8. This interpretation strengthens the argument for a dislocation of the text.

seven sons. The widow of 2 Macc. vii (following on the martyrdom of Eleazar in vi. 18-31) and 4 Macc. has seven sons. Mattathias had five, 1 Macc. ii. 1.

shall speak. I read *dicet*, for text *dicens*.

2. **second . . . unclean visitation,** under Antiochus, with its ceremonial defilement and moral abominations. The first was under Nebuchadnezzar. See chapter iii.

far exceeding. I read *eminens* for *eminent*, text.

3. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 3. 3.

4. **neither did the fathers, &c.** Text = 'nunquam temptans deum nec parentes nec proavi eorum'. Clemen restores 'neither did I nor the fathers', supplying *ego* to agree with *temptans*, which, however, is corrupt for *temptantes*. Cf. the consciousness of fulfilling God's law in the Psalms. The sense of sin is markedly absent at times: here with regard to the nation.

6. **fast,** here a sign not of repentance but of desperate resolution. For fasting cf. Dan. vi. 18, ix. 3; 2 Bar. v. 7, &c.; 4 Ezra v. 20, &c.

let us go into a cave. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 53, ii. 31; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 6. 2; Heb. xi. 38; also 2 Macc. vi. 11, x. 6.

let us die rather than transgress. For this typical and earnest motto of those persecuted under Antiochus, cf. 2 Macc. vii. 2; 4 Macc. ix. 1; also for the resolve, 1 Macc. ii. 37; 2 Macc. vi. 19; *Ant.* xii. 6. 1.

7. **avenged.** Cf. the seven brethren, 2 Macc. vii. 17, 19, 31, 35-7.

X. 1-10. These verses form a hymn of ten stanzas with three lines each. There are three main divisions, 1-2, 3-6, 7-10. Note that the kingdom and the angel appear in the first division, but God Himself arises in the second.

1. **His kingdom.** Cf. the 'kingdom of God' in Mark and Luke; Pss. Sol. xvii. 4. There is no mention of a new heaven and a new earth here.

Satan seems to be here the head of the kingdom of evil. But 2^b suggests that he is the adversary of Israel.

sorrow, &c. Cf. Isa. xxxv. 10; Rev. xxi. 4.

2. **hands . . . filled.** Cf. Exod. xxviii. 41, xxix. 9; Lev. xxi. 10; Test. Levi viii. 10. Here it signifies the delegation of power as warrior not as priest.

the angel. Michael. Cf. Dan. xii. 1. He is Israel's patron angel.

chief. Michael is at the head of the forces of heaven, Rev. xii. 7. Here he avenges Israel, but in ver. 7 God does so. Thus 3-10 (which belong to the text) are inconsistent with 1-2, an insertion, as the felicity of ver. 1, contrasted with the terror of 4-6, also shows.

3-6. Signs to accompany God's coming.

3. **the Heavenly One.** Cf. ii. 4, iv. 4.

He will go forth, &c. Mic. i. 3; Isa. xxvi. 21; 1 En. i. 3.

from His holy habitation. Deut. xxvi. 15; Isa. lxiii. 15.

4. **high mountains . . . made low.** Isa. xl. 4; 1 En. i. 6.

and the hills shall be shaken and. I read 'et colles concutientur et' for 'et concutientur et convalles'. The mountains would not be shaken after being made low, nor could the valleys fall. We require a hill after the high mountains. Cf. Isa. xl. 4. It is easy to explain *convalles* = בקעות corrupt for גבעות as in LXX of Isa. xl. 12.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES 10. 5-13

5. **And the horns of the sun shall be broken and he shall be turned into darkness ;**
And the moon shall not give her light, and be turned wholly into blood.
And the circle of the stars shall be disturbed.
6. And the sea shall retire into the abyss,
And the fountains of waters shall fail,
And the rivers **shall dry up.**
7. For the Most High will arise, the Eternal God alone,
And He will appear to punish the Gentiles,
And He will destroy all their idols.
8. Then thou, O Israel, shalt be happy,
And thou shalt †mount upon the necks and wings of the eagle,
And they shall be ended†.
9. And God will exalt thee,
And He will cause thee to approach to the heaven of the stars,
†In the place of their habitation†.
10. And thou **shalt look** from on high and shalt see thy enemies in **Ge(henna),**
And thou shalt recognize them and rejoice,
And thou shalt give thanks and confess thy Creator.
- 11, 12. And do thou, Joshua (the son of) Nun, keep these words and this book ; For from my death
13 [assumption] until His advent there shall be CCL times. And this is the course **of the times** which

5. The MS. has 'sol non dabit lumen et in tenebris convertent se cornua lunae et confringentur et tota convertit se in sanguine'. The order seems wrong. The darkening is always connected with the sun, and only with the moon in conjunction with it. Cf. Joel ii. 10 ; iii. 15 ; Eccles. xii. 2. See also Isa. xiii. 10 ; Matt. xxiv. 29 ; Mark xiii. 24 ; Luke xxiii. 45 ; Acts ii. 20 ; Rev. vi. 12, ix. 2. Again, 'non dabit lumen' is used only of the moon, Ezek. xxxii. 7 ; Matt. xxiv. 29 ; Mark xiii. 24. Thirdly, 'turned into blood' is only used of the moon, Joel ii. 31 ; Acts ii. 20 ; Rev. vi. 12. Thus I alter the text to

(Et) cornua solis confringentur et in tenebras convertet se ;
Et luna non dabit lumen et tota convertet se in sanguinem.'

circle. Text = *orbis*.

6. **fountains . . . fail.** Cf. Pss. Sol. xvii. 21 ; Test. Levi iv. 1 ; 4 Ezra vi. 24.

fountains . . . and rivers. Cf. Rev. viii. 10, xvi. 4.

dry up. I read *exarescent* for MS. *expavescent*.

7-10. God punishes the Gentiles, destroys their idols, makes Israel triumph over Rome, and exalts them to heaven.

7. **Eternal God.** Cf. Deut. xxxiii. 27 אֱלֹהֵי קָדִים. 8^a and probably 8^b are based on verse 29 of that chapter.

alone, i. e. without help of Michael or Messiah. Cf. 4 Ezra v. 26, vi. 6.

destroy . . . idols. Cf. 1 En. xci. 9.

8. Israel to triumph in this world over Rome.

Then thou . . . happy. Deut. xxxiii. 29.

†**mount upon the necks.** So Deut. xxxiii. 29 in LXX Syr. Vulg. Targ. Onk., Targ. Jon., Jarchi. Modern scholars, however, render 'tread upon their high places'. For 'necks' cf. Baruch iv. 26 ; also for the idea Josh. x. 24. An older form of the Eagle Vision, that in 4 Ezra xi sqq. may here be in the mind of the writer. Now line 2 is too long and line 3 too short. Formerly I accepted Dr. Cheyne's suggestion that *dies luctus tui* (cf. Isa. lx. 20) was lost after *implebuntur*. Clemen suggests *dies aquilae* ; but neither accounts for the irregularity noted, and there is no loss of letters in the MS. Hence I propose that there has been simply a transposition of *cervices et alas* (i. e. *alae*) from line 3 to 2. Then *et implebuntur* = καὶ συντελεσθήσονται, *perdentur* or *delebuntur*. Hence :

'And thou shalt go up against the eagle
And its necks and wings shall be destroyed.'

9. Israel to be exalted to heaven.

to approach. Text = *haerere*, i. e. נָגַע.

the heaven of the stars. Cf. Pss. Sol. i. 5 ὑψώθησαν ἕως τῶν ἀστρων, and Jer. li. (xxviii. in LXX) 9. Cf. 'the stars of heaven', Isa. xiv. 13 (LXX), or 'the stars of God' (Heb.), which, however, Targ. Jon. renders 'the people of God'. Here, however, there is no metaphor, but a description of Israel transfigured and glorified after the final judgement. Cf. 1 En. civ. 2, 6.

†**In the place of their habitation.**† Text = *loco habitationis eorum*. *Eorum* suits neither 'stars' nor 'thee'. The parallelism also requires 'and He' to commence the clause. There I read והקים 'and He will establish' for במקום 'in the place', and מושבך 'thy habitation among them' for מושבם 'their habitation', and render :
'And He will establish thy habitation among them.'

Cf. 1 En. civ. 2, 4, 6.

10. **shalt look.** I read *conspicies* for *conspiges*, text.

shalt see. I read *videbis* for *vides*, text.

Gehenna. MS. has *terram* = גֵּהֵנָה, i. e. גֵּהֵנָה or גֵּהֵנָה transliterated as in Josh. xviii. 16 (LXX), &c. Gehenna is called 'the valley' in Jer. ii. 23 ; iii. 40, and so הַנֶּחֱם need not be restored. Clemen thinks 'in terra' can be supported by Isa. lxvi. 24, but the cases are not parallel.

In earlier times (Isa. lxvi. 24 ; 1 En. xxvii. 2, 3, liv. 1, 2, xc. 26, 27) Gehenna was considered the place of punishment for faithless Jews, who should be tormented there in full view of the righteous. But in N.T. times it had come to be thought of as the future abode of all the wicked. Cf. 4 Ezra vii. 36.

11. **this book.** Cf. i. 16, xi. 1.

12. **[assumption].** The original here told only of Moses' death, not his assumption. Cf. i. 15 and x. 15. The addition is due to the editor, who combined this 'Testament of Moses' with another work, the 'Assumption of Moses'.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES 10. 14—11. 16

14. 15 they shall pursue till they are consummated. And I shall go to sleep with my fathers. Wherefore, Joshua thou (son of) Nun, (be strong and) be of good courage; (for) God hath chosen (thee) to be minister in the same covenant.

11 1 And when Joshua had heard the words of Moses that were so written in his writing all that he 2 had before said, he rent his clothes and cast himself at Moses' feet. And Moses comforted him and 3, 4 wept with him. And Joshua answered him and said: 'Why dost thou comfort me, (my) lord Moses? And how shall I be comforted in regard to the bitter word which thou hast spoken which has gone forth from thy mouth, which is full of tears and lamentation, in that thou departest from 5, 6 this people? (But now) what place shall receive thee? Or what shall be the sign that marks (thy) 7 sepulchre? Or who shall dare to move thy body from thence as that of a mere man from place to 8 place? For all men when they die have according to their age their sepulchres on earth; but thy sepulchre is from the rising to the setting sun, and from the south to the confines of the north: all 9, 10 the world is thy sepulchre. My lord, thou art departing, and who shall feed this people? Or who 11 is there that shall have compassion on them and who shall be their guide by the way? Or who shall pray for them, not omitting a single day, in order that I may lead them into the land of their fore- 12 fathers? How therefore am I to foster this people as a father (his) only son, or as a mistress her daughter, a virgin who is being prepared to be given to the husband whom she will revere, while she guards her person from the sun and (takes care) that her feet are not unshod for running upon the 13 ground. (And how) shall I supply them with food and drink according to the pleasure of their 14 will? For of them there shall be 600,000 (men), for these have multiplied to this degree through 15 thy prayers, (my) lord Moses. And what wisdom or understanding have I that I should judge or 16 answer by word in the house (of the Lord)? And the kings of the Amorites also when they hear that we are attacking them, believing that there is no longer among them the sacred spirit who

CCL times, i.e. 250 year-weeks, or 1,750 years. Thus from the Creation (2,500 years before Moses' death) to the final judgement will be 4,250 years or 85 jubilees. Cf. Sanh. 97^b, which gives the same date for the Messiah's coming.

13. of the times. MS. = '. . . horum' emended to *temporum*.

14. Moses expects an ordinary death, a sleep with his fathers in Sheol.

15. (be strong and) be of good courage. MS. *forma te*. I have restored with Schmidt-Merx 'confortare et firma te'. See i. 10 (note). Cf. Deut. xxxi. 6, 7, 23.

(for) . . . (thee). I supply *nam te* after *firma te*.

minister. See i. 7 (note). Is Joshua thus the prophet promised in Deut. xviii. 15?

XI. 1. Moses' feet. I emend MS. *pedes meos* to *pedes Monse*.

4. comfort me . . . be comforted. I read 'solaris . . . solabor' with Schmidt-Merx for MS. 'celares . . . celabor'; Volkmar emends to 'zelaris . . . zelabor'.

For the mourning at his departure, cf. 2 Bar. xxxiii. 3, lxxvii. 2; 4 Ezra xii. 44.

depart = die, as in 2 Bar. xiv. 19, xv. 1, xliii. 2, &c.

this people. Text = *plebe ist (a)*.

5. (But now) what, &c. Text is defective.

7. Baldensperger thinks this verse is directed against the Christians, as Christ's body was moved from the cross to the sepulchre.

from thence. I restore *inde* for *in e*.

that of a (mere) man. I restore *hominis* for *homo*.

8. all the world is thy sepulchre. Cf. Thuc. ii. 43 *πᾶσα γῆ τάφος*.

9. thou art departing. I restore *abis* for *ab his* MS.

11. pray. Cf. xii. 6.

not omitting. Text = *nec patiens* = *οὐδὲ παύεις*.

single. MS. = *uno* corrupt for *unum*.

forefathers. I restore *atavorum* for *Araborum*. Ewald *Amorreorum*.

12. foster. MS. = *potero* (*hanc plebem*) = *δυνήσομαι* (*τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον*) = (העם הזה) אוכל where אוכל is corrupt for אכלל = 'nourish'.

as a mistress her daughter, a virgin. Text = 'tanquam filiam dominam virginem†.' If *κυρία* (= *dominam*) can be applied to persons as Volkmar supposes and mean 'legitimate', 'his own', then the difficulty is solved. But the repetition of *tanquam* is against this view. It seems to require a parallel noun in the nominative such as *domina*. And was *κύριος* ever applied in the above sense even to things? Failing this we might with Fritzsche read *filiam domina, virginem*, or since *κυρία* alone may be suspicious in this sense *domina virginem* may = בעלת בתולה corrupt for בעלת הבית, 'mistress of the house'.

to be given. I restore *dari* for *tali* MS.

whom. I restore *quem* for *quae*.

revere. Cf. Sirach xxvi. 28.

guards her person. Cf. Sirach vii. 24, 25.

13. (And how). I supply *et quā* to fill the lacuna.

pleasure of their will. I read *voluptatem voluntatis* for MS. = *voluntatem voluntatis*. Cf. Eph. i. 5.

14. 600,000. I insert D before C *milīa*, from Exod. xii. 37.

(men). I restore *virī* in lacuna in MS.

15. (of the Lord). I restore *Domini* in lacuna after *domo* in MS.

16. among them. I read *secum* for *semet* MS.

sacred spirit . . . manifold. Cf. πνεῦμα . . . ἅγιον . . . πολυμερές, Wisd. vii. 22.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES 11. 16—12. 13

was worthy of the Lord, manifold and incomprehensible, the lord of the word, who was faithful in all things, God's chief prophet throughout the earth, the most perfect teacher in the world, [that he is no longer among them], shall say "Let us go against them. If the enemy have but once wrought impiously against their Lord, they have no advocate to offer prayers on their behalf to the Lord, like Moses the great messenger, who every hour day and night had his knees fixed to the earth, praying and looking for help to Him that ruleth all the world with compassion and righteousness, reminding *Him* of the covenant of the fathers and propitiating the Lord with the oath." For they shall say: "He is not with them: let us go therefore and destroy them from off the face of the earth." What shall then become of this people, my lord Moses?

12 1, 2 And when Joshua had finished (these) words, he cast himself again at the feet of Moses. And Moses took his hand and raised him into the seat before him, and answered and said unto him: 3, 4 'Joshua, do not despise **thyself**, but set thy mind at ease, and hearken to my words. All the nations which are in the earth God hath created and us, He hath foreseen them and us from the beginning of the creation of the earth unto the end of the age, and nothing has been neglected by Him even to the least thing, but all things He hath foreseen and **caused all to come forth**. (Yea) all things which are to be in this earth the Lord hath foreseen and lo! they are brought forward (into the light. . . . The Lord) hath on their behalf appointed me to (pray) for their sins and (make intercession) for them. For not for any virtue or **strength** of mine, but **of His good pleasure** have His compassion and longsuffering fallen to my lot. For I say unto you, Joshua: it is not on account of the godliness of this people that thou shalt root out the nations. The **lights** of the heaven, the **foundations** of the earth have been made and approved by God and are under the **signet ring** of His right hand. Those, therefore, who do and fulfil the commandments of **God** shall increase and be prospered: but those who sin and set at nought the commandments **shall be without the blessings** before mentioned, and they shall be punished with many torments by the nations. But wholly to root out and **destroy** them is not permitted. For God will go forth who has foreseen all things for ever, and His covenant has been established and by the oath which . . .

worthy of the Lord. Cf. Wisd. iii. 5.

lord of the word, a unique expression.

faithful in all things. Num. xii. 7; Heb. iii. 2.

God's chief prophet. Text = *divinum* . . . *profetem* = נביא האלהים = 'the prophet of God'.

[that he . . . them]. A dittography from above.

17. wrought impiously against. Text = *impie fecerunt in* = רשעו ב, perhaps corrupt for רשעו ב. Cf. v. 6 (note). no advocate to offer prayers. This is the function of Jeremiah especially (for Moses cf. ver. 14), e. g. 2 Macc. xv. 14; 4 Baruch ii. 3; 2 Bar. ii. 2 (note).

Moses. MS. wrongly adds 'was'.

looking for help . . . world. MS. = 'intuens homini potentem orbem,' &c. *homini* is clearly a corruption. Hilgenfeld suggests *omnipotentem orbem*. But it is better to read *omnis* and *orbis*, 'potentem omnis orbis.' Schmidt-Merx suggest 'omni potent(ia tenent)em orbem'.

XII. 2. Cf. Sifre Piska 140 on Num. xxvii. 28. 'Thereupon (Moses) raised him (Joshua) from the ground and placed him beside himself on the chair.'

3. **thyself**. I restore *te* for *ei*, MS.

4. A word of comfort against the time of Israel's tribulation. God made Israel and the nations, and foresees the destinies of both. Therefore all that befalls must tend to the same end (Israel's benefit, i. 12).

caused all to come forth. I read 'promovit cuncta' for MS. 'provovit cum *eis*'; *provovit* may, however, be corrupt for *praenovit* = προέγνω = ידע, which again may be corrupt for ידע, *praedestinavit*.

6. appointed me to (pray) for their sins. This is a real Jewish idea and not borrowed from Christianity. Cf. Jeremiah (see xi. 17 above); also Enoch, 2 En. lxiv. 5 (MSS. A, B), the righteous forefathers, Philo, *De Execr.* ix (ii. 436). Contrast 2 En. liii. 1. The text is defective. I supply *orarem* and *implorarem*.

7. strength. I read *firmitatem* for MS. *infirmitatem*.

of His good pleasure. Text = *temperantius* = επιεικέστερον. επιεικώς in both its occurrences in the O.T. = רחום, the verb, so that I have rendered it 'of His good pleasure' in the text, though a closer rendering of the Hebrew would be 'He was pleased that His compassion, &c., should fall to my lot'. Cf. for this doctrine of the divine election, Rom. ix. 11, 12, to privilege, and Gal. i. 15, to service. According to the Tanchuma Pikkude 3, God does not determine beforehand whether a man shall be righteous or wicked, but puts this in the power of the man. See 2 En. xxx. 15.

8. not on account of the godliness, &c. Cf. Deut. ix. 4, 5, 6; Ezek. xxxvi. 22, 32. The nation is so evil and needs such frequent chastisement, that its selection by God must be due not to merit but to the Divine purpose. Yet the world was created on behalf of Israel, i. 12; and it is God's foreknowledge, not His purpose, that is dwelt on in xii. 4, 5, 13.

9. lights. Read *lumina* for text *omnia*.

foundations. Read *fundamenta* for text *firmamenta*.

and approved. I read *et probata* for *ut provata*.

signet ring. Read *annulo* for *nullo*. Cf. Jer. xxii. 24 ἀποσφράγισμα ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς δεξιᾶς μου, also Sirach xlix. 11.

10. God. Read *Dei* for *ei*, MS.

11. shall be without the blessings. Read *carebunt bona* (nom. plur.) for *carere bonam*. But Schmidt-Merx may be right, who retain the text and retranslate τοῖς γὰρ ἀμαρτάνουσιν . . . ἐστὶ ὑστέρειν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.

12. destroy. I read *extinguat* for *relinquat*.

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE BOOK.

THE Book of the Secrets of Enoch has, so far as is yet known, been preserved only in Slavonic. For the sake of convenience it will in this edition be designated shortly as '2 Enoch', in contradistinction to the older book of Enoch which is designated as '1 Enoch'.

This new fragment of the Enochic literature came to light through certain MSS. which were found in Russia and Servia. My attention was first drawn to this fact when editing the Ethiopic or 1 Enoch by an article by Kozak on Russian Pseudepigraphic Literature in the *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, pp. 127–158 (1892). As it was stated in this article that there was a Slavonic Version of the Book of Enoch hitherto known through the Ethiopic Version, I applied to the late Professor Morfill for help, who procured printed copies of two of the MSS. in question. When once I had before me Professor Morfill's English translations of these texts, it did not take much study to discover that Kozak's statement was devoid of foundation. The Book of the Secrets of Enoch was, as it soon transpired, a new pseudepigraph, and not in any sense a version of the older and well-known Book of Enoch. In some respects it is of no less value, as we shall see in the sequel.

2 Enoch in its present form was written somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era. Its final editor was an Hellenistic Jew, and the place of its composition was Egypt.

Written at such a date, and in Egypt, it was not to be expected that it should exercise a direct influence on the writers of the New Testament. On the other hand, it occasionally exhibits striking parallelisms in diction and thought, and some of the dark passages of the latter are all but inexplicable without its aid.

Although the very knowledge that such a book ever existed was lost for probably twelve hundred years, it nevertheless was much used both by Christian and heretic in the early centuries. Thus citations appear from it, though without acknowledgement, in the Books of Adam and Eve, the Apocalypses of Moses and Paul (A.D. 400–500), the Sibylline Oracles, the Ascension of Isaiah and the Epistle of Barnabas (A.D. 70–90). It is quoted by name in the later portions of the Testaments of Levi, Daniel, and Naphtali. It was referred to by Origen and probably by Clement of Alexandria, and used by Irenaeus, and a few phrases in the New Testament may be derived from it.

But it was not only on Christian literature that the influence of 2 Enoch is manifest. A Hebrew book entitled 'the Book of Enoch' (ספר חנוך) and twice 'the Book of the Secrets of Enoch' (ספר רזין דחנוך) in the Zohar exhibits very close affinities with 2 Enoch. R. Ishmael, a martyr of the Hadrianic persecution, is claimed to be its author, but its composition belongs most probably to a later date. It is, however, possible, that this Hebrew Book of Enoch has preserved in some cases the Hebrew original, from which apparently portions of 2 Enoch are derived. But the influence of 2 Enoch is not confined to this Hebrew Book of Enoch. Traces of it are found also in the apocalyptic fragment published by Jellinek, *Beth ha-Midrash* vi. 19–30, and also in the Zohar.¹

§ 2. THE TWO SLAVONIC VERSIONS.

The two versions of the Slavonic redaction of the book of Enoch from which the following translations have been made are:

1. The complete version, published by Mr. A. Popóv in the *Transactions of the Historical and Archaeological Society of the University of Moscow*, vol. iii. (Moscow, University Press, 1880). The MS. is a South Russian recension, dating from the second half of the seventeenth century and belongs to Mr. A. Khludov. It is in many places so corrupt that emendation in the absence of the Greek text is impossible. This version is marked by the letter A in Morfill's translation.²

¹ See *Jewish Encyc.* i. 677 sqq.

² There is a Bulgarian recension of the above version in a MS. in the public library of Belgrade according to Morfill (Gen. Editor).

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

2. The incomplete version, published by Novaković in the sixteenth volume of the literary magazine *Stávine* (Agram, 1884). The MS. is a Servian recension dating from the sixteenth century, and is in the Public Library at Belgrade. It is marked B in Morfill's translation. In order to spare biblical students the confusion inseparable from the omission of the division of the paragraphs into verses and from a disposition of the paragraphs themselves in any way different from that to which they are already used, I have adopted that arrangement of paragraphs and verses which both Morfill and Bonwetsch employed in their translations. It must be pointed out, however, that in the complete version (A) there are only sixty-three, while Morfill and Bonwetsch both divide the same quantity of text into sixty-eight paragraphs; that in the incomplete version (B) there is no division into paragraphs; that in neither A nor B is there any division of the paragraphs into verses,¹ and that in neither A nor B² are the titles of the paragraphs in brackets, as indicated in Morfill's translation. (N. FORBES.)

§ 3. THE LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF WRITING.

1. Part of this book—possibly the main part—was written for the first time in Greek. This is shown by such statements, (1) as xxx. 13, 'And I appointed him a name (i.e. Adam) from the four component parts: from East, from West, from South, from North.' Adam's name is here derived from the initial letters of the Greek names of the four quarters, i.e. ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία. This fancy was first elaborated in Greek, as this derivation is impossible in Semitic languages. (2) Again, the writer follows the chronology of the LXX. Enoch is 165 years old when he begat Methuselah. According to the Hebrew and Samaritan chronologies he was 65. Josephus also (*Ant.* i. 3. 3), it is true, adopts the LXX chronology. (3) In l. 4 the writer reproduces the LXX text of Deut. xxxii. 35 against the Hebrew. (4) The writer frequently uses Sirach, and often reproduces it almost word for word: cf. xliii. 2, 3—Sirach xxiii. 7; x. 20, 22, 24: also xlvii. 5—Sirach i. 2: also li. 1, 3—Sirach vii. 32; ii. 4: also lxi. 2—Sirach xxxix. 25: also lxxv. 2—Sirach xvii. 3, 5. (5) lxxv. 4 seems to be derived from the Book of Wisdom vii. 17, 18. So far as we can judge, it was the Greek Versions of Sirach and Wisdom that our author used.

Some sections of this book may have been written originally in Hebrew. (See § 4 *ad fin.*)

2. This book in its present form was written in Egypt, and probably in Alexandria. This is deducible from the following facts. (1) From the variety of speculations which it holds in common with Philo and writings which were Hellenistic in character or circulated largely in Egypt. Thus the existent was created from the non-existent, xxiv. 2; xxv. 1: cf. Philo, *de Iustit.* 7; souls were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5: cf. Philo, *de Somno*, i. 22; *de Gigantibus* 3; Wisdom viii. 19, 20. Again, man had seven natures or powers, xxx. 9: cf. Philo, *de Mundi Op.* 40. Man could originally see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2: cf. Philo, *Quaest. in Gen.* xxxii. There seems to be no resurrection of the body, l. 2; lxxv. 6: so the Book of Wisdom and Philo taught. Finally, swearing is reprobated by both, xlix. 1, 2: cf. Philo, *de Spec. Leg.* ii. 1. (2) The whole Messianic teaching of the Old Testament does not find a single echo in the work of this Hellenized Israelite of Egypt, although he shows familiarity with almost every book of the Old Testament. (3) The Phoenixes and Chalkydries, xii—monstrous serpents with the heads of *crocodiles*—are natural products of the Egyptian imagination. (4) The syncretistic character of the account of the creation, xxv–xxvi, undoubtedly betrays Egyptian elements.

§ 4. RELATION OF THE BOOK TO JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

In the *Book of Adam and Eve* of the fifth century we find two passages drawn from our book which are quotations in sense more than in words. Thus in I. vi we read: 'But the wicked Satan . . . set me at naught, and sought the Godhead, so that I hurled him down from heaven.' This is drawn from xxix. 4, 5: 'One from out the order of angels (i.e. Satan, cf. xxxi. 4) . . . conceived an impossible thought, to place his throne higher than the clouds above the earth, that he might become equal in rank to My power. And I threw him from the height.' Again in the *Book of Adam and Eve*, I. viii: 'When we dwelt in the garden . . . we saw his angels that sang praises in heaven.' This comes from xxxi. 2: 'I made the heavens open to him, that he should see the angels singing the song of victory.' See notes on xxxi. 2 for similar view in Philo and St. Ephrem.

¹ This division into verses was necessarily made by the General Editor when he edited this book in 1896.

² The bracketing of the titles in A was due not to the translator but to the editor, for they have no claim to being original. They are not given in Sokolov's text which was used by Professor Morfill, nor are they found in B. A few titles do appear in B, but with one exception these consist merely of 'Entry of Enoch into the first heaven, Entry of Enoch into the second heaven', &c. (Gen. Editor).

INTRODUCTION

Again in I. xiv of the former book the words: 'The garden, into the abode of light thou longest for, wherein is no darkness,' and I. xi: 'That garden in which was no darkness,' are probably derived from 2 En. xxxi. 2: '... the gloomless light' seen by Adam in Paradise.

Next in the *Apocalypse of Moses* (ed. Tischend. 1866) p. 19 we have a further development of a statement that appears in our text regarding the sun: see Apoc. Mos. xxxvi. 1-3 under 'The Books of Adam and Eve' in this volume.

In the anonymous writing *De montibus Sina et Sion* 4, we have most probably another trace of the influence of our text in this century. In this treatise the derivation of Adam's name from the initials of the four quarters of the earth is given at length. This derivation appears probably for the first time in literature in xxx. 13 (see note).

In the fourth century there are undoubted indications of its use in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (ed. Tischend. 1866). Thus the statement, p. 64, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ παράδεισος, ἐνθα . . . δένδρον παμμεγέθη (sic) ὥραϊον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπανεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον is beyond the possibility of question a Christian adaptation of 2 Enoch viii. 3: 'And in the midst of the trees that of life, in that place, whereon the Lord rests, when He goes up into Paradise.' Again the words, p. 64, ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης αὐτοῦ ἐξήρχετο . . . ὕδωρ, μεριζόμενον εἰς τέσσαρα ὀρύγματα, and p. 52, ποταμοὶ τέσσαρες . . . ῥέοντες μέλι καὶ γάλα καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ οἶνον, are almost verbal reproductions of our text, viii. 5: 'Two springs come out which send forth honey and milk, and their springs send forth oil and wine, and they separate into four parts.' With two characteristic features of hell in this Apocalypse, i.e. οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖ φῶς and ὁ πύρινος ποταμός (pp. 57, 58) we may compare x. 1 of our text: 'And there is no light there . . . and a fiery river coming forth.'

In the early part of the third and in the second century there is the following evidence of the existence of our text. Thus in the *Sibylline Oracles*, ii. 75 ὀρφανικοῖς χήραις τ' ἐπιδευομένοις τε παράσχον, and 88 σὴν χεῖρα πενητεύουσιν ὀρεξον are too closely parallel to li. 1, 'Stretch forth your hands to the orphan and to the widow (B),' 'Stretch out your hands to the poor (A),' to be accidental.

In Irenaeus *contra Haer.* v. 28. 3 we have the Jewish speculation in our text, xxxiii. 1, 2, reproduced to the effect that as the work of creation lasted six days so the world would last 6,000 years, and that there would be 1,000 years of rest corresponding to the first sabbath after creation. See text, xxxiii. 1, 2 (notes).

There is a direct reference in Origen's *de Princip.* i. 3. 2 'Nam et in eo libello . . . quem Hermas conscripsit, ita refertur: Primo omnium crede, quia unus est Deus, qui omnia creavit atque composuit: qui cum nihil esset prius, esse fecit omnia. . . . Sed et in Enoch libro his similia describuntur.' Now since there is no account of the creation in 1 Enoch, Origen is here referring to 2 Enoch xxiv-xxx.

The fragment of the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah* preserved in Clement, *Strom.* v. 11. 77 is likewise to be traced to our text: cf. xviii. 1 (note).

During the years A.D. 50-100 our text seems not to be without witness in the literature of that period. Thus in the *Ascension of Isaiah*, viii. 16 we read with regard to the angels of the sixth heaven: 'Omnium una species et gloria aequalis,' whereas the difference between the angelic orders in the lower heavens is repeatedly pointed out. Now in our text, xix. 1, it is said of the seven bands of angels present in the sixth heaven that 'there is no difference in their faces or behaviour or manner of dress.'

In 4 *Ezra* vii. 97 the words 'incipiet vultus eorum fulgere sicut sol' are found in i. 5 'Their faces were shining like the sun'.

With 2 *Baruch* iv. 3 'I showed it (i.e. Paradise) to Adam before he sinned', compare xxxi. 2.

In the *Epistle of Barnabas* xv. 4 τί λέγει τό Συντελέσειεν ἐν ἑξ ἡμέραις. τοῦτο λέγει ὅτι ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν συντελέσει Κύριος τὰ σύνπαντα. ἡ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ σημαίνει χιλία ἔτη, we have an exposition of the rather confused words in our text, xxxii. 2-xxxiii. In xv. 5-7, however, the writer of this Epistle does not develop logically the thought with regard to the seventh day; for the seventh day on which God rested from His works should in accordance with the same principle of interpretation as in xv. 4 have been taken as a symbol of a thousand years of rest, i.e. the millennium. In xv. 8, however, this writer shows his return to our text by his use of the peculiar phrase 'the eighth day': οὐ τὰ νῦν σάββατα [ἐμοὶ] δεκτά, ἀλλὰ ὁ πεποίηκα, ἐν ᾧ καταπαύσας τὰ πάντα ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας ὁγδόης ποιήσω, ὅ ἐστιν ἄλλον κόσμον ἀρχήν. It may not be amiss here to point out that in the next chapter, in verse 5, 1 Enoch (lxxxix. 56, 66) is quoted as Scripture. The fact, therefore, that Barnabas does not quote our text as Scripture may point to his discrimination between the two books of Enoch to the detriment of the latter. Again in this Epistle, xviii. 1, the words ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσὶν . . . ἥ τε τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ σκοτὸς seem to be derived from our text, xxx. 15, 'I . . . showed him the two ways, the light and the darkness.' Though the Two Ways are often described in early literature (see note on xxx. 15), only in Barnabas are they described in the same terms as in our text.

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

In the New Testament the similarity of thought and diction is sufficiently large to establish a close connexion if not a literary dependence. With St. Matt. v. 9, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' compare lii. 11, 'Blessed is he who implants peace.' With St. Matt. v. 34, 35, 37, 'Swear not at all: neither by the heaven . . . nor by the earth . . . nor by Jerusalem, . . . but let your speech be, Yea, yea: Nay, nay,' compare xlix. 1, 'I swear not by any oath, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any other creature which God created. . . . If there is no truth in men, let them swear by the words, "yea, yea," or "nay, nay." (See notes.)

With vii. 20, 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' compare xlii. 14, 'In their works are known those who lie evilly.' The words 'Be of good cheer, be not afraid,' St. Matt. xiv. 27, are of frequent occurrence in our text, i. 8; xx. 2; xxi. 3, &c. With St. Matt. xxv. 34, 'Inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world,' compare ix. 1, 'This place (i.e. Paradise) O Enoch, is prepared for the righteous . . . for eternal inheritance.' Next with John xiv. 2, 'In my Father's house are many mansions,' compare lxi. 2, 'In the great time (to come) . . . are many mansions prepared for men, good for the good, bad for the bad.' With Acts xiv. 15, 'Ye should turn from these vain things unto the living God, who made the heaven and the earth,' compare ii. 2, 'Bow not down to vain gods . . . who made neither heaven nor earth.' In the Pauline Epistles there are several parallels in thought and diction. With Col. i. 16, 'Dominions or principalities or powers,' compare xx. 1, 'Dominions, orders, and governments': with Eph. iv. 25, 'Speak ye truth each one with his neighbour,' compare xlii. 12, 'Blessed is he in whom is truth that he may speak truth to his neighbour.' For other Pauline parallels with our text see my edition, pp. xxxix-xli. With Heb. xi. 3, 'The worlds have been framed by the word of God, so that what is seen hath not been made out of things which do appear,' compare xxv. 1, 'I commanded . . . that visible things should come down from invisible,' and xxiv. 2, 'I tell to thee . . . all that I created from non-being, and visible things from invisible.' With Rev. i. 16, 'His countenance was as the sun shineth,' compare i. 4, 'Their faces were shining like the sun': with ix. 1, 'There was given to him the key of the pit of the abyss,' compare xlii. 1, 'The key-holders and guards of the gates of hell.' With Rev. iv. 6, 'A glassy sea,' compare iii. 3, 'A very great Sea greater than the earthly sea.' This sea in the first heaven, however, may be merely 'the waters which were above the firmament' (Gen. i. 7). With Rev. x. 5, 6, 'And the angel . . . sware . . . that there shall be time no longer,' compare lxv. 7, 'Then all time shall perish, and the years,' &c.: xxxiii. 2, 'That . . . there should be . . . a time of not-counting, endless, with neither years, nor months,' &c.

Finally, in the T. Lev. iii. 2 we have avenging powers in the third heaven: ἐν αὐτῷ εἰσὶ πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τῶν ἐπαγωγῶν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν τῶν ἀνόμων, . . . οἱ ταχθέντες εἰς ἡμέραν κρίσεως, ποιῆσαι ἐκδίκησιν . . . τοῖς πνεύμασι τῆς πλάνης. With these compare the angels of punishment in the third heaven in x. 3. With the statement from Enoch in T. Dan v. 5, 6 τῶν πνευμάτων τῆς πονηρίας. 'Ανέγνων γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου, ὅτι ὁ ἄρχων ὑμῶν ὁ Σατανᾶς ἐστίν we might compare xviii. 3, 'These are the Grigori (i.e. Ἐγγρηγοροί) who with their prince Satanail rejected the Lord of light.' In the T. Naph. iv. 1-2 the authority of Enoch is claimed by the writer as follows: Ἀνέγνων ἐν γραφῇ Ἐνὼχ, ὅτι καί γε ὑμεῖς ἀποστήσεσθε ἀπὸ κυρίου, πορευόμενοι κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνομίαν ἐθνῶν, καὶ ποιήσετε πᾶσαν πονηρίαν Σοδόμων. 2. καὶ ἐπάξει κύριος ὑμῖν αἰχμαλωσίαν . . . ἕως ἀναλώσει κύριος πάντας ὑμᾶς. This may be a loose adaptation to later times of 2 Enoch xxxiv. 2, 3. The quotation in T. Sim. v. 4 is probably derived from the same source, and also that in T. Benj. 9 ὑπονοῶ δὲ καὶ πράξεις οὐ καλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι, ἀπὸ λόγων Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου πορνεύσετε γὰρ πορνείαν Σοδόμων, καὶ ἀπωλεῖσθε ἕως βραχύ (so β S¹, and practically c). The words in T. Jud. xviii. 1-2 ἀνέγνων ἐν βίβλοις Ἐνὼχ τοῦ δικαίου (so β A S¹, but not a), ὅσα κακὰ ποιήσετε ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις. φυλάξασθε οὖν, τέκνα μου, ἀπὸ τῆς πορνείας may likewise be founded upon it. The loose and inaccurate character of the quotations may in part be accounted for as follows.

Although it is a matter of demonstration that a considerable part of the book was written originally in Greek, it seems no less sure that certain portions of it were founded on Hebrew originals. Such an hypothesis seems necessary owing to the above Enochic quotations which appear in the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs*. For the fact that the latter work was written in Hebrew obliges us to conclude that its author or authors drew upon Hebrew originals in the quotations from Enoch. I have not attempted in the present work to discriminate the portions derived from Hebrew originals. For such a task we have not sufficient materials, and what we have, moreover, have not been preserved with sufficient accuracy.

But there is further evidence in this direction. Many of the most notable statements regarding Enoch in 2 Enoch are to be found in later Hebrew writings. Now it is hardly conceivable that these traditions were borrowed from a Greek source. We must assume that their source is native to Judaism, and that 2 Enoch is an outstanding and comparatively early representation of this tradition. This tradition appears in various forms in the 'Book of Enoch' (ספר חנוך), sometimes called the

INTRODUCTION

‘Sepher Hekalot’ (i.e. the ‘Book of the Halls’), the ‘Life of Enoch’ (חיי חנוך), and the Hekalot Rabbati. We shall deal here only with the first and point out a few of the many points in which this work draws on 2 Enoch or rather upon the Hebrew source behind 2 Enoch.

In this work R. Ishmael (of the time of Hadrian) ascends through the six heavens and is received by the Metatron, i.e. Enoch, at the entrance to the seventh. Enoch tells him how he was translated (iii–v, vii–xvi) in a fiery chariot to heaven in order there to bear witness against his wicked contemporaries: how God transfigured him and made him like one of the archangels (cf. 2 Enoch xxii. 6^b–10): how he had been instructed in the mysteries of creation, in things past and to come (cf. 2 Enoch xxiv–xxxiii. 2): how God abode under the tree of life, when Adam was driven forth from Paradise (cf. 2 Enoch viii. 3): how Adam and his contemporaries saw the heavenly glory till the fall of the angels (cf. 2 Enoch xxxii. 2). In xviii–xxii the seven heavens are described, the courses of the sun, moon, and stars. Even the three heavens mentioned in 2 Enoch xxi. 6–xxii. 1—only in the A recension as the eighth, ninth, and tenth, i.e. Muzaloth, Kuchavim, Aravoth—are reproduced here, but with a difference: Muzaloth and Kuchavim are placed below the seven heavens and Aravoth above them. This Jewish work was published by Jellinek, *B. H.* 1873, v. 170–190; and under the title ספר הכולות at Lemberg in 1864 and Warsaw in 1876.¹

Again we find a large amount of material has been borrowed from 2 Enoch by the גדלות משה which is printed in Jellinek’s *B.H.M.*, 9 sqq. This work tells of Moses’ ascent to heaven, after Metatron has transformed his body into a fiery figure like to that of the angels. In the first heaven Moses sees waters, and also windows by which are let in and out all the things pertaining to human life and its needs. In the second heaven he sees the angels who control the clouds, the winds, and the rain; in the third, the angels placed over vegetation; in the fourth, those over the earth, sun, moon, stars, planets, and spheres. The seventh heaven, we observe, is called ‘Arabot’. Moses is also privileged to view hell and Paradise. The angel Gabriel conducts him to hell. ‘There he sees the manifold torments and punishments of the different classes of sinners, those who were envious of their fellow men and bore false witness against them; women who exposed their charms to young men; sinners who committed adultery, theft, and murder; those who perjured themselves; those who desecrated the Sabbath, despised the learned, and persecuted orphans; those who committed sodomy and idolatry, or cursed their parents; those who took bribes, put their fellow men to shame, delivered up their brother-Israelite to the Gentile, and denied the oral law; those that ate all kinds of forbidden food; usurers; apostates, and blasphemers; those who wrote the ineffable name of God, and those who ate on Yom Kippur.’ In Paradise among other things Moses sees the guardian angel of Paradise sitting under the tree of life; also ‘the fountain of life welling forth from beneath the tree of life and dividing itself into four streams, and four rivers flowing under each throne, the first of honey, the second of milk, the third of wine, and the fourth of pure balsam.’¹

§ 5. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP.

The question of the date has to a large extent been determined already. The passages presupposed by the *Testaments of the XII Patriarchs* must be of a pre-Christian date. These passages may belong to an older form of the Enoch tradition than 2 Enoch. 2 Enoch in its present form was written probably between 30 P.C. and A.D. 70. It was written after 30 B.C., for it makes use of Sirach, 1 Enoch, and the Book of Wisdom (see my edition pp. xxv. sq.), and before A.D. 70; for the temple is still standing. We may, therefore, reasonably assign its composition to the period A.D. 1–50.

The author was a Jew who lived in Egypt, probably in Alexandria. He belonged to the orthodox Hellenistic Judaism of his day. Thus he believed in the value of sacrifices, xlii. 6; lix. 1, 2; lxvi. 2; but he is careful to enforce enlightened views regarding them, xlv. 3, 4; lxi. 4, 5; in the law, lii. 8, 9; and likewise in a blessed immortality, l. 2; lxv. 6, 8–10; in which the righteous shall wear ‘the raiment of God’s glory’, xxii. 8. In questions affecting the origin of the earth, sin, death, &c., he allows himself the most unrestricted freedom and borrows freely from every quarter. Thus, Platonic (xxx. 16, note), Egyptian (xxv. 2 note), and Zend (lviii. 4–6 notes), elements are adopted into his system. The result is naturally syncretistic.

§ 6. SOME OF THE AUTHOR’S VIEWS ON CREATION, ANTHROPOLOGY, AND ETHICS.

God in the beginning created the world out of nothing, xxiv. 2.² (For a detailed account of each day’s creations see xxv–xxx.) In this creation He made seven heavens, xxx. 2, 3, and all the

¹ See *Jewish Encyc.* i. 676–7, whence this account is derived.

² Or else formed it out of pre-existing elements, xxv. 1, where we have an adaptation of the egg theory of the universe.

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

angelic hosts—the latter were created on the first day—and all animal and plant life, and finally man on the sixth day. After His work on the six days God rested on the seventh. This six days of work followed by a seventh of rest is at once a history of the past and a forecasting of the future. As the world was made in six days, so its history would be accomplished in 6,000 years, and as the six days of creation were followed by one of rest, so the 6,000 years of the world's history would be followed by a rest of 1,000 years. On its close would begin the eighth eternal day of blessedness when time should be no more, xxxii. 2—xxxiii. 2.

As regards man, all the souls of men were created before the foundation of the world, xxiii. 5, and also a future place of abode in heaven or hell for every individual soul, xlix. 2; lviii. 5; lxi. 2. The age was resolved for man's sake, lxv. 3 (B). When Wisdom made man of seven substances, xxx. 8, at God's command, God gave him the name Adam from the four quarters of the earth—ἀνατολή, δύσις, ἄρκτος, μεσημβρία—xxx. 13. Man's soul was created originally good, and while in the Garden he could see the angels in heaven, xxxi. 2. Free-will was bestowed upon him, and the knowledge of good and evil. He was likewise instructed in the Two Ways of light and darkness, and then left to mould his own destiny, xxx. 15. But the incorporation of the soul in the body with its necessary limitations biased its preferences in the direction of evil, and death came in as the fruit of sin, xxx. 16. Men and angels will be judged and punished for every form of sin¹, xl. 12, 13; xlv. 3; lxv. 6; but the righteous will escape the last judgement, lxv. 8; lxvi. 7; and will be gathered in eternal life, lxv. 8, and will be seven times brighter than the sun, lxvi. 7, and they will have no labour, nor sickness, nor sorrow, nor anxiety, nor need, and an incorruptible paradise shall be their protection and their eternal habitation, lxv. 9, 10. As for sinners, hell is prepared for them as an eternal inheritance, x. 4, 6. And there is no intercession of departed saints for the living, liii. 1.

In an ethical regard there are many noble sentiments to be found in our author, but generally in a very unliterary form. The Slavonic Version is, no doubt, partially to be blamed here. I will append here an outline of a man's ethical duties with sundry beatitudes according to our author. Every man should work; for blessed is he who beholds the labour of his own hands, but cursed is he who looks to undo the labours of another, lii. 7, 8. And men, likewise, should be impartially just; for blessed is he who executes a just judgement, xlii. 7. And men should also practise charity and beneficence. They should not hide their silver in the earth, but assist the faithful man in his affliction, li. 2, and stretch out their hands to the orphan, the widow and the stranger, li. 1, and give bread to the hungry, and clothe the naked, and raise the fallen, and walk without blame before the face of the Lord, ix. Furthermore, men should not swear either by heaven or earth or by any other creature which God made, but by a word, yea, yea, or nay, nay, xlix. 1; neither should they avenge themselves, l. 4, nor abuse and calumniate their neighbour, lii. 2; but endure every affliction and every evil word and attack for the sake of the Lord, l. 3; li. 3. Moreover, they should shun pride: for God hates the proud, lxiii. 4; and walk in long-suffering, in humility, in faith and truth, in sickness, in abuse, in temptation, in nakedness, in privation, loving one another till they depart from this age of ills, lxvi. 6. Finally, whereas one man is more honourable than another, either on the ground of cunning or of strength, of purity or wisdom, of comeliness or understanding, let it be heard everywhere that none is better than he who fears God, xliii. 2, 3.

§ 7. ON THE VALUE OF THE BOOK IN ELUCIDATING CONTEMPORARY AND LATER RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

See my edition, pp. xxix–xlvii.

§ 8. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- Charles and Morfill. *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, translated from the Slavonic by W. R. Morfill, M.A. and edited with Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1896.
Bonwetsch. *Das slawische Henochbuch* (Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellsch. der Wissensch., philol.-hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, Bd. i, No. 3). Berlin, 1896.
Harnack. *Gesch. der altchristl. Literatur*, II, i. 564 sq.
Charles. *Hastings, B. D.* i. 708–11.
Encyc. Bib. i. 225–8.
*Encyc. Britt.*¹¹
Littmann. *Jewish Encyc.* v. 181–2.

¹ Observe that men will be specially punished for ill-treatment of animals, lviii. 4–6.

THE BOOK OF THE SECRETS OF ENOCH

A

Of Enoch's life and dream.

THERE was a wise man, a great artificer, and the Lord conceived love for him and received him, that he should behold the uppermost dwellings and be an eye-witness of the wise and great and inconceivable and immutable realm of God Almighty, of the very wonderful and glorious and bright and many-eyed station of the Lord's servants, and of the inaccessible throne of the Lord, and of the degrees and manifestations of the incorporeal hosts, and of the ineffable ministration of the multitude of the elements, and of the various apparition and inexpressible singing of the host of Cherubim, and of the boundless light.

A

1¹ At that time, he said, when my 165th year was completed, I begat my son Mathusal. After this too I lived two hundred years and completed of all the years of my life three hundred and sixty-
2 five years. On the first day of the first month I was in my house alone and was resting on my
3 couch and slept. And when I was asleep, great distress came up into my heart, and I was weeping with my eyes in sleep, and I could not understand what this distress was, or what would
4 happen to me. And there appeared to me two men, exceeding big, so that I never saw such on
5 earth; their faces were shining like the sun, their eyes too *were* like a burning light, and from their lips was fire coming forth †with clothing and singing of various kinds† in appearance purple, their wings *were* brighter than gold, their hands whiter than snow. They were standing at the head of my couch and began to call me by my
6 name. And I arose from my sleep and saw clearly those two men standing in front of me.
7 And I saluted them and was seized with fear and the appearance of my face was changed from
8 terror, and those men said to me: 'Have courage, Enoch, do not fear; the eternal God sent us to

B

Now behold the books of the secret of God, the revelations of Enoch.

At that time when three hundred and sixty-¹ 1 five years were fulfilled to me, on a certain day ² of the second month I was alone in my house.

I was in great trouble, weeping with my eyes, ³ and was resting, asleep on my couch, and there ⁴ appeared to me two very big men, such as I have never seen on earth—their faces shone like the ⁵ sun, their eyes *were* like burning candles, out of their mouths was fire coming forth, their clothes *and* singing were various, and their arms like golden wings—at the head of my couch, and called upon me by my name.

And I having awoken from my sleep and stood ⁶ up †at my couch† bowed down to them and ⁷ covered my face from terror.

And the two men spoke to me: 'Have courage, ⁸ Enoch, do not fear, the Eternal Lord hath sent

1. 2, 3. Cf. 1 En. lxxxiii. 3, 5.
5. **faces . . . sun.** Cf. xix. 1; Rev. i. 16; 4 Ezra vii. 97.
eyes, &c. Dan. x. 6: cf. Ezek. i. 13; Rev. i. 14; xix. 12.
fire coming forth. Cf. Rev. ix. 17; xi. 5. The next clause is corrupt.
of various kinds (A). The text has *razdayaniya* = 'of distribution'. Emend to *raz(d)niya* = 'of different kinds'.
various (B), i.e. differing from one another.
their wings > B.
whiter than snow. Cf. 1 En. cvi. 2, 10; Apoc. Petri.
7. **appearance . . . changed.** Dan. v. 6, 9, 10.
8. **Have courage.** Cf. Matt. xiv. 27. The LXX renders thus the Hebrew 'fear not'.
do not fear. Cf. 2 Kings i. 15; Ezek. ii. 6; 1 En. xv. 1.

PIRKĒ ABOTH 6. 1-3

- beloved, one that loves God and loves mankind, makes glad both God and mankind. And it clothes him with humbleness and fear, and purifies him to become righteous, pious, upright and faithful; keeps him far from sin and brings him to virtue. *Men* enjoy from him counsel and sound knowledge, discernment and might; as it is said: 'Counsel is mine and sound knowledge; I am discernment; I have might.' And it gives him sovereignty and dominion and searching out of justice; and they disclose for him secrets of Torah. And he is made like a spring which ceases not, and like a stream that goes on getting stronger. And he is modest and longsuffering and forgiving of insult. And it makes him great and lifts him above all the things that are done. Prov. viii. 14
- 2 R. Joshua b. Levi has said: Every day a Bath-Qol goes forth from Mount Horeb and proclaims and says 'Woe to mankind because of *their* insulting of the Torah'; for every one that is not occupied with the Torah is called reprobate; as it is said: 'As a jewel of gold in the snout of a swine, so is a fair woman without sense.' And *Scripture* says: 'And the tables were the work of God, and the writing writing of God, graven on the tables.' Read not 'ḥaruth' (*graven*) but 'heruth' (*freedom*); for none is your freeman, but he who is occupied with the study of Torah. Exod. xxxii. 16
- And every one who is occupied in the study of Torah, lo, he exalts himself, as it is said: 'And from Mattanah to Nahaliel, and from Nahaliel to Bamoth.' Num. xxi. 19
- 3 He who learns from his associate one chapter, one rule, one verse, one saying, even one letter, must show honour to him; for thus we find in the case of David, king of Israel, that he learned

loves God . . . mankind. Observe the unlimited range of the love inspired by the religion of Torah. makes glad. Cp. Zeph. iii. 17, but with a finer meaning here. it clothes him. 'It' is Torah, personified. Cp. 1 Pet. v. 5 for humility as a virtue put on, given from above. purifies, makes him כָּשֶׁר, *kāshēr*, in a fit condition to perform his religious duties. The same word, pronounced 'kosher', is used in Jewish shops to denote food ritually fit for use. from him, i.e. from the man who is occupied with Torah. The proof-text, Prov. viii. 14, makes Wisdom say 'Counsel is mine', &c. Torah is identified with wisdom; therefore the man who has Torah is enabled to give what is inherent in wisdom. it gives, i.e. Torah gives. sovereignty, מְלָכוּת, moral not political supremacy. searching . . . justice. Solomon, the wise king, was able to find out what true justice required, 1 Kings iii. 16-28. they disclose. 'They' are the *familia caelestis*, the angels. stream, &c. For the phrase cp. ii. 10; the simile used there is expanded here. And . . . is. Strack reads הִנֵּה (participle) for the common reading הִנֵּה, imperative, which, as he says, makes no sense. But הִנֵּה is very unusual, and it would be simpler to read הִנֵּה 'he (is)'. The structure of the whole passage is very clumsy, with its frequent changes of subject; it may be a cento of phrases from different sources. things . . . done, meaning that he is not the slave of circumstance but spiritually free. 2. R. Joshua b. Levi: date, middle of third century, A.D., a famous haggadist (see note below) and mystic. The Mishnah was closed before his time, and with it the series of Rabbis known as Tannaim. Their successors, who commented on the Mishnah, and whose teaching forms the Gemara, were called Amoraim; R. Joshua was an Amora, and his mention here is one of the indications that this chapter did not form part of the original book. Bath-Qol. Lit. 'daughter of a voice'. The term denotes a sound interpreted as a voice from heaven, delivering some special message to men. It was said to have been a 'Bath-Qol' which decided on the rivalry between the schools of Hillel and Shammai. See on v. 20 above. In John xii. 28, 29, what is referred to is evidently meant for a 'Bath-Qol'. The Rabbis held that since the extinction of prophecy, the 'Bath-Qol' took the place of the 'word of the Lord' which came to the prophet, but was an inferior mode of inspiration. Horeb. Not that R. J. believed that God dwelt on Horeb, but merely as a scriptural phrase for the seat of divine authority. reprobate, נִזְוֶה, one who is reproved by God. The word does not occur in the O. T. The proof-text, which seems to be wholly irrelevant, is applied after the methods of haggadah (non-literal interpretation of Scripture for edification). The text says נִזְוֶה בְּאֵף חֲזוּר. R. J. takes נִזְוֶה and associates it with נִזְוֶה אֵף, by mere similarity of letters, and then argues, in effect, that as 'a fair woman without sense' is נִזְוֶה, so a man without Torah is נִזְוֶה. This is haggadah; and the haggadist did not imply that the words of Scripture really gave that meaning, but that the lesson he wished to teach could be linked on to Scripture in that way. Read not 'ḥaruth' but 'heruth'. This also is haggadah. For the sake of edification, the text of Scripture might be read otherwise than as written; but this implied no actual criticism of the text, nor any question of 'various readings'. R. J. reads 'heruth' 'freedom', for the sake of making his point about the freeman; but he was quite aware that 'heruth' would make no sense in the original text, Exod. xxxii. 16. exalts himself. In the previous verse it is Torah which exalts. The proof-text, Num. xxi. 19, is again applied in the manner of haggadah. The place-names are taken according to their literal meaning, Mattanah = gift; Nahaliel, God leads; Bamoth = heights. Thus Torah was *given*; *God leads* the man who studies it to the *heights*, i.e. exalts him. This exposition is given in the Talmud (Erub. 54^a) but not in the name of R. J., although he is quoted on the same page. 3. This saying is anonymous. learns, i.e. learns Torah. rule, *halachah*. See on ii. 1 above. show honour, as to a teacher of Torah, cp. iv. 15 above. David . . . Ahithophel. The reference is to a story, not found in the O. T., intended to explain how David came to compose the fifteen 'Psalms of degrees'. The story, too long to quote, occurs in Succ. 53^b, Macc. 11^a, and the authority for it is said to be R. Johanan (A.D. 199-279). The present passage is thus later than the Gemara.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

Arm.₁₀ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 1995) in A. D. 1605.
Arm.₁₁ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 1986) in A. D. 1623.
Arm.₁₂ at Edjmiatzin (Cod. 51) in A. D. 1642.

As we have said, this version is early, its text inspires confidence. For example, the saying ‘Son, rejoice not thou in the number of thy children, and in their deficiency be not thou distressed’ is found only in the Armenian and in the newly-found papyrus.

The translation of the Armenian version is made from Mr. Conybeare’s Armenian text which is published in *The Story of Ahikar*, Cambridge, 1898, and is based on the above MSS.

f. The Greek Version (Aes.).

All that we at present know of the Greek version is contained in the Greek lives of Aesop, which are modelled upon the story of Ahikar, and which may conveniently be studied in Eberhard’s *Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae*, in which the part that corresponds to Ahikar runs from p. 285 to p. 297.

g. The Slavonic Version (Sl.).

This version is made from the lost Greek, and is translated by Jagić in *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, pp. 107–126. We have not thought it worth while to give a translation of this version.

It is probable that other versions will come to light before long: in particular we consider it very unlikely that there should be no traces of the story in Latin.

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL EDITIONS, VERSIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS
OF THE TEXT OF AHIKAR.

1. The original text will be found in Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine* (Berlin, 1911), and in Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1911).
2. The Armenian, Syriac, and Arabic versions in *The Story of Ahikar*, edited by Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis (Cambridge, 1898).
3. The Slavonic version translated into German by Jagić, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, i, pp. 107–26 (1892). This translation is repeated in English in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.
4. The Ethiopic fragment was published by Cornill in the *Book of the Wise Philosophers*, and Cornill’s translation is repeated in English in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.
5. The Arabic version was published by Salhani in *Contes Arabes* (Beyrout) and in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.
6. The Arabic version was translated in not a few editions of the *Arabian Nights*, beginning with Chavis et Cazotte (Cabinet des Fées), t. xxxix.
7. A neo-Syriac version, accompanied by an Arabic text, was published by Lidzbarski in 1894 (*Die neuaramäischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibl. zu Berlin*), Weimar. A German translation accompanies this work.
8. English translations of the chief texts are found in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*; and the Syriac version was translated by E. J. Dillon in the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1898.
9. A French translation of the Syriac versions is given by M. Nau, *Histoire et Sagesse d’Ahikar* (Paris, 1909).
10. The Greek version, so far as it is involved in the text of Aesop, may be consulted in Eberhard, *Fabulae Romanenses Graece conscriptae*; the principal parts of the parallel story being reproduced in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*.
11. The Armenian version has often been printed. The first attempt at a critical edition is found in the Cambridge edition *ut supra*, accompanied by a translation; the earlier editions have been chronicled for the following dates: 1708, 1731, 1807, 1834, 1850, 1861 (see Nau, p. 15). The book appears to have been very popular in the Armenian community.

COMPARATIVE ARRANGEMENT OF THE SAYINGS OF AHIKAR IN DIFFERENT VERSIONS.

I. Proverbs of Ahikar.

The numbers below refer to the verses in Chapter II.

Syriac.	Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.		Syriac.	Arabic.	Eth.	Arm.
A	B				A	B		
1	1	1	1	Cf. Arm. c. ii at end.		11 a		45 a
					8	9	11 b	45 b
2	2	2	1 b			11 c		
3	3	3, 5	1 c		9	10	12	4
4	4	6	1 b		10		13	7
5	7	9	2	Cf. Syr. A 19, 72.	11	11		5
					12	12	14	6
6			39		13	13	16	9
7	10		3		14	14	17	10 a

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

SYRIAC VERSION A.
from MS. Syr.₂

1 ¹ AGAIN, by the divine power, I write the proverbs, to wit, the story of Aḥikar, sage and secretary of Sennacherib the king of Assyria and Nineveh.

In the twentieth year of Sennacherib, son of Sarḥadum, king of Assyria and Nineveh, I, Aḥikar, was the king's secretary.

² And it had been said to me when I was a boy, that no son will be born to thee¹: and the wealth that I had acquired was too vast to tell. Sixty wives had I wedded: and sixty castles did I build them: and I had no son.

³ Thereupon I, Aḥikar, built me a great altar, all of wood; and kindled fire upon it, and laid good meat thereon, and thus I spake:

⁴ 'O Lord, my God; when I shall die and leave no son, what will men say of me? they will say that this, then, is Aḥikar the just and good and God-serving: he is dead, and has left no son to bury him, no! nor a daughter: and his possessions, as if he were accursed, no man inherits.
⁵ But I ask of Thee, O God, that I may have a male child; so that when I shall die, he may cast dust on my eyes.'

⁶ and this voice was heard by me, 'O Aḥikar, wise scribe, all that thou hast asked of me I have given thee; but as to my having left thee childless, let it suffice thee: perplex not thyself: but behold! Nadan thy sister's son: he shall be a son unto thee: so that with the growth of his stature thou shalt be able to teach him everything.'

¹ Presumably, this was said by the astrologers.

SYRIAC VERSION B.
from MS. Syr.₃

... And it was said to me, '[There will be no **1** ² son to thee].' And I had much wealth; I wedded me sixty wives, and built me sixty castles: and from none of these women had I a son.

Then I ³ built me a great altar of incense and vowed a vow, and said,

'O Lord God, give me a male ⁵ child, that when I shall die he may cast dust on my eyes.'

Thereupon there was heard by me ⁶ this voice, saying, 'O Aḥikar, vex not thyself overmuch; there is no son for thee; but behold Nadan thy sister's son; make him thy son; so that as he grows up, thou mayst be able to ⁸, ¹⁵ teach him everything.' Then when I heard this, I took Nadan my sister's son, and he became my son.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 1. 1-6

ARABIC VERSION

1 **1** IN the name of God the Creator, the Living One, the Source of Reason, we hereby begin with the help of the Most High God¹ and His best guidance, to write the story of Haiqâr the Wise, Vizier of Sennacherib the King, and of Nadan, sister's son to Haiqâr the Sage.

There was a Vizier in the days of King Sennacherib, son of Sarhadum, King of Assyria and Nineveh, a wise man named Haiqâr, and he was **2** Vizier of the king Sennacherib. He had a fine fortune and much goods, and he was skilful, wise, a philosopher, [in] knowledge, [in] opinion and [in] government, and he had married sixty women, and had built a castle for each of them. But with it all he had no child by any of these women, **3** who might be his heir. And he was very sad on account of this, and one day he assembled the astrologers and the learned men and the wizards and explained to them his condition and the matter of his barrenness. And they said to him, 'Go, sacrifice to the gods and beseech them that perchance they may provide thee with a boy.' **4** And he did as they told him and offered sacrifices to the idols, and besought them and implored them with request and entreaty. And they answered him not one word. And he went away sorrowful and dejected, departing with a pain at his heart. And he returned, and implored the **5** Most High God, and believed, beseeching Him with a burning in his heart, saying, 'O Most High God, O Creator of the Heavens and of the earth, O Creator of all created things! I beseech Thee to give me a boy, that I may be consoled by him, that he may be present at my death, that he may close my eyes, and that he may bury me.'

Then **6** there came to him a voice saying, 'Inasmuch as thou hast relied first of all on graven images, and hast offered sacrifices to them, for this reason thou shalt remain childless thy life long. But take Nadan thy sister's son, and make him thy child and teach him thy learning and thy good breeding, and at thy death he shall bury thee.'

¹ Literally 'God, may He be exalted!' *passim*.

ARMENIAN VERSION

THE maxims and wisdom of Khikar, which **1** **1** the children of men learn.

In the times and in the reign of Seneqerim King of Nineveh and of Asorestan, I, Khikar Notary of Seneqerim the King, took ¹ sixty wives and builded me sixty palaces. And I, Khikar, was sixty years of age, ² and I had not a son.

Then I went in to the **3** gods with many offerings; I lit a fire before the gods and cast incense ² upon it, and presented my offerings and sacrificed victims, kneeled down and prayed, and thus spake in my prayer.

O my lords and gods, Belshim and Shimil and **4** Shamin, ordain and give to me male seed. For lo, Khikar dieth alive. And what say men? That Khikar though alive and wise and clever is dead, and there is no son of his to bury him, nor daughter to bewail him. I have no heir after my death. Not even if a son should spend ten talents in the last day, would he exhaust my riches. But (I ask merely) that he may cast ⁵ dust with his hands upon me, in order that I may not remain unremembered.

Then there was a voice from the gods and **6** they said:

Khikar, there is not ordained seed for thee. But thou shalt take Nathan³, thy sister's son, and bring him up as thy son, and he shall pay thee back thy cost of rearing him ⁴.

¹ Can. thus: 'acquired me slaves and handmaids and many possessions. I builded,' &c.

² Add 'of sweet odour' 58 and Edjm.

³ So the better Arm. MSS. The inferior read 'Nadan'.

⁴ So Canon. Others have 'pay thee back thy name'. See note on Arm. text.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 1. 7-15

ARABIC

7 Thereupon he took Nadan his sister's son, who was a little suckling. And he handed him over to eight wet-nurses, that they might suckle him and bring him up. And they brought him up with good food and gentle training and silken clothing, and purple and crimson. And he was seated upon couches of silk. And when Nadan grew big and walked, shooting up like a tall cedar, he taught him good manners and writing and science and philosophy.

10 And after many days King Sennacherib looked at Haiqâr and saw that he had grown very old, and moreover he said to him, 'O my honoured friend, the skilful, the trusty, the wise, the governor, my secretary, my vizier, my Chancellor¹ and director; verily thou art grown very old and weighted with years; and thy departure from this world must be near. Tell me who shall have a place in my service after thee.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord, may thy head live for ever! There is Nadan my sister's son, I have made him my child. And I have brought him up and taught him my wisdom and my knowledge.' And the king said to him, 'O Haiqâr! bring him to my presence, that I may see him, and if I find him suitable, put him in thy place; and thou shalt go thy way, to take a rest and to live the remainder of thy life in sweet repose.' Then Haiqâr went and presented Nadan his sister's son. And he did homage and wished him power and honour. And he looked at him and admired him and rejoiced in him and said to Haiqâr: 'Is this thy son, O Haiqâr? I pray that God may preserve him. And as thou hast served me and my father Sarhadum so may this boy of thine serve me and fulfil my undertakings, my needs, and my business, so that I may honour him and make him powerful for thy sake.' And Haiqâr did obeisance to the king and said to him, 'May thy head live, O my lord the king, for ever! I seek from thee that thou mayst be patient with my boy Nadan and forgive his mistakes that he may serve thee as it is fitting.' Then the king swore to him that he would make him the greatest of his favourites, and the most powerful of his friends, and that he should be with him in all honour and respect. And he kissed his hands and bade him farewell. And he took Nadan his sister's son with him and seated him in a parlour and set about teaching him night and day till he had crammed him with wisdom and knowledge more than with bread and water.

¹ Literally 'the sealer of my secrets', *passim*.

ARMENIAN

And when I heard this from the gods, I took 7 Nathan my sister's son; one year old was he, and I clad him in byssus and purple; and a gold collar did I bind around his neck; and like a king's son I decked him out with ornaments. And I gave him to drink milk and honey, and 8 laid him to sleep on my eagles and doves, until he was seven years of age. Then I began to 9 teach him writing and wisdom and the art of knowledge and the answering of dispatches, and the returns of contradictory speeches. And by day and by night I ceased not to instruct him; and I sated him with my teaching, as it were with bread and water.

Then saith the king unto me: Khikar, my 10 Notary and wise one, I know that thou art grown old; and after thy death, who is there to discharge ably and wisely the affairs of our kingdom? And I am very grieved at this thought.

And I said to him: O King, live for 11 ever. There is my son, who is superior to me and is more clever.

And the king says: Bring 12 him unto me, that I may behold him. And when I had brought him and stood him before the king, he beheld him and said: In his days may Khikar be blessed, because in his lifetime he hath led and stood before me his son, and may he himself be at rest.

I bowed my head to my lord, and taking 13 Nathan I led him into my dwelling and thus spake in my teaching¹.

¹ Canon adds: 'give ear to my conversation and precept. Write it on thy seal, and forget it not; that the years of thy life may be plentiful, and that in glory and wealth thou mayst reach old age.' No other Arm. source

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 1-8

The Proverbs of Ahikar

SYR. A

- 2** ¹ 'Hear, O my son Nadan, and come to the understanding of me, and be mindful of my words, as the words of God ¹:
- 2** My son Nadan, if thou hast heard a word, let it die in thy heart, and reveal it to no man; lest it become a hot coal in thy mouth and burn thee, and thou lay a blemish on thy soul, and be angered against God.
- 3** My son, do not tell all that thou hearest, and do not disclose all that thou seest.
- 4** My son, do not loose a knot that is sealed, and do not seal one that is loosed.
- 5** My son, lift not up thy eyes and look upon a woman that is bedizened and painted; and do not lust after her in thy heart; for if thou shouldst give her all that is in thy hands, thou findest no advantage in her; and thou wilt be guilty of sin against God.
- 6** My son, commit not adultery with the wife of thy neighbour; lest others should commit adultery with thy wife.
- 7** My son, be not in a hurry, like the almond-tree whose blossom is the first to appear, but whose fruit is the last to be eaten; but be equal and sensible, like the mulberry-tree whose blossom is the last to appear, but whose fruit is the first to be eaten.
- 8** My son, cast down thine eyes, and lower thy voice, and look from beneath thine eyelids: for

¹ Cf. *Teaching of Apostles*, c. iv, 'Him that speaketh to thee the word of God, thou shalt remember night and day, and thou shalt honour him as the Lord'.

SYR. B

- And on this wise I was saying to him ¹:
- 'Hear my teaching, my son Nadan; and come **2** ¹ to my understanding, and be mindful of my words, according to the following sayings:' and thereupon Ahikar ² began to teach Nadan his sister's son, and answered and said to him:
- 'My son, if thou hast heard a word, let it die in ² thy heart; and reveal it to no man; lest it should become a hot coal in thy mouth, and burn thee; and thou shalt lay blemish on thy soul, and shalt be hated on earth, and be angered against God ³.
- My son, do not tell all that thou seest, and do ³ not disclose all that thou hearest.
- My son, do not loose a knot that is sealed, ⁴ and do not seal one which is loosed.
- My son, sweeten thy tongue, and make savoury ⁵ the opening of thy mouth; because the tail of the dog gives him bread, and his mouth gets him blows.
- My son, the eye of man is a fountain, and is ⁶ not satisfied with riches until [filled with dust].
- (My son), lift (not) up thine eyes (and look ⁷ upon a woman bedizened) and beautified, lust not after her in thy heart; for if thou shouldst give her all [that thou hast, advantage] ⁴ in her thou wilt not find; and thou wilt be guilty of sin before God.
- My son, stand not in the house of those that ⁸ are at strife: because from a word there comes a quarrel, and from a quarrel is stirred up vexation; and from vexedness springs murder ⁵.
- My son, if a house were built by loudness of ⁹ voice, the ass would build two houses in a single
- ¹ The account of the earlier years of Nadan's bringing up is omitted; if indeed it existed in the first form of the story.
- ² The text is double; a copy which had the primitive 'I, Ahikar, took my son' having been compounded with one that had 'Thereupon Ahikar'. A comparison with the Tobit-parallels shows that the second clause is a modification of the first.
- ³ We expect 'And God shall be angry with thee'.
- ⁴ A slight correction has been made in the Syriac text.
- ⁵ Cf. *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, 'My child, be not angry, for anger leads to murder,' which is a simpler and more archaic form of the same precept.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 1-11

The Proverbs of Ahikar

ARABIC

ARMENIAN

2 1 Thus he taught him, saying:
‘O my son! hear my speech and follow my advice and remember what I say.

2 O my son! if thou hearest a word, let it die in thy heart, and reveal it not to another, lest it become a live coal and burn thy tongue and cause a pain in thy body, and thou gain a reproach, and art shamed before God and man.

3 O my son! if thou hast heard a report, spread it not; and if thou hast seen something, tell it not.

4 O my son! make thy eloquence easy to the listener, and be not hasty to return an answer.

5 O my son! when thou hast heard anything, hide it not.

6 O my son! loose not a sealed knot, nor untie it, and seal not a loosened knot.

7 O my son! covet not outward beauty, for it wanes and passes away, but an honourable remembrance lasts for aye.

8 O my son! let not a silly woman deceive thee with her speech, lest thou die the most miserable of deaths, and she entangle thee in the net till thou art ensnared.

9 O my son! desire not a woman bedizened with dress and with ointments, who is despicable and silly in her soul. Woe to thee if thou bestow on her anything that is thine, or commit to her what is in thine hand and she entice thee into sin, and God be wroth with thee.

10 O my son! be not like the almond-tree, for it brings forth leaves before all the trees, and edible fruit after them all, but be like the mulberry-tree, which brings forth edible fruit before all the trees, and leaves after them all.

11 O my son! bend thy head low down, and soften thy voice, and be courteous, and walk in the straight path, and be not foolish. And raise not thy voice when thou laughest, for if it were by a loud voice that a house was built, the ass

Son, if thou hear any word in the royal gate, 2 1 make it to die and bury it in thy heart, and to no one divulge it. The knot that is sealed do thou not loose, and that which is loosed do thou not tie. And that which thou dost see, tell not; and that which thou hearest, reveal it not.

Son, raise not up thine eyes to look on a 2 lovely woman, rouged and antimonied. Desire her not in thy heart. For if thou shouldst give her all thy riches, thou¹ dost get nothing the more out of her; but art condemned by God and by mankind. For she is like unto a sepulchre which is fair on the upper side and below is full of the rottenness and bones of the dead.

Son, be not like the olive-tree, which is first 3 to bloom and last to ripen its fruit. But be like the mulberry, which is last to bloom and first to ripen its fruit.

has such an addition, which however distantly resembles the Slavonic and Syriac.

¹ Bodl. = ‘thou art not in any way benefited by her more than to be condemned by the God of just judgments and by mankind’. Canon = ‘thou wilt not get anything more than thy own sin and shame from men and judgement from God’, omitting the rest.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 8-21

SYR. A

if a house could be built by a high voice, the ass would build two houses in one day: and if by sheer force the plough was guided, its share would never be loosed from the shoulder of the camel.

9 My son, it is better to remove stones with a wise man than to drink wine with a fool.

10 My son, pour out thy wine on the graves of the righteous, rather than drink it with evil men.

11 My son, with a wise man thou wilt not be depraved, and with a depraved man thou wilt not become wise.

12 My son, associate with the wise man, and thou wilt become wise like him; and associate not with a garrulous and talkative man, lest thou be numbered with him.

13 My son, while thou hast shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns and make a path for thy sons and for thy sons' sons.

14 My son, the rich man eats a snake, and they say, "He ate it for medicine." And the poor man eats it, and they say, "For his hunger he ate it."

15 My son, eat thy portion, and despise not thy neighbours.

16 My son, it is not becoming even to eat with a shameless man.¹

17 My son, envy not the prosperity of thy enemy; and rejoice not at his adversity.²

18 My son, draw not near to a woman that is a whisperer, nor to one whose voice is high.

19 My son, go not after the beauty of a woman, and lust not after her in thy heart because the beauty of a woman is her good sense, and her adornment is the word of her mouth.

20 My son, if thine enemy meet thee with evil, meet thou him with wisdom.³

21 My son, the wicked falleth and riseth not; but the just man is not moved, for God is with him.

¹ Cf. I Cor. v. 11 *ἐάν τις . . . ἢ πόρνος . . . τῷ τοιούτῳ μηδὲ συνεισθίειν.*

² Cf. Prov. xxiv. 17 *ἐὰν πέσῃ ὁ ἐχθρός σου, μὴ ἐπιχαρῆς αὐτῷ.*

³ He does not mean 'overcome evil with good', which would be a sentiment foreign to the action of the story, but 'get the better of him'.

SYR. B

day: and if by sheer force the plough was directed, the ploughshare would never be worn away under¹ the shoulder of the camel.

Better to remove stones with the wise man 10 than to drink wine with the fool.

My son, in the company of the wise thou wilt 11 not be depraved; and in the company of the depraved thou wilt not become wise.

My son, make companion of the wise person, 12 and thou wilt become wise like him; and make not a companion of the foolish person, lest thou be reckoned like him.

While there are shoes on thy feet, tread down 13 the thorns and make a path for thy sons and thy sons' sons.

My son, the rich man eats a snake, and 14 they say, "For his medicine he ate it": the poor man eats it, and they say, "Because of his hunger he ate it."

My son, eat thy portion, and stretch not out 15 thy hand over that of thy neighbour.

My son, do not eat bread with a man that is 16 shameless.

My son, if thou seest thine enemy fallen, do 17 not mock at him; lest he should rise up and repay thee.

My son, be not envious at the good fortune of 18 thine enemy; and do not rejoice at his misfortune.

My son, do not approach a woman who is 19 hateful and talkative, and one whose voice is high.

For the beauty of a woman is her good sense 20 and the word of her mouth is her adornment.

My son, if thine enemy meet thee with evil, 21 meet thou him with good.

My son, if thou seest a man who is stronger 22 than thyself, rise up before him. . . .

End of Fragment.

J. R. HARRIS.

¹ This difficult expression is replaced in S₂ by the easier term 'would never be loosed from'. In either case the meaning is obscure. Quære, 'if brute force were sufficient, the camel might go on ploughing by himself'?

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 11-22

ARABIC

would build many houses every day; and if it were by dint of strength that the plough were driven, the plough would never be removed from under the shoulders of the camels.

- 12 O my son! the removing of stones with a wise man is better than the drinking of wine with a sorry man.
- 13 O my son! pour out thy wine on the tombs of the just, and drink not with ignorant, contemptible people.
- 14 O my son! cleave to wise men who fear God and be like them, and go not near the ignorant, lest thou become like him and learn his ways.
- 15 O my son! when thou hast got thee a comrade or a friend, try him, and afterwards make him a comrade and a friend; and do not praise him without a trial; and do not spoil thy speech with a man who lacks wisdom.
- 16 O my son! while a shoe stays on thy foot, walk with it on the thorns, and make a road for thy son, and for thy household and thy children, and make thy ship taut before she goes on the sea and its waves and sinks and cannot be saved.
- 17 [O my son! if the rich man eat a snake, they say "It is by his wisdom", and if a poor man eat it, the people say "From his hunger".]
- 18 O my son! be content with thy daily bread and thy goods, and covet not what is another's.
- 19 O my son! be not neighbour to the fool, and eat not bread with him, and rejoice not in the calamities of thy neighbours. If thine enemy wrong thee, show him kindness.
- 20 O my son! a man who fears God do thou fear him and honour him.
- 21 O my son! the ignorant man falls and stumbles, and the wise man, even if he stumbles, he is not shaken, and even if he falls he gets up quickly, and if he is sick, he can take care of his life. But as for the ignorant, stupid man, for his disease there is no drug.
- 22 O my son! if a man approach thee who is inferior to thyself, go forward to meet him, and remain standing, and if he cannot recompense thee, his Lord will recompense thee for him.

ARMENIAN

Son, it is better with a wise man to carry 4 stones, than with a foolish man to drink wine.

Son, with wise men be not a fool, and with 5 fools be not thou wise.

Son, be thou the companion of a wise man, 6 so that thou become wise as he is; but do not become the companion of a senseless man and of a fool, lest like them thou be called a fool.

Son, pour out thy wine, and drink it not with 7 the senseless and with the lawless, lest thou be despised by them¹.

Son, be thou not over-sweet, so that they 8 swallow thee down, nor over-bitter, so that they spit thee out. But do thou be gentle, tranquil in the works of thy paths and in all thy words.

Son, while the boot is on thy foot, tread down 9 the thorns and make a path for thy sons².

Son, a rich man hath eaten a serpent, and 10 they say it is medicine for him. A poor man hath eaten it, and they say that he ate it out of hunger. Eat thy own portion in peace³, and cast not thy eye on that of thy companion; and with one that is without fear go not on a journey; and with the senseless do thou not eat bread.

Son, if thou seest thy enemy fallen, do not 11 make a scoff at him; for if he get up again, he requiteth thee evil⁴.

Son, the lawless man falleth by his evil deeds, 12 but the just man is raised by his good deeds.

Son, go not near a senseless and backbiting 13 woman, that thou be not despised by her⁵; and thou art made a mock of, and she robs thee.

¹ Canon and Edjm. = 'despised like them'.

² So Canon, *ordotz*: the other MSS. have *otitz*, 'for thy feet'.

³ Ven. and Canon add 'in peace': Bodl. and 58 omit.

⁴ Ven. adds: 'and there is continual ill-will.'

⁵ The Arm. = 'by them'. If that be read we should turn 'woman' into the plural.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 22-27

SYR. A	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
22 My son, withhold not thy son from stripes; for the beating of a boy is like manure to the garden, and like rope to an ass [or any other beast], ¹ and like tether on the foot of an ass.	23 O my son! spare not to beat thy son, for the drubbing of thy son is like manure to the garden, and like tying the mouth of a purse, and like the tethering of beasts, and like the bolting of the door.	Son, spare not the rod to thy son; for the rod is to children as the dung in the garden; and as the tie and seal fastening the packet, and as the tether on the feet of the ass, so is the rod profitable to the child. For if thou strike him with a rod once or twice, he is rendered clever quietly, he does not die ¹ . But if thou leave him to his own will, he becomes a thief; and they take him to the gallows and to death, and he becomes unto thee a reproach and breaking of heart ² .
23 My son, subdue thy son while he is yet a boy, before he wax stronger than thee and rebel against thee, and thou be shamed in all his corrupt doing.	24 O my son! restrain thy son from wickedness, and teach him manners before he rebels against thee and brings thee into contempt amongst the people and thou hang thy head in the streets and the assemblies and thou be punished for the evil of his wicked deeds.	Son, train thy son in hunger ¹⁵ and thirst, in order that in humility he may lead his life.
24 My son, get thee an ox that [is fat and] lies down, and an ass that has good hoofs, but do not get thee a slave that is runaway nor a maid that is thievish; lest they destroy all that thou hast gotten.	25 O my son! get thee a fat ox with a foreskin, and an ass great with its hoofs, and get not an ox with large horns, nor make friends with a tricky man, nor get a quarrelsome slave, nor a thievish handmaid, for everything which thou committest to them they will ruin.	Son, receive not any who shall repeat to thee the (word) of an enemy, for they will repeat thy word.
25 My son, the words of a liar are like fat sparrows; and he that is void of understanding eateth them.	26 O my son! let not thy parents curse thee, and the Lord be pleased with them; for it hath been said, "He who despiseth his father or his mother let him die the death (I mean the death of sin); and he who honoureth his parents shall prolong his days and his life and shall see all that is good."	Son ³ , at first thou art fond of a false man ⁴ , but in the end he becomes hateful to thee. For a false word is like a fat quail; but he that is foolish swallows it down.
26 My son, bring not upon thee the curses of thy father and of thy mother, lest thou rejoice not in the blessings of thy children.	27 O my son! walk not on	Son, love the father who begat thee, and earn not the curses of thy father and mother; to the end that thou mayst rejoice in the prosperity of thy own sons.
27 My son, walk not in the way		Son, without a weapon go

¹ The bracketed words are a gloss.

¹ Bodl. = 'once or twice, he is quieted, but does not die'. I render the Venice text which is attested by Canon.

² Canon here adds in agreement with the Syriac and Slavonic these two precepts: 'Son, make thy child obedient, while he is small and pliant, lest he come into open conflict with thee, and thou be undone by his injury, and win the curses of strangers because of his disobedience. Son, acquire for thyself a sturdy ass and a strong-hoofed horse and an ox short in neck. And desire not a runaway slave, or one petulant of tongue, or a quarrelsome thief.'

³ Paris 58 omits this adage.

⁴ So Bodl., 58: Ven. = 'at first (one) loves a false man'.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 27-35

SYR. A	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
unarmed; because thou knowest not when thy enemy shall come upon thee.	the road without weapons, for thou knowest not when the foe may meet thee, so that thou mayst be ready for him.	not on a journey by night ¹ , lest thy enemy meet thee, and thou be destroyed.
28 My son, even as a tree is fair in its branches and fruit, and a bosky mountain in its trees, so is a man fair in his wife and weans; and he that hath not brethren, nor wife nor weans, is despised and contemptible before his enemies; and he is like unto a tree by the roadside, from which every passer-by plucketh, and every beast of the weald teareth down its leafage. ¹	28 O my son! be not like a bare, leafless tree that doth not grow, but be like a tree covered with its leaves and its boughs; for the man who has neither wife nor children is disgraced in the world and is hated by them, like a leafless and fruitless tree.	Son, as a tree is enjoyable to see for its fruit and branches, and the mountains are wooded with the cedars, in the same way are enjoyable to see man and wife ² and son and brother and kinsman and friend, and all families.
	29 O my son! be like a fruitful tree on the roadside, whose fruit is eaten by all who pass by, and the beasts of the desert rest under its shade and eat of its leaves.	Son, one who hath not wife or son or brother or kinsman or friend is in the long years despised, and is like unto a tree that is in the crossways, and all who pass by it pluck off her leaves and break down her branches.
29 My son, say not, "My lord is a fool, and I am wise"; but take hold of him in his faults and thou shalt obtain mercy.	30 O my son! every sheep that wanders from its path and its companions becomes food for the wolf.	
30 My son, count not thyself to be wise, when others count thee not to be wise.	31 O my son! say not, "My lord is a fool and I am wise," and relate not the speech of ignorance and folly, lest thou be despised by him.	Son ³ , say not thus: My lord is foolish and I am wise, but bear with him in his folly; and thou wilt keep thyself with a wise man, until some other one shall praise thee.
31 My son, lie not in thy speech before thy lord, lest thou be convicted, and he shall say to thee, "Away from my sight!"	32 O my son! be not one of those servants, to whom their lords say, "Get away from us," but be one of those to whom they say, "Approach and come near to us."	Son, say ill to no one; and be thou not evil-tongued in the presence of thy lord, that thou be not condemned by him.
32 My son, let thy words be true, in order that thy lord may say to thee, "Draw near me," and thou shalt live.		Son, turn not aside at the day of thy sacrifice, for fear lest the Lord be displeased with thy sacrifice ⁴ .
33 My son, in the day of thy calamity revile not God; lest when He hear thee, He should be angered against thee.	33 (O my son! caress not thy slave in the presence of his companion, for thou knowest not which of them shall be of most value to thee in the end.)	Son, quit not the scene of mourning and repair unto the wedding; for death lies ahead of all, and the punishment is great.
34 My son, treat not thy slave better than his fellow; for thou knowest not which of them thou wilt have need of at the last.	34 O my son! be not afraid	Son, put not on thy finger a gold ⁵ ring which is not thine; nor clothe thee in byssus and purple that is not thine. Neither mount a horse that is not thine, since the onlookers who know it will make mock at thee ⁶ .
35 My son, smite with stones the dog that has left his own master and followed after thee.		

¹ Cf. Ps. cxxvii. 5.

¹ Canon adds 'by night' with the Slavonic. The other sources omit with the Syriac.

² Ven. omits 'and wife'. The other sources with Canon add it.

³ Paris 58 omits this adage.

⁴ Paris 58 adds 'which thou offerest'.

⁵ Paris 58 adds 'or silver'.

⁶ Bodl. and Paris 58 add 'when they recognize it'.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 36-45

SYR. A	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
36 My son, the flock that makes many tracks becomes the portion of the wolves.	of thy Lord who created thee, lest He be silent to thee.	Son, eat not bread that is not ²⁷ thine own, even though thou be very hungry.
37 My son, judge upright judgment in thy youth, in order that in thy age thou mayst have honour.		
38 My son, sweeten thy tongue and make savoury the opening of thy mouth; for the tail of a dog gives him bread, and his mouth gets him blows.	35 O my son! make thy speech fair and sweeten thy tongue; and permit not thy companion to tread on thy foot, lest he tread at another time on thy breast.	Son, if a man be stronger ²⁸ than thyself, have no controversy with him, lest he slay thee.
39 My son, suffer not thy neighbour to tread on thy foot, lest he tread on thy neck.		Son, crush and consume the ²⁹ evil out of thy heart, and it is well for thee with God and man, and thou art holpen by the will of God.
40 My son, smite the [wise] man with wise word, that it may be in his heart like a fever in summer; [but know] that if thou smite the fool with many blows, he will not understand.	36 O my son! if thou beat a wise man with a word of wisdom, it will lurk in his breast like a subtle sense of shame; but if thou drub the ignorant with a stick he will neither understand nor hear.	Son, if thy doorposts be loftily ³⁰ built to heaven as it were seven ells, whenever thou enterest, bow thy head.
41 My son, send a wise man and give him no orders; but if thou wilt send a fool, go rather thyself and send him not.	37 O my son! if thou send a wise man for thy needs, do not give him many orders, for he will do thy business as thou desirest; and if thou send a fool, do not order him, but go thyself and do thy business, for if thou order him, he will not do what thou desirest. If they send thee on business, hasten to fulfil it quickly.	Son, take not from others ³¹ with a big weight and give back to them with a little weight, and say: I have made a profit. For God allows it not, but will be wroth; and thou wilt die of starvation.
	38 O my son! make not an enemy of a man stronger than thyself, for he will take thy measure ¹ , and his revenge on thee.	Son, swear not false, that of ³² thy days there be no fail ¹ .
	39 O my son! make trial of thy son, and of thy servant, before thou committest thy belongings to them, lest they make away with them; for he who hath a full hand is called wise, even if he be stupid and ignorant, and he who hath an empty hand is called poor, ignorant, even if he be the prince of sages.	Son, give ear unto the laws ³³ of God, and be not afraid of the evil (one), for the commandment of God is the rampart of man.
42 My son, test thy son with bread and water, and then thou canst leave in his hands thy possessions and thy wealth.		Son, rejoice thou not in the ³⁴ number of thy children, and in their deficiency be not distressed.
43 My son, withdraw at the first cup, and tarry not for lickerish draughts ¹ : lest there be to thee wounds in thy head.		Son, children and possessions ³⁵ are bestowed by God. The rich man is made poor, the poor man is enriched; the humble is exalted, and the exalted is humbled.
44 My son, he whose hand is full is called wise and honourable; and he whose hand is scant is called foolish and abject.	40 O my son! I have eaten a colocynth, and swallowed aloes ² , and I have found nothing more bitter than poverty and scarcity.	Son, if lofty be the lintels of ³⁶ thy house, and thy friend be sick, say not: What shall I send him? but go on foot and see him with thy eyes; for that is better for him than a thousand talents of gold and silver.
45 My son, I have carried salt and removed lead; and I have not seen anything heavier than		Son, in reward for evil-speak- ³⁷ ing receive not gold and silver, for it is a death-fraught deed

¹ Lit. 'heats'. But perhaps we should change the reading slightly (cf. the 73rd proverb), and translate 'tarry not for sweet unguents'.

¹ Literally 'he will weigh thee'.
² Or 'myrrh'.

¹ Bodl. and Paris 58 add 'upon the earth'.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 45-51

SYR. A	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
that a man should pay back a debt when he did not borrow. ¹		and very evil. And shed not just blood unrighteously, lest thy blood be shed in return for his blood.
46 My son, I have carried iron and removed stones; and they were not heavier on me than a man who settles in the house of his father-in-law.		Son, keep thy tongue from 38 evil-speaking and thine eye from immodest glances, and thy hand from stealing; and it will be well for thee with God and man. For whether it be gold or little things that one steals, the punishment and the slaying is one and the same.
47 My son, teach hunger and thirst to thy son, that according as his eye sees he may govern his house.	41 O my son! teach thy son frugality and hunger, that he may do well in the management of his household.	Son, commit not adultery with 39 thy friend's wife, lest God be angry and others commit adultery with thy wife.
	42 O my son! teach not to the ignorant the language of wise men, for it will be burdensome to him.	Son, take not a widow to wife, 40 for whenever there is any word between you, she will say: Alas, for my first husband! and thou art distressed.
48 My son, better is he that is blind of eye than he that is blind of heart; for the blind of eye straightway learneth the road and walketh in it: but the blind of heart leaveth the right way and goeth into the desert.	43 O my son! display not thy condition to thy friend, lest thou be despised by him.	Son, if retribution overtake 41 thee from God, flee not nor murmur; lest God be angry and with other harsher stroke destroy thee untimely.
	44 O my son! the blindness of the heart is more grievous than the blindness of the eyes, for the blindness of the eye may be guided little by little, but the blindness of the heart is not guided, and it leaves the straight path, and goes in a crooked way.	Son, love not thy son better 42 than thy servant, for thou knowest not which of them will be useful to thee.
	45 O my son! the stumbling of a man with his foot is better than the stumbling of a man with his tongue.	Son, the sheep that stray 43 from the flock become the portion of the wolves.
49 My son, better is a friend that is at hand than a brother who is far away; and better is a good name than much beauty: because a good name standeth for aye, but beauty wanes and wastes away.	46 O my son! a friend who is near is better than a more excellent brother who is far away.	Son, pass a just judgement 44 in thy mind, and honour the aged; to the end that thou mayst receive honour from the great judge, and that it may be well with thee.
	47 O my son! beauty fades but learning lasts, and the world wanes and becomes vain, but a good name neither becomes vain nor wanes.	Son, incline thine eyes and 45 soften the utterance of thy mouth, and look under thine eyes; that thou mayst not appear senseless to men, for if a temple were built by halloosings, an ass would build seven palaces ¹ every day and . . .
50 My son, death is better than life to a man that hath no rest: and better is the voice of wailing in the ears of a fool than music and joy. ²	48 O my son! the man who hath no rest, his death were better than his life; and the sound of weeping is better than the sound of singing; for sorrow and weeping, if the fear of God be in them, are better than the sound of singing and rejoicing.	¹ So Ven. which has <i>aparans</i> . The other MSS. with Canon have <i>darbas</i> , a word not given in lexicons, but which must have the same sense. The meaning of the word 'tchardakhs' is unknown and I leave it blank [? cottages]. Canon omits it, perhaps rightly. Canon has this precept 45 after no. 2 of our series and adds to it in that context this: 'Son, if the oxen by sheer strength drew along, the yoke would not diminish from the neck of the camel.'
51 My son, better is a drumstick in thy hand than a wing [?] in the pot of other people; and better is a sheep that is at hand	49 O my child! the thigh of a frog in thy hand is better than a goose in the pot of thy neighbour; and a sheep near thee is better than an ox far away; and a sparrow in thy hand is better than a thousand sparrows flying; and poverty which	

¹ Cf. Sirach xxii. 14, 15; Prov. xxvii. 3.

² Cf. Eccles. vii. 1, 2. Apparently the sentiments of Ecclesiastes are contradicted.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 51-59

SYR. A

than a heifer that is far off: and better is poverty that gathers than wealth that scatters; and better one sparrow in thy hand than a thousand on the wing: and better is a woollen coat on thy back than fine linen and silks on the backs of others.

52 My son, restrain a word in thy heart, and it shall be well with thee; because when thou hast exchanged thy word, thou hast lost thy friend.

53 My son, let not a word go forth from thy mouth, until thou hast taken counsel within thy heart: because it is better for a man to stumble in his heart than to stumble with his tongue.

54 My son, if thou hear an evil matter, put it seven fathoms deep underground.

55 My son, tarry not where there is contention: for from strife arises murder.¹

56 My son, every one who does not judge right judgement angers God.

57 My son, remove² not from thy father's friend, lest perchance thy friend come not near to thee.

58 My son, go not down into princes' gardens, and draw not near to princes' daughters.

59 My son, aid thy friend before the ruler, that thou mayst find

¹ Cf. *Teaching of Apostles*, 'Be not angry: for anger leads to murder: nor contentious'.

² A slight textual correction.

ARABIC

gathers is better than the scattering of much provision; and a living fox is better than a dead lion; and a pound of wool is better than a pound of wealth, I mean of gold and silver; for the gold and the silver are hidden and covered up in the earth, and are not seen; but the wool stays in the markets and it is seen, and it is a beauty to him who wears it.

50 O my son! a small fortune is better than a scattered fortune.

51 O my son! a living dog is better than a dead poor man.

52 O my son! a poor man who does right is better than a rich man who is dead in sins.

53 O my son! keep a word in thy heart, and it shall be much to thee, and beware lest thou reveal the secret of thy friend.

54 O my son! let not a word issue from thy mouth till thou hast taken counsel with thy heart. And stand not betwixt persons quarrelling, because from a bad word there comes a quarrel, and from a quarrel there comes war, and from war there comes fighting, and thou wilt be forced to bear witness; but run from thence and rest thyself.

55 O my son! withstand not a man stronger than thyself, but get thee a patient spirit, and endurance and an upright conduct, for there is nothing more excellent than that.

56 O my son! hate not thy first friend, for the second one may not last.

57 O my son! visit the poor in his affliction, and speak of him in the Sultan's presence, and do thy diligence to save him from the mouth of the lion.

ARMENIAN

Son, boast not in the day of 46 thy youth, lest thy youth be thy destruction.

Son, suffer not thy companion 47 to tread on thy feet, lest he should presume and tread on thy neck¹ as well.

Son, speak not in wrath with 48 thine adversary before the judge, lest thou be called senseless² and foolish. But whatever he asks thee, answer him with sweetness; and thou wilt heap up his judgement on his head.

Son, if thou petitionest God 49 for good, first fulfil His will with fasting and prayer, and then are fulfilled thy petitions unto thy good.

Son, a good name is better 50 than a face that excites longing. For beauty is destroyed³, but a good name endureth for ever.

Son, it is better to be blind 51 of eye than blind of mind; for he that is blind of eye is quick to learn the coming and going of the road. But the blind in mind forsakes the straight road, and walks according to his will.

Son, a side-bone in thy own 52 hand is better than a fat lamb in the hand of others. A sparrow in thy hand is better than a thousand fluttering in the air. A kid for a feast⁴ in thy own house is better than a steer in the house of others.

Son, it is better to garner with 53 poverty⁵ than to squander with riches.

Son, curse not thy son, until 54 thou seest his end; and reject him not in scorn, until thou behold his latter end and earnings.

Son, examine the word in thy 55 heart and then utter it. For if thou alter the word, thou art a fawner.

¹ Bodl. add 'and head'.

² Bodl.: 'lest thou appear senseless and unprofitable.'

³ Bodl. 'passes'.

⁴ So Bodl. and Canon: Ven. has 'a fat kid in', &c., where *parart* 'fat' is a corruption of *paterag*, which is the *potior lectio* and better attested.

⁵ Canon: 'Better is poverty with repose than . . .'

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 59-69

SYR. A	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
out how thou mayst help him from the lion.		Son, if thou hearest an evil 56 word about any one, hide it in thy heart seven fathoms deep ; so that the evil die and the good be fulfilled.
60 My son, rejoice not over thy enemy when he dieth.	58 O my son ! rejoice not in the death of thine enemy, for after a little while thou shalt be his neighbour, and him who mocks thee do thou respect and honour and be beforehand with him in greeting.	Son, do thou not scoff frivo- 57 lously ; for the frivolous scoff is a quarrel, and the quarrel is slaying and death.
61 My son, when thou seest a man who is stronger than thyself, rise up before him.		Son, the false word and the 58 false conversation is heavy as lead ; but after a few days it floats upon the waters, like the leaf of a tree.
62 My son, if the waters should stand up without earth, and the sparrow fly without wings, and the raven become white as snow, and the bitter become sweet as honey, then may the fool become wise.	59 O my son ! if water would stand still in heaven, and a black crow become white, and myrrh grow sweet as honey, then ignorant men and fools might understand and become wise.	Son, reveal thy lesser counsel 59 to thy friend, and after days irritate him and flout him. And ¹ if he does not reveal that counsel, then reveal to him thy greater counsels, and thou keep-est him a trusty friend.
63 My son, if thou art a priest of God, be thou ware of Him and enter His presence in purity, and from His presence remove not.		Son, in the presence of kings 60 and judges, be helpful to thy comrade ; for, as it were from the mouth of a lion, dost thou rescue him ; and he becometh to thee a good name and a glory.
64 My son, him that God prospers do thou also honour.		Son, if thy enemy come to 61 thy foot, grant him pardon and laugh with joy to his face and receive him with honour.
65 My son, strive not ¹ with a man in his day, and stand not against a river in its flood. ²	60 O my son ! if thou desire to be wise, restrain thy tongue from lying, and thy hand from stealing, and thine eyes from beholding evil ; then thou wilt be called wise.	Son, where thou art not in- 62 vited, go not unto a festival ; and where they ask thee not, give no answer.
66 My son, the eye of man is like a fountain of water, and it is not satisfied with riches until filled with dust.	61 O my son ! let the wise man beat thee with a rod, but let not the fool anoint thee with sweet salve. Be humble in thy youth and thou shalt be honoured in thine old age.	Son, over a river frozen and 63 swollen pass thou not, lest thou die a sudden death.
67 My son, if thy will is to be wise, refrain thy tongue from lying, and thy hand from theft, and thou shalt become wise.	62 O my son ! withstand not a man in the days of his power, nor a river in the days of its flood.	Son, ask of a wise man words 64 of advice ² , and thou shalt be made wise. But if thou ask a foolish man, in spite of many words, he is not wise.
	63 O my son ! be not hasty in the wedding of a wife, for if it turns out well, she will say, 'My lord, make provision for me' ; and if it turns out ill, she will rate at him who was the cause of it.	Son, if thou sendest a wise 65 man to give any command, he himself fulfils the matter. But if thou sendest a fool, give the command in the presence of many men. And do thou either go thyself or not send him.
68 My son, have no part in the espousal of a woman ; for if it shall go ill with her, she will curse thee ; and if it shall go well with her, she will not remember thee.	64 (O my son ! whosoever is elegant in his dress, he is the same in his speech ; and he	Son, test thy son in hunger 66 and thirst ; and if he is able to bear it, then give thy riches into his hands.
69 My son, he that is elegant in his dress is elegant also in his speech, and he that is con-		

¹ Lit. 'judge not'.
² Cf. Sirach iv. 26.

¹ Bodl. 'and see, if' and below 'and keep him', &c.
² Bodl. 'words of wisdom'.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 69-75 (78 Arm.)

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
temptible in his dress is contemptible also in his speech.	who has a mean appearance in his dress, he also is the same in his speech.)	Son, from the house of invitation and from the wedding go first before thy fellow, and return not again ¹ ; that thou mayst get thy boon fragrant ² and mayst get no wounds on the head.
70 My son, if thou shalt find a find before an idol, offer the idol its share of it. ¹	65 O my son! if thou hast committed a theft, make it known to the Sultan, and give him a share of it, that thou mayst be delivered from him, for otherwise thou wilt endure bitterness.	Son, a man who has many 68 possessions and chattels, they call him wise and virtuous; but one who has few chattels they call a fool and of no account, and no man honoureth him.
71 My son, the hand that was satisfied and is now hungry will not give, nor the hand that was hungry and is now satisfied.	66 O my son! make a friend of the man whose hand is satisfied and filled, and make no friend of the man whose hand is closed and hungry.	Son, I have eaten endive and 69 I have drunk gall, and it was not more bitter than poverty. I have lifted salt, and I have lifted lead, and it was not heavier than is debt. For though I ate and drank, I could not rest ³ . I have lifted iron and I have lifted stones upon my shoulders, and it was better for me, than to dwell with the ignorant and the fool.
72 My son, let not thine eyes look upon a woman that is beautiful; and be not inquisitive into beauty that does not belong to thee: because many have perished through the beauty of woman, and her love has been as a fire that burneth.	67 There are four things in which neither the king nor his army can be secure: oppression by the vizier, and bad government, and perversion of the will, and tyranny over the subject; and four things which cannot be hidden: the prudent, and the foolish, and the rich, and the poor. ⁴	Son, if thou be poor among 70 thy fellows, reveal it not; lest thou be despised by them, and they hearken not unto thy words.
73 My son, let the wise man strike thee with many blows, and let not the fool salve thee with sweet salve. ²		¹ Perhaps the sense is 'and stay not till the last'.
74 My son, let not thy foot run after thy friend, lest he be surfeited with thee and hate thee.		² Canon: 'that thou mayst be anointed with fragrant oil,' &c. Compare the Syriac. Other texts read: 'that thou mayst get a good name.'
75 My son, put not a gold ring on thy finger, when thou hast not [wealth] ³ , lest fools make mock of thee. This is the teaching which Ahikar taught to Nadan his sister's son.		³ Canon adds: 'until I repaid the debt.'
¹ This sentence cannot be of Christian or Moslem origin.		
² Cf. Ps. cxli. 5, 'Let the righteous smite me,' &c.		
³ Or 'when it is not thine'.		

- ARMENIAN
- 71 Son⁴, love thy flesh and thy wife. For she is thyself and the companion of thy life, and even by extreme labour she nurtures thy son.⁵
- 72 Son, if thy lord send thee to bring a duned grape, bring it not to him; for he will eat the grape, yet not let thee off punishment for the dung.
- 73 Son, the word of a wise man in drink is better than the word of a fool that is thirsty or sober.⁶ Better is an upright slave than one free but false. Better is a friend near at hand than a brother far away.
- 74 Son, reveal not thy secret counsel to thy wife. For she is weak and small of soul, and she reveals it to the powerful, and thou art despised.
- 75 Son, if thou drinkest wine, keep thy tongue from much speaking, and it is well for thee and thou art called wise.
- 76 Son, without a schedule and witness, give not up thy property, lest the other deny it and thou regret it.
- 77 Son, forsake not thy friend, lest thou find not another sharer of thy counsel and friend.⁷
- 78 Son, love thy father who begat thee, and incur not the curse of thy father and mother, so that thou mayst rejoice in the prosperity of thy sons.

⁴ This precept, no. 41 in the series of Paris 58, is not in Ven.

⁵ Paris 58 here repeats precept 15.

⁷ Nos. 77 and 79 are only given in Paris 58.

⁶ The Armenian text must be faulty here.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 79-101 (Arm.)

ARMENIAN

- 79 Son, it is better if they steal thy goods, than that they detect theft in thee.
- 80 Son, if God prosper a man in his undertakings, do thou honour him. And whenever thou beholdest an aged man, do thou rise and stand up before him and magnify him.
- 81 Son, oppose not thyself to a wealthy man and to a river in flood. For the eyes of a grasping man are not filled¹ except with dust².
- 82 Son, do thou not bring about a betrothal match, for they see the good to be from God and from luck; but the bad is traced to thee, and they call thee an intriguing person³.
- 83 Son, if the rivers pause in their courses or the sun in its career, or if the gall become sweet as honey, or the raven turn white as the dove, even so will the senseless man abandon his want of sense and the fool become sensible.
- 84 Son, go not on foot⁴ too often to the house of thy friend, lest he hate thee.
- 85 Son, a dog that leaves his master and follows after thee, pursue him with stones⁵.
- 86 Son, good deeds and a pure offering are pleasing to God; and do thou fear shame as thou fearest God.
- 87 Son, the taking of an evil counsel into thy heart is the antagonism of the *dev*⁶; and endurance is the foundation of deeds and the rampart of faith.
- 88 Son, that which seems evil unto thee do not to thy companion; and what is not thine own, give not unto others.
- 89 Son, love the truth and hate lawlessness and⁷ falsehood. Give ear unto the commandments of God, and fear not the evil one. For the commandment of God is the rampart of man.
- 90 Son, flee from a man that is evil and speaketh falsely; for avarice is the mother of all evils, and all evils are engendered of impudence.
- 91 Son, love not judgement⁸; for even if thou get the better of thine adversary, yet be in fear of the judgement of God.
- 92 Son, he that is upright in mind is the sun giving light, and he that is treacherous in heart is gloomy with darkness, and he that is generous in heart is full of pity. He that is grasping, even though he has aught, is nevertheless dull of wit.
- 93 Son⁹, into the house of a drunkard enter not; and if thou enter, tarry not; for in thy habits thou remainest empty and idle.
- 94 Son, malign not thy fellow whether near or at a distance; for evil words will quickly reach the master and lead to quarrels¹⁰.
- 95 Son, God hath ordained wine for the sake of gladness, but in the place of a brothel or in any other low and unsuitable place, it is better to drink muck than wine¹¹.
- 96 Son, a drunken man thinks in his mind thus: I am brave, and everything that I say, I say wisely. He does not know that if he meets with a man of courage, he will throw him at the first touch of his hands flat on the ground and drag him.
- 97 (Son, if thou behold thine enemy fallen, do thou sorrow over him, that thou mayst make a friend of him; but if thou mock at him, when he gets up again he will requite thee with evil¹².)
- 98 Son, a drunken man thinks that the earth whirls round; in his going he knows not that his head is deranged; for as the earth is the mother of all plants and fruit-bearing things, so wine is the mother of all evils; it doth cause men to be sick with divers sicknesses, and to slay others without mercy; it deranges the man and changes his nature into that of a brute.
- 99 Son, flee from guaranteeing; but if thou become a guarantor, make up thy mind that thou must give away out of thy purse; and not thy purse only, but the hair off thy chin¹³.
- 100 Son, be thou not false in speech; for if they find thee to be once false, then when thou speakest the truth, they will reckon thee false and will not believe thee¹⁴.
- 101 And I say to Nadan: Son, receive into thy mind my precepts and forget them not.

¹ Paris 69 adds 'with treasure'.

² Paris 58 om. 81. Paris 69 has 'are not filled with treasure, but are filled with dust'.

³ The Armenian is obscure here.

⁴ Canon adds 'on foot'.

⁵ Bodl., Ven. add: 'which is not.' Canon omits.

⁶ Or to the *dev*, a Persian word which in Old Armenian usually means a demon.

⁷ Ven. om. 'lawlessness and'.

⁸ Canon adds 'of injustice'.

⁹ Nos. 93-100 are only given in Codex Paris 58 and Venet.

¹⁰ Codex Paris 58 gives this precept in late and obscure Armenian, and its text is clearly faulty.

¹¹ Ven. adds this: 'A drunken man is like an arrow in the hollow (lit. "palate") of a bow, which strikes no one else, but bruises its own head.'

¹² This precept has already come as no. 11, in almost identical language.

¹³ This precept is in bad late Armenian and I give the sense of the last clause conjecturally.

¹⁴ This precept also is in late Armenian.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 2. 101 (Arm.)—3. 1

ARMENIAN

The questions¹ of the king's sons and the answer of Khikar.

Houday and Baliayn asked questions of Khikar, and Khikar said to Nathan: There are four things that increase the light to man's eyes,—to look upon flowers, to tread with naked foot on the green, to walk upon the water, and to see one's friend.

102 Four things are there which make a man fat and keep him healthy,—to wear linen and to hear such things as seem to him pleasant; in the house an amiable and healthy spirit, and to see one's remote (friend) well off.

103 And four things are there which improve a man's banquet,—at all times to converse well, not to give answer to every word, to be humble, to talk little, modesty in small matters and big ones.

104 And four things are there which bring shame to one's face—domination of love, to talk too much and to boast that one knows what one does not know, (to conceal everything, to weave a snare and fall into it)², and false-speaking.

105 They asked the sage and said: What is the most pleasing thing on earth? He replied: Modesty. He that hath a modest face is pleasing. For all evils are born of impudence and folly.

¹ The passage which follows until the resumption of the narrative is written in vulgar Armenian. Ven. gives the names thus: Shoutay and Bayilan.

² Ven. omits the words in brackets.

SYRIAC

3 1 But I, Aḥikar, supposed that everything which I had been teaching Nadan he took hold of in his heart, and that he stood in my stead in the king's gate; and I knew not that Nadan listened not to my words, but scattered them, as it were to the wind, and returned and said that 'my father Aḥikar is grown old, and stands at the door of his grave; and his intelligence has withdrawn and his understanding is diminished';

ARABIC

3 1 Thus spake Haiqâr, and when he had finished these injunctions and proverbs to Nadan, his sister's son, he imagined that he would keep them all, and he knew not that instead of that he was displaying to him weariness and contempt and mockery.

Thereafter Haiqâr sat still in his house and delivered over to Nadan all his goods, and the slaves, and the hand-maidens, and the horses, and the cattle, and everything else that he had possessed and gained; and the power of bidding and of forbidding remained in the hand of Nadan; and Haiqâr sat at rest in his house, and every now and then Haiqâr went and paid his respects to the king, and returned home. Now when Nadan perceived that the power of bidding and of forbidding was in his own hand, he despised the position of Haiqâr and scoffed at him, and set about blam-

ARMENIAN

And^a this was the advice which 3 1 I taught to Nathan my sister's son. All this I taught to Nathan my sister's son, I, Khikar, chief Notary of Seneqerim the king. And so I supposed in my mind that the teaching and advice which I taught to Nathan would abide and remain and that he would preserve it in his mind. And I knew not that he despised my words, and scattered them like the chaff before the wind, supposing in his mind that Khikar his father was grown very old and had arrived at the door of his tomb. His mind (he said) is distraught and his thoughts are deficient and he knows nothing.

^a What follows is in MS. Canon given in a form which often more nearly resembles the Syriac than do the better Armenian copies, as below:

All this I taught to Nathan my sister's son, thus thinking that what I taught he kept in his heart and would live in the royal gate. And I knew not that he scorned my words, and scattered them like dust before the wind. Forthwith he began to waste my chattels and my possessions. He spared not my slaves and maidservants nor even my darlings and my friends, but bound and ill-treated them; wounded with violent blows and destroyed my steeds continually.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 3. 2-6

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
<p>2 and my son Nadan began [to ill-treat] my servants by beating them and slaughtering them and destroying them; and he showed no mercy on my servants and my handmaidens though they were industrious and well-beloved and excellent; and my horses he slew and my good mules he hamstrung.</p> <p>3 So when I beheld me that my son Nadan was doing detestable things, I answered and said to him, 'My son Nadan, touch not my property; my son, it is said in the proverb, "What the hand did not acquire, the eye did not spare."'</p> <p>4 Moreover I showed to Sennacherib my lord all these matters; and my lord spake on this wise: 'As long as Ahiḳar lives, no man shall have power over his wealth.'</p> <p>5 Then when my son Nadan saw his brother Nebuzardan standing in my house, he was very irate and he spake on this wise: 'My father Ahiḳar is grown old and his wits have waned; [and as for his wise words, he despised them]¹; hath he given his possessions to Nebuzardan my brother, and hath he removed me from his house?'</p> <p>6 When I, Ahiḳar, heard these things, I said, 'Alas for thee, my wisdom, that my son Nadan has made insipid; and as for my wise sayings, he has contemned them.'</p> <p>¹ Probably a repetition from three lines lower down.</p>	<p>ing him whenever he appeared, saying, 'My uncle Haiqâr is in his dotage, and he knows nothing now'; and he began to beat the slaves and the handmaidens, and to sell the horses and the camels and be spendthrift with all that his uncle Haiqâr had owned.</p> <p>3 And when Haiqâr saw that he had no compassion on his servants nor on his household, he arose and chased him from his house, and sent to inform the king that he had scattered his possessions and his provision.</p> <p>4 And the king arose and called Nadan and said to him: 'Whilst Haiqâr remains in health, no one shall rule over his goods, nor over his household, nor over his possessions.' And the hand of Nadan was lifted off from his uncle Haiqâr and from all his goods, and in the meantime he went neither in nor out, nor did he greet him.</p> <p>6 Thereupon Haiqâr repented him of his toil with Nadan his sister's son, and he continued to be very sorrowful. And Nadan had a younger brother named Benuzârdân, so Haiqâr took him to himself in place of Nadan, and brought him up and honoured</p>	<p>Nathan began to dissipate² my property to its loss, and spared not my servants and handmaids. But he tormented them and killed them, and cut about my horses and mules, and my steeds, and destroyed the very pick of the flock.</p> <p>And when I saw Nathan my sister's son, that he was transforming my affairs and dissipating my property, I began to speak with him and I said: Keep away from my property, and come not near it, for it is written in the Proverbs that, whereon hands have not laboured, that thing his eye spareth not. And I went and told Seneqerim my lord. And he called Nathan and said: As long as Khikar is alive, thou shalt not touch his property.</p> <p>In that season Nathan saw⁵ Boudan¹ his brother, who had been brought up in my house, and said: Khikar my father is grown old and his words have lost their savour.</p> <p>And when I⁶ heard this, I cast him out from all my belongings.</p> <p>¹ In Bodleian MS. <i>Baudan</i>.</p>

When I saw that Nathan counterfeited (*or* metamorphosed) my affairs, then I spared my chattels lest he should ruin them. And I said to Nathan: Come not near my chattels, for it is said in the wise ones, that hands which have not been hard worked, the eye shall not spare. And I went and told my lord Seneqerim. And the king ordered Nathan and said: As long as thy father Khikar is alive, go not near his possessions, but remain in the royal gate, and let thy father Khikar remain in his gate, and rest in his old age.

I, Khikar, when I saw all this that Nathan did, I said in my heart: Alas! How hath Nathan despised my sweet advice, and all my wisdom hath he set at naught and quite despised.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 3. 7-9

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
	him with the utmost honour. And he delivered over to him all that he possessed, and made him governor of his house.	
7 Now when my son Nadan heard thereof, he was angry and went to the gate of the king, and devised evil in his heart; and sat down and wrote two letters to two kings who were enemies of Sennacherib my lord; one to Akhi, the son of Hamselim, king of Persia and Elam, as follows:	7 Now when Nadan perceived what had happened he was seized with envy and jealousy, and he began to complain to every one who questioned him, and to mock his uncle Haiqâr, saying: 'My uncle has chased me from his house, and has preferred my brother to me, but if the Most High God give me the power, I shall bring upon him the misfortune ¹ of being killed.' And Nadan continued to meditate as to the stumbling-block he might contrive for him. And after a while Nadan turned it over in his mind, and wrote a letter to Achish, son of Shah the Wise, king of Persia, saying thus:	But Nathan 7 formed a plan of wickedness in his heart. He wrote in my name a letter ¹ to the enemy of Seneqrim, the King of Nineveh and Asorestan; and it was as follows:
8 'From Ahikar the Secretary and Great Seal of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. When this letter reaches thee, arise and come to Assyria to meet me; and I will bring thee into Assyria, and thou shalt seize the kingdom without war.'	8 'Peace and health and might and honour from Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh, and from his vizier and his secretary Haiqâr unto thee, O great king! Let there be peace between thee and me. And when this letter reaches thee, if thou wilt arise and go quickly to the plain of Nisrin ² , and to Assyria and Nineveh, I will deliver up the kingdom to thee without war and without battle-array.'	I, Khikar, chief Notary of 8 Seneqrim the king, have sent to the King of the Egyptians to this effect: When this writing 9 reaches thee, thou shalt muster thy forces, and come to the plain of the Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz, and I will put in your power the land of the Asores, and will give the throne of Seneqrim into thy hand without trouble, for thee to hold it.
9 And he wrote another letter, as follows: 'To Pharaoh,	9 And he wrote also another letter in the name of Haiqâr	And he had made his hand- 10 writing to resemble my hand-
	¹ Lit. 'cast him into the misfortune'. ² <i>Nisrin</i> may either mean 'the eagles' or 'the wild rose'. I prefer the latter, because the usual plural of <i>nasr</i> is <i>nusûr</i> or <i>ansur</i> .	¹ There is evidently a lacuna here to be filled up from the Bodley MS. as follows: 'to Pharaoh, king of Egypt.'

Then Nathan went into the house of the king and planned very great evils for me. For he wrote two letters. One he sent to Pharaon, king of Egypt, since he was an enemy of my lord Seneqrim, and it was written as follows:

I, Khikar, notary of Seneqrim king of Asorestan and Nineveh, to Pharaon king of Egypt write. Be it in thy cognizance, when this dispatch reaches thee, at once shalt thou muster thy forces and come to the plain of Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz, and I will lead and make thee king over these without trouble.

And again a letter which had this form:
From Seneqrim, king, health (or peace) to Khikar, notary of my tribunal. When there shall come to

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 3. 9-12

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
king of Egypt, from Aḥīkar, Secretary and Great Seal of the king of Assyria and Nineveh. greeting. When this letter shall reach thee, arise and come to meet me at Eagles' dale, which lieth to the south, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Ab. And I will bring thee into Nineveh without war and thou shalt seize the kingdom.' And he made these writings of his like to my own handwriting; and he sealed them in the king's palace, and went his way.	to Pharaoh king of Egypt. 'Let there be peace between thee and me, O mighty king! If at the time of this letter reaching thee thou wilt arise and go to Assyria and Nineveh to the plain of Nisrîn, I will deliver up to thee the kingdom without war and without fighting.'	writing, and had sealed it with my seal. And when the forces of the king asked to go home to their homes, Nathan alone remained before the king, and said: O King, live for ever. I that have eaten bread and salt in thy house, God forbid that I should see evils before thee. Khikar my father, who was in honour and greatness before thee, hath lied to me and to thee, and hath taken the side of thy enemies. And the letter which Nathan had written in my words, and had likened his handwriting to my handwriting therein, he took, and read the dispatch which he himself had sealed, before the king.
And he wrote further another letter to me, as if from my lord the king Sennacherib; and on this wise he wrote it:	Then he folded the two letters, and sealed them with the seal of his uncle Haiqâr; they were nevertheless in the king's palace.	And when the king heard it, he was very much distressed, and said: What wrong have I done to Khikar, that he has so behaved to me? And at once Nathan wrote by the command of the king a letter thus conceived:
11 'From Sennacherib the King, to Aḥīkar, my Secretary and Great Seal, greeting. When this letter reaches thee, gather all thy forces together, to the rock that is called Şiş: and come forth from thence and come to meet me at Eagles' dale, which lieth to the south, on the twenty-fifth day of the month Ab.	11 Then he went and wrote a letter likewise from the king to his uncle Haiqâr: 'Peace and health to my Vizier, my Secretary, my Chancellor, Haiqâr. O Haiqâr, when this letter reaches thee, assemble all the soldiers who are with thee, and let them be perfect in clothing and in numbers, and bring them to me on the fifth day in the plain of Nisrîn, and when thou shalt see me there coming towards thee, haste and make the army move against me as an enemy who would fight with me, for I have with me	11 And when the king heard it, he was very much distressed, and said: What wrong have I done to Khikar, that he has so behaved to me? And at once Nathan wrote by the command of the king a letter thus conceived:
12 And when thou seest me approaching to thee, array thy forces against me, like a man that is ready for battle: for ambassadors of Pharaoh the king of Egypt are	12 Nisrîn, and when thou shalt see me there coming towards thee, haste and make the army move against me as an enemy who would fight with me, for I have with me	12 When thou readest this writing, thou shalt muster thy hosts and shalt come to the plain of the Eagles on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz. And whenever thou

thee this dispatch, thou shalt prepare my forces which are under thy hand; exactly on the twenty-fifth day of the month Hrotitz thou shalt come to meet me on the plain of Eagles. And when thou comest near draw up face to face against my forces, as if it were being prepared against thine enemies. For the envoys of Pharaoh are come unto me to see our forces and tremble.

And this letter Nathan sent to me as if by the command of the king. And he himself, Nathan, stood before the king and said: King, live for ever. I have eaten bread and salt in thy house. God forbid that I should deceive my king.

For my father Khikar, whom thou didst send unto rest, unto honour, unto glory, hath not done according to the command of your kingship, but hath played false to God and your kingship. And he had given the letter to certain trusty men of the king, and they gave it to the sovereign; and the sovereign gave it to Nathan and said: Read. And Nathan read it before the king; and the king was sorely troubled, and asked those who gave him the letter: Who gave into your hands this letter? And as Nathan had charged them, they answered with one mind, saying: Travellers that were going into Egypt. They had the letter, and we thy servants found them and took them by force. And when we asked them: Whence are ye? they answered, We are native slaves of Khikar.

And the king was troubled and said to the trusty men: What harm then have I done to Khikar, that he hath devised such a snare for me? Wherefore hath he returned evil for good? Nathan replied and said: Be not troubled, O mighty king. But let us go to the plain of the Eagles, as is written in the dispatch, and let us see if it is so; then let thy behests be done.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 3. 12-15

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
come to me, that they may see what forces I have.'	the ambassadors of Pharaoh king of Egypt, that they may see the strength of our army and may fear us, for they are our enemies and they hate us.'	shalt see me, thou shalt draw up in battle array against me. For the messengers of Pharaon are come to me to see my hosts.
13 And my son Nadan sent this letter to me by the hands of two of the king's servants. And thereupon my son Nadan took the letters that he had written, as if he had actually found them; and he read them before the king; and when my lord the king heard them, he lamented and said, 'O God, wherein have I sinned against Ahiḱar, that he should do unto me on this fashion?'	13 Then he sealed the letter and sent it to Haiqâr by one of the king's servants. And he took the other letter which he had written and spread it before the king and read it to him and showed him the seal. And when the king heard what was in the letter he was perplexed with a great perplexity and was wroth with a great and fierce wrath, and said, 'Ah, I have shown my wisdom! what have I done to Haiqâr that he has written these letters to my enemies? Is this my recompense from him for my benefits to him?' And Nadan	He brought the letter to me, 13 and he himself went to the king. He stood before the king and said:
14 And my son Nadan answered and said to the king, 'My lord, do not fret nor rage. Arise and let us go to Eagles' dale on the day that is written by him in the letter. And if it be true, then all that thou commandest shall be done.'	14 said to him, 'Be not grieved, O king! nor be wroth, but let us go to the plain of Nisrîn and see if the tale be true or not.'	Grieve not, O ruler; but 14 come, let us go to the plain of the Eagles, and let us see whether this be so. Then what thou commandest is done.
15 So my son Nadan took the king my lord, and they came to me at Eagles' dale: and they found me having with me great forces that were gathered there. And when I saw the king, I put my forces in array against him, as it was written in the letter. And when the king saw it, he was much afraid.	15 Then Nadan arose on the fifth day and took the king and the soldiers and the vizier, and they went to the desert to the plain of Nisrîn. And the king looked, and lo! Haiqâr and the army were set in array. And when Haiqâr saw that the king was there, he approached and signalled to the army to move as in war and to fight in array against the king as it had been found in the letter, he not knowing what a pit Nadan had digged for him. And when the king saw the act of Haiqâr he was seized with anxiety and terror and perplexity, and was wroth	And Seneqerim took his army 15 and came to the plain of the Eagles, and found me with my army; and I drew up my forces over against him as he had commanded. When the king saw this, he was very grieved.

And Nathan took the king and went to the plain of the Eagles. But I, Khikar, when I learned of the setting out of the king, prepared my forces and set them over against him, as had been written in the dispatch by behest of the king.

When the king saw my forces, he was sore troubled. The king said: If thou bringest Khikar before me, mighty presents will I give thee, and all the royal affairs shall be discharged by thee; for thou hast been found a trusty servant before me. And the king went back into his palace.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 3. 16—4. 1

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
<p>16 Then my son Nadan answered and said to him: 'Let it not disturb thee, my lord the king. Return and come into thy chamber¹ in peace: and I will bring Ahikar before thee.'</p> <p>Then my lord the king returned to his house.</p>	<p>16 with a great wrath. And Nadan said to him, 'Hast thou seen, O my lord the king! what this wretch has done? but be not thou wroth and be not grieved nor pained, but go to thy house and sit on thy throne, and I will bring Haiqâr to thee bound and chained with chains, and I will chase away thine enemy from thee without toil.'</p> <p>And the king returned to his throne, being provoked about Haiqâr, and did nothing concerning him.</p> <p>17 And Nadan went to Haiqâr and said to him, 'W'allah, O my uncle! The king verily rejoiceth in thee with great joy and thanks thee for having done what he commanded thee. And now he hath sent me to thee that thou mayst dismiss the soldiers to their duties¹ and come thyself to him with thy hands bound behind thee, and thy feet chained, that the ambassadors of Pharaoh may see this, and that the king may be feared by them and by their king.' Then answered Haiqâr and said, 'To hear is to obey.' And he arose straightway and bound his hands behind him, and</p> <p>4 1 chained his feet. And Nadan took him and went with him to the king. And when Haiqâr entered the king's presence he did obeisance before him on the ground, and wished for power and perpetual life to the king. Then said the king, 'O Haiqâr, my Secretary, the Governor of my affairs, my Chancellor, the ruler of my State, tell me what evil</p>	<p>Nathan began to speak and 16 said: Grieve not, O king, but let us go home. And I will bring my father Khikar before thee. The king said to Nathan: If thou bringest Khikar before me, I will give thee very great presents and I will set thee in trust over all my affairs. And all the affairs of my kingdom shall be transacted by thee with ability.</p> <p>And the king returned to his 17 palace, and Nathan my sister's son came to me and said: Seneqerim the king hath sent me to thee and says, Come to me and let us be joyful together.</p> <p>And when I went, the king said 4 1 to me:</p> <p>Khikar, Notary and wise man, thou wast my counsellor and ruler, and giver of commands of the house of the Asores and Ninevites; and thou hast gone over to the side of my enemies.</p>
<p>17 And my son Nadan came to me and said to me, 'All that thou hast done, thou hast done finely: and much hath the king praised thee; and he commands thee to dismiss thy forces that they may go every man to his own place and his own district. And do thou come to me thyself alone.'</p>		
<p>4 1 Thereupon I came before the king, and when he saw me, he said unto me, 'Art thou come, Ahikar, my Secretary and the foster-child of Assyria and Nineveh, thou whom I caused to come into honour? but thou hast turned back and taken the part of my enemies.'</p>		
<p>¹ Taking the word as equivalent of the Greek <i>κοιτώνα</i>.</p>	<p>¹ Lit. 'to the way of their path'.</p>	

And Nathan came to me and said: My father Khikar, very honourable and pleasing hath seemed to the king this preparing of thy cavalry in array. Therefore hath he sent me to thee and saith, All thou hast done thou hast done well and wisely. So then give orders to thy forces to go to their place, and do thou come and let us make merry together.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 4. 2-6

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
<p>2 And he gave me those letters that were written in my name and were sealed with the seal of my own ring. And when I read them, my tongue stammered and my limbs became faint: and I sought for a single word from the words of wisdom and I found me none.</p>	<p>have I done to thee that thou hast rewarded me by this ugly deed.' Then they showed him the letters in his writing and with his seal. And when Haiqâr saw this, his limbs trembled and his tongue was tied at once, and he was unable to speak a word from fear; but he hung his head towards the earth and was dumb. And when the king saw this, he felt certain that the thing was from him, and he straightway arose and commanded them to kill Haiqâr, and to strike his neck with the sword outside of the city.</p>	<p>And that letter, which Nathan 2 had written in my¹ words and had likened therein his handwriting to my handwriting, the king gave unto me and said: Take and read.</p>
<p>3 And my son Nadan answered and said to me, 'Away with thee from the king's sight, thou foolish old man: and give thy hands to bonds and thy feet to iron fetters.'</p>	<p>3 Then Nadan screamed and said, 'O Haiqâr, O black-face! what avails thee thy meditation or thy power in the doing of this deed to the king?'</p>	<p>And when I read it, all my limbs were² dissolved, and my tongue was shrivelled up as parchment; and I was stupefied and became like one of those distraught. I sought for a word of wisdom and found no answer to give.</p>
<p>Then Sennacherib the king turned away his face from me, and he talked with Nabusemakh¹ . . . and said to him, 'Arise, go slay Ahikar, and separate his head a hundred ells from his body.'</p>	<p>4 Thus says the story-teller. And the name of the swordsman was Ibn Samîk. And the king said to him, 'O swordsman! arise, go, cleave the neck of Haiqâr at the door of his house, and cast away his head from his body</p>	<p>Nathan began to speak, 3 and said to me: Get out of the presence of thy king, grey-haired one, perverted and inane³. Give thy hand for the iron and thy foot for the fetter.</p>
<p>4 Then I fell on my face on the ground and worshipped the king, and I said, 'My lord the king, live for ever. Seeing, my lord, that it hath pleased thee to kill me, thy will be done. I know, however, that I have not sinned against thee. But</p>	<p>5 a hundred cubits.' Then Haiqâr knelt before the king, and said, 'Let my lord the king live for ever! and if thou desire to slay me, let thy wish be [fulfilled]; and I know that I am not guilty, but the wicked man has to give an account of his wickedness; nevertheless, O my lord the king! I beg of thee and of thy friendship, permit the swordsman to give my body to my slaves, that they may bury me, and let thy slave be thy sacrifice.'</p>	<p>And the 4 king turned away his face from me and said to Abusmaq, his <i>nayip</i>: Lead away and slay yon godless Khikar, and remove his head afar, about one hundred ells.</p>
<p>5 command them, my lord the king, that they kill me at the door of my house: and let them give my body to burial.'</p>	<p>6 The king arose and commanded the swordsman to do with him according to his</p>	<p>And I fell on my face and 5 kissed the earth and said: O King, live for ever. Thou hast willed me to slaying, and hast not hearkened unto my words. And I from my heart know that I have not in any way wronged thee, and in my heart there is no guile. I am innocent. Therefore have pity on me and order that in my own house they slay me and give over my body for burial.</p>
<p>6 And the king said to Nabusemakh² . . . , 'Go, kill Ahikar at the door of his house, and</p>		<p>And the king ordered Abus- 6 maq, that they should slay me in my own house. And when</p>
<p>¹ 'Yabusemakh Meskin Kanti', which I do not understand; the correction of the first part of the name is obvious. Possibly it should be 'Nabušumuškin, my colleague'. Compare the form as given in the papyrus, and in the Arabic.</p>		<p>¹ Ven. omits 'my'.</p>
<p>² <i>Ut supra</i>.</p>		<p>² Bodl. = 'all the flesh of my limbs was'.</p>
		<p>³ The Arm. word is obscure.</p>

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 4. 6-9

SYRIAC

give his body to burial.' There-
upon I, Ahiḱar, sent to Esh-
fagni my wife that she should
bring forth from the daughters
of my tribe maids a thousand
and one: 'and let them put on
raiment of mourning, and let
them wail and lament and weep
7 over me. And let them come
to meet me, and let them make
a funeral feast¹ over me before
I die. And prepare thou bread
and a table and a banquet for
Nabusemakh² . . . and his Par-
thians that are with him, and
come to meet them, and receive
them and bring them into my
house. And I too will come
into the house as a guest.'

8 And Eshfagni my wife, for
that she was exceeding wise,
understood all my message, and
did whatsoever I had sent to her
to do; and she came forth to
meet them, and she brought
them into my house: and they
did eat bread, and with her own
hand she served them, until
they fell asleep from drunken-
ness, every man in his place.

9 Thereat I, Ahiḱar, entered and
said to Nabusemakh³, 'Look
towards God, and remember the
love that there was between us.
brother: and grieve not over my
death: and remember that thee
also did Sarḥadum the father of
Sennacherib deliver to me that
I should slay thee, yet I slew
thee not, because I was aware
that there was in thee no ground
of offence; and I kept thee alive
until the king desired thee, and
when I brought thee before him,

¹ Lit. 'a house of weeping'.

² Yabusemakh.

³ *Ut supra*.

ARABIC

desire. And he straightway
commanded his servants to
take Haiḳâr and the swordsm-
man and to go with him
naked that they might slay
him. And when Haiḳâr
knew for certain that he was
to be slain he sent to his wife
7 and said to her, 'Come out
and meet me, and let there
be with thee a thousand
young virgins, and dress them
in gowns of purple and silk
that they may weep for me
before my death. And pre-
pare a table for the swordsm-
man and for his servants.
And mingle plenty of wine,
that they may drink.'

8 And she did all that he
commanded her. And she
was very wise, clever, and
prudent. And she united
all possible courtesy and
learning.

And when the army of the
king and the swordsman
arrived they found the table
set in order, and the wine and
the luxurious viands, and
they began eating and drink-
ing till they were gorged and
drunken.

9 Then Haiḳâr took the
swordsman aside apart from
the company and said, 'O
Abu Samik, dost thou not
know that when Sarḥadum
the king, the father of Sen-
nacherib, wanted to kill thee.
I took thee and hid thee in
a certain place till the king's
anger subsided and he asked
for thee? And when I
brought thee into his presence
he rejoiced in thee: and now
remember the kindness I did

ARMENIAN

I went forth from the king, I
wrote a letter lamenting to
Abestan my wife and said:
When this letter reaches thee,
do thou send out to meet me a
thousand virgins; and let them
put on apparel of mourning and
let them mourn for me and
bewail me, that I may see with
my own eyes even the wailers
who bewail me in my lifetime.
But^a thou shalt make large
loaves, to give to my execu-
tioners, and dainty viands for
them to eat and drink.

And Abestan my wife was 8
very wise and¹ fulfilled my
orders. She went out to meet
me, and led them into the house,
and set before them a table;
and fed them, and gave them to
drink old wine and unmixed, till
they were fuddled and were
drunk and fell asleep.

Then I 9
and my wife fell at the feet of
Abusmaq weeping, and I said
to him: Abusmaq, my comrade,
look up to heaven and behold
God with thy eyes; and re-
member the bread and salt
which we have eaten together,
and remember how that they
betrayed thee to Seneqerim the
king's father; and I took and
kept thee until the king asked
for thee, and how, when I led
thee before him, he gave me

¹ Paris 92 and 58 alone add the
words 'was . . . and'.

^a The narrative that follows is given in MS. Canon in a form more closely resembling the Syriac as below:
And they shall make and prepare a table, adorned with all good things, for Abusmaq and the Parthians
who are with me. Thou shalt go out to meet these and shalt lead them into the house.

And Arphestan my wife did immediately what I had commanded; and we set out to my house. And
Abusmaq and the Parthians reclined, and my wife set before them a table, and waited on them. And
I entered with them to eat bread; and they were fuddled with wine.

And I said to Abusmaq my comrade, Look up to heaven and discern God with thy eyes and remember
the love of our brotherhood. And sin not against my blood, for thou knowest that I am innocent. But

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 4. 9-13

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
<p>he gave me great gifts, and many presents did I carry off from him. And do thou too, now, preserve me alive and recompense me this kindness: and in order that the word come not abroad that I was not killed and that the king may not quarrel with thee, behold, I have in my prison-house a slave, Marzifan hight, and he is due to die: clothe this slave in my raiment and rouse up the Parthians against him and they will slay him: and I shall not die, because I have done no wrong.'</p> <p>11 And when I spake thus, moreover Nabusemakh¹ . . . also was sore grieved over me, and he took my raiments and clad in them the slave that was in the prison-house. And he roused up the Parthians, and they arose in the fumes² of their wine, and they slew him and removed his head a hundred ells from his corse, and they gave over his body for burial.</p> <p>12 Then went forth the report in Assyria and Nineveh, that Aḥīkar the Secretary is killed.</p> <p>And Nabusemakh³ . . . rose up, and Eshfagni my wife, and they made for me a hiding-place underground; its breadth was three cubits and its height five cubits, under the threshold of the</p> <p>13 door of my house. And they put bread and water with me, and went and showed to Sennacherib the king that Aḥīkar, the Secretary, was dead: and when the men heard it, they wept; and the women disfigured⁴ their</p>	<p>10 thee. And I know that the king will repent him about me and will be wroth with a great wrath about my execution. For I am not guilty, and it shall be when thou shalt present me before him in his palace, thou shalt meet with great good fortune, and know that Nadan my sister's son has deceived me and has done this bad deed to me, and the king will repent of having slain me; and now I have a cellar in the garden of my house, and</p> <p>11 no one knows of it. Hide me in it with the knowledge of my wife. And I have a slave in prison who deserves to be killed. Bring him out and dress him in my clothes, and command the servants when they are drunk to slay him. They will not know who it is they are killing.</p> <p>12 And cast away his head a hundred cubits from his body, and give his body to my slaves that they may bury it. And thou shalt have laid up a great treasure with me.' And then the swordsman did as Haiqâr had commanded him, and he went to the king and said to him, 'May thy head live for ever!'</p> <p>13 Then Haiqâr's wife let down to him in the hiding-place every week what sufficed for him, and no one knew of it but herself. And the story was reported and repeated and spread abroad</p>	<p>mighty gifts. Now therefore 10 keep me and render to me a return of the service I rendered thee, and to thee there will be mighty gifts as thy requital, good for good¹. I have a man in prison, and very like unto me is he. He shed blood in my house and is under sentence of death, and his name is Seniqar. Take therefore my garments into the prison and dress him up in them and slay him; and so thou fulfillest the king's command.</p> <p>And when I said this, Abus- 11 maq had pity on me, and did my will and what I told him. And the soldiers, fuddled, woke up from sleep² at midnight, and slew Seniqar my slave, and removed his head from him one hundred ells.</p> <p>And the news 12 went forth into the city of Asorestan, that Khikar, Notary and wise man, was dead.</p> <p>Then Abusmaq my comrade and Abestan my wife made me a house dug out underground, its³ length seven ells, and its height equal to my head's, hard by the door-posts of my house. And they shut me in and placed 13 beside me bread and water, and then Abusmaq went off to the king and told him that 'Khikar the wise is slain'. And all who heard of my death beat their breasts and were full of regret</p>

¹ *Ut supra.*

² Lit. 'taste'.

³ *Ut supra.*

⁴ Lit. 'scratched'.

¹ Bodl. has 'will be a requital from God': Paris 92, 'will be mighty gifts'. I render the Ven. MS.

² So Ven. and Paris 92: the rest = 'fuddled with wine, woke up at'.

³ Canon = 'its height three ells and its length seven ells, equal to (or level with) the door-posts of my house'.

remember also this, that the sire of Seneqerim gave thee into my hands for slaying; and I wronged thee not, for I knew that thou wast innocent. And I kept thee until the king made a request; and then I led thee before the king, and the king gave me mighty gifts. This do thou likewise and slay me not. There is my slave whose name is Sêniphar, and very like is he unto me. And he is in prison, because he is under sentence of death. So then lead me into prison and dress him up in my garments and cast him to the Parthians, for them to slay him. . . .

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 4. 13-17

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
faces and said : 'Alas for thee, Ahiḳar the wise Secretary, thou fence of the breaches of our country : for like thee there will never be any one to us.'	in every place of how Haiqâr the Sage had been slain and was dead, and all the people of that city mourned for him. And they wept and said : 'Alas for thee, O Haiqâr ! and for thy learning and thy courtesy ! How sad about thee and about thy knowledge ! Where can another like thee be found ? and where can there be a man so intelligent, so learned, so skilled in ruling as to resemble thee that he may fill thy place ?'	and said : Alas for thee, O Notary ! Who is there to decide the matters of thy kingdom with thy ability ?
14 Then Sennacherib the king called my son Nadan, and said to him, 'Go make a funeral feast ¹ for thy father Ahiḳar, and then return to me.'	But the king was repenting about Haiqâr, and his repentance availed him naught. 14 Then he called for Nadan and said to him, 'Go and take thy friends with thee and make a mourning and a weeping for thy uncle Haiqâr, and lament for him as the custom is, doing honour to his memory.' But when	Then the king called Nathan 14 and said to him : Go, make lamentations for the house and mourning for thy father.
15 And when Nadan my son came, no funeral feast did he make for me, nor any remembrance at all ; but gathered him the vain and lewd folk, and set them down at my table, with singing and with great joy ; and my beloved servants and handmaidens he stripped and flogged without mercy.	15 Nadan, the foolish, the ignorant, the hard-hearted, went to the house of his uncle, he neither wept nor sorrowed nor wailed, but assembled heartless and dissolute people and set about eating and drinking. And Nadan began to seize the maidservants and the slaves belonging to Haiqâr, and bound them and tortured them and drubbed them with a sore drubbing.	Na- 15 than ^a came, and instead of lamenting he gathered together actors, and made great cheer ; and he very cruelly tormented my servants and handmaids.
16 Nor had he any reverence for my wife Eshfagni, but sought to do with her the way of man with woman.	16 And he did not respect the wife of his uncle, she who had brought him up like her own boy, but wanted her to fall into sin with him. But	And even for Abestan my wife 16 he had no respect, but desired to fornicate with her, that had brought him up. And I from my subterranean chamber heard the weeping and groanings and the complaints of my servants. And 17
17 Ahiḳar, was cast into darkness in the pit beneath. And I was hearing the voice of my bakers, cooks, and butlers as they wept and sobbed within my house.	17 Haiqâr had been cast into the hiding-place, and he heard the weeping of his slaves and his neighbours, and he praised the Most High God, the Merciful One,	I moreover wept and my soul longed for a little bread and a morsel of meat and a cup. And I was destitute of all my chattels.

¹ Lit. 'a house of weeping'.

^a MS. Canon has the narrative which follows in a form nearer to the Syriac. It is given below :

And Nathan went off to the house of Khikar, but with him there was no concern for mourning. And he collected all his dear ones to drink wine and made great good cheer, instead of mourning as the king commanded. Using force to the dear ones of Khikar he tortured them and had no respect for Arphestan wife of Khikar, nay rather desired to fornicate with her.

And I, Khikar, was hearing the voice of my stewards whom Nathan tortured and ill-treated. And I was tortured in the darkness. My soul was longing for bread and a morsel of meat.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 4. 18—5. 3

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
	and gave thanks, and he always prayed and besought the Most High God.	And all the inhabitants of Asorestan and of Nineveh fled from me.
18 And after a few days came Nabusemakh ¹ . . . and opened [my prison] over me ² and comforted me; and set before me bread and water; and I said to him, 'When thou goest forth from me, remember me before God, and say, O God, just and righteous, and that showest grace upon the earth, hear the voice of Thy servant Ahi ³ kar, and remember that he sacrificed to Thee fattened oxen like sucking	18 And the swordsman came from time to time to Haiqâr whilst he was in the midst of the hiding-place: and Haiqâr came and entreated him. And he comforted him and wished him deliverance.	
19 lambs. And now he is cast into the darksome pit where he seeth no light. And dost Thou not save him that crieth unto Thee? O Lord, hear the voice of my colleague, ⁴ [I pray Thee.]	19 And when the story was reported in other countries that Haiqâr the Sage had been slain, all the kings were grieved and despised king Sennacherib, and they lamented over Haiqâr the solver of riddles.	
5 1 Now when Pharaoh, king of Egypt, heard that I, Ahi ³ kar, had been slain, he was greatly rejoiced, and he wrote a letter to Sennacherib on this wise:	5 1 And when the king of Egypt had made sure that Haiqâr was slain, he arose straightway and wrote a letter to king Sennacherib, reminding him in it 'of the peace and the health and the might and the honour which we wish specially for thee, my beloved	When the king of Egypt 5 1 heard this, of how Khikar the Notary was dead, and of the Ninevites and all the land (that) they were fled, he was very glad. And the king of Egypt, Pharaon, wrote a letter as follows:
2 'Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. I am planning to build a castle between heaven and earth, wherefore seek out and send me from thy kingdom a man who is a skilled architect, that he may give me reply concerning all	2 brother, king Sennacherib. I have been desiring to build a castle between the heaven and the earth, and I want thee to send me a wise, clever man from thyself to build it for me, and to answer me all my questions, and that I may have the taxes ¹ and the custom duties of Assyria for three years.' Then he sealed	To Seneqerim, king of the 2 Asores. Health be to thy Lordship and Kingship. Be it known to thee that I desire to build a palace hung betwixt heaven and earth. Look and send unto me a true and clever and wise man who can build, and also give answer to any question I ask. If however thou shalt neglect 3 this request, then I will come
3 that I shall ask him. And when thou shalt send me such a man, I will collect and send thee the revenue of Egypt for three		
¹ <i>Ut supra.</i>	¹ i.e. taxes in kind, agricultural produce. For this rendering of the Arabic word, see Dozy, vol. ii, p. 345.	
² Lit. 'on my eyes'.		
³ Cf. Apoc. vi. 10, 'How long, O Lord, holy and true,' &c.		
⁴ This trifling but necessary emendation confirms our interpretation (<i>vide supra</i>) of the corrupt name.		

And when Pharaon heard that Khikar was slain, he was very glad, and wrote a dispatch to the king Seneqerim, riddles.

And the king called Nathan and said: Write an answer to this letter.

And Nathan said: Difficult is this matter. Who is able to give answer thereto?

And the king was distressed and said: Alas for Khikar my secretary and wise man!

And when Pharaon learned that they could not give an answer to his writing, he sent puissant forces and they took tribute from Seneqerim. And as long as Khikar languished in the prison, the burden of Pharaon was multiplied on Asorestan and Nineveh. Those who were under the hand of Seneqerim also were much impoverished and all the land laid waste, and the chambers of the royal treasury were emptied.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 5. 3-7

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
years: and if thou send me not a man who shall give me reply concerning all that I ask him, then do thou collect and send me the tribute of Assyria and Nineveh for three years, by the hands of these ambassadors that come to thee.'	the letter and sent it to Sen- 3 nacherib. He took it and read it and gave it to his viziers and to the nobles of his kingdom, and they were perplexed and ashamed, and he was wroth with a great wrath, and was puzzled about	and take away thy kingdom and will lay waste thy land.
4 And when this letter was read before the king, he cried out to all the nobles and franklins of his kingdom, and said unto them: 'Which of you will go to Egypt to give reply to the king concerning all that he shall ask him? And he shall build him the castle that he planneth, and bring back the three years' tribute of Egypt and come hither.'	4 how he should act. Then he assembled the old men and the learned men and the wise men and the philosophers, and the diviners and the astrologers, and every one who was in his country, and read them the letter and said to them, 'Who amongst you will go to Pharaoh king of Egypt and answer him his	When 4 the king heard this he was very grieved, and sent and mustered his satraps to ask their advice, saying: What shall we do?
5 And when the nobles heard this, they answered and said unto the king: 'My lord the king, thou knowest that not only in the years of thy reign, but also in the years of thy father Sarhadum, Aḥikar the Secretary was in the habit of resolving	5 questions?' And they said to him, 'O our lord the king! know thou that there is none in thy kingdom who is acquainted with these questions except Haiqâr, thy vizier and	The ¹ satraps say: O King, who 5 else can answer this question except Nathan, who hath learned of Khikar and knoweth his lore and hath been brought up in his house? He will be able to give an answer to this demand which the king of Egypt hath written. Then the king called Nathan and showed him the counsel; and he gave him the dispatch, and Nathan read it. When he had read aloud 6
6 questions like these. And now, also, behold his son Nadan, he is instructed in his father's book-lore and wisdom.' And when my son Nadan heard these things, he cried out before the king and said: 'The gods themselves cannot do things like these; let alone men' ¹	6 secretary. But as for us, we have no skill in this, unless it be Nadan, his sister's son, for he taught him all his wisdom and learning and knowledge. Call him to thee, perchance he may untie this hard knot.' Then the king called Nadan and said to him, 'Look at this letter and understand what is in it.' And when Nadan read it, he said, 'O my lord! who is able to build a castle between the heaven and the earth?'	the letter, he cried out with a loud voice and said: This ² is a matter which even the gods ³ cannot settle or give answer to. How shall I be able to give answer?
7 And when the king heard	7 And when the king heard	When the king heard, he rose 7
¹ Cf. Dan. ii. 11.		¹ Canon: 'And they perplexed said: To such a matter Khikar would give an answer, and now Nathan who is in his place.' ² Canon: 'Such a matter the gods cannot answer, much less men. When the king heard, he was sorely troubled; he rose . . .' ³ The Arm. word used is <i>dign</i> , i. e. the <i>devs</i> .

And the king said: Alas for Khikar, secretary and wise man! One who should give thee to me alive, many chattels would I give him, even to the half of my kingdom.
And Abusmaq revealed it not to the king, that he might be in stress and know the value to him of Khikar.
And Pharaon sent a dispatch to king Seneqerim which had this tenor: From Pharaon to Seneqerim, health. I desire to build a palace. . . .
This when Nathan heard, he cried with a loud voice and said: King, live for ever. Such a matter as that the gods could not make answer to. Surely then not men?
When the king heard this he was very distressed. He rose from his throne and sat on sackcloth, beat his

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 5. 7-8

SYRIAC

these words, he was much perturbed, and he descended from his throne and sat on the ground, and spake thus:¹ 'Alas for thee, Aḥikar the wise, that I destroyed thee for the words of a boy! Who will give thee to me for such a time as this? I would give him thy weight in gold.'

8 And when Nabusemakh² . . . heard these words, he fell down before the king and said to him: 'He who has contemned the commandment of his lord, is guilty of death; and I, my lord, have contemned the command of thy kingship. Command, therefore, that they crucify me.

¹ Cf. Ezek. xxvi. 16 καὶ καταβήσονται ἀπὸ τῶν θρόνων αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες . . . ἐπὶ γῆν καθεδούνται . . . καὶ στενάξουσιν ἐπὶ σέ· καὶ λήψονται ἐπὶ σέ θρήνον καὶ ἐρούσιν σοι. . . .
² *Ut supra.*

ARABIC

the speech of Nadan he sorrowed with a great and sore sorrow, and stepped down from his throne and sat in the ashes, and began to weep and wail over Haiqâr, saying, 'O my grief! O Haiqâr, who didst know the secrets and the riddles! woe is me for thee, O Haiqâr! O teacher of my country and ruler of my kingdom, where shall I find thy like? O Haiqâr, O teacher of my country, where shall I turn for thee? woe is me for thee! how did I destroy thee! and I listened to the talk of a stupid, ignorant boy without knowledge, without religion, without manliness. Ah! and again Ah for myself! who can give thee to me just for once, or bring me word that Haiqâr is alive? and I would give him the half of my kingdom. Whence is this to me? Ah, Haiqâr! that I might see thee just for once, that I might take my fill of gazing at thee, and delighting in thee. Ah! O my grief for thee to all time! O Haiqâr, how have I killed thee! and I tarried not in thy case till I had seen the end of the matter.' And the king went on weeping night and day.

8 Now when the swordsman saw the wrath of the king and his sorrow for Haiqâr, his heart was softened towards him, and he approached into his presence and said to him: 'O my lord! command thy servants to cut off my head.' Then

¹ B.M. MS. 'is crucified'.

ARMENIAN

from his golden throne and sat in the ashes, and with his own hands he smote his face and plucked out his beard and said: Alas for thee, Khikar, Notary and wise, I have through the tittle-tattle of men destroyed thee! For thou didst arrange the affairs of our kingdom. Now if any one gave thee unto me, I would give him whatever he asked of me, no matter how great a treasure of gold and silver.

When Abusmaq my comrade heard this, he stood before the king and said: O King, live for ever. He that doeth not the king's commands is sentenced to death, for the commands of 8 God and of the king are one. Thou didst bid slay Khikar, and he is still living.

person and said: Alas for Khikar, able notary and wise! On the words of a lying man I slew him. There is none like thee. And there is no successor like thee in the royal gate. If any one gave thee to me, I would weigh him against gold and buy thee. When Abusmaq learned the deep distress of the king, he said: My lord king, he that contemns the behests of his lord and fulfils them not is guilty of death. Now then this word of mine is fulfilled in me. For I fulfilled not the behest of my lord. Thou didst make behest to slay Khikar, and now he is still alive.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 5. 8-10

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
For Ahiḱar, whom thou didst command me to slay, is yet alive.'	said the king to him : 'Woe to thee, Abu Samīk, what is thy fault?' And the swordsman said unto him, 'O my master! every slave who acts contrary to the word of his master is killed ¹ , and I have acted contrary to thy command.' Then the king said unto him, 'Woe unto thee, O Abu Samīk, in what hast thou acted contrary to my command?' And the swordsman said unto him,	
9 And when the king heard these words, he answered and said, 'Speak on, speak on, Nabusemakh ¹ ; speak on, thou good and clever man, unskilled in evil. If it is indeed as thou sayest, and thou show me Ahiḱar alive, then I will give thee presents of silver, a hundred talents in weight, and of purple, fifty talents in value.' ²	9 'O my lord! thou didst command me to kill Haiqār, and I knew that thou wouldst repent thee concerning him, and that he had been wronged, and I hid him in a certain place, and I killed one of his slaves, and he is now safe in the cistern, and if thou command me I will bring him to thee.' And the king said unto him, 'Woe to thee, O Abu Samīk! thou hast mocked me and I am thy lord.' And the swordsman said unto him, 'Nay, but by the life of thy head, O my lord! Haiqār is safe and alive.' And when the king heard that saying, he felt sure of the matter, and his head swam ² , and he fainted from joy, and he commanded [them] to bring	The king 9 said: Speak, Abusmaq, my servant and trusty one. If thou canst show me Khikar alive, I will give thee ¹ byssus and purple and bestow on thee mighty presents.
10 And Nabusemakh ³ answered and said, 'Swear to me, my lord the king, that, if there be not found before thee other sins of mine, this sin shall not be remembered against me.' And the king gave him his right hand on this matter.	10 [Haiqār] ³ . And he said to the swordsman, 'O trusty servant! if thy speech be true, I would fain enrich thee, and exalt thy dignity above that of all thy friends.' And the swordsman went along rejoicing till he came to Haiqār's house. And he opened the door of the hiding-place, and went down and found Haiqār sitting, praising God, and thanking Him. And he shouted	And Abusmaq, when 10 he heard this from the king, like a swiftly flying fowl, came unto me, and opened the door of my subterranean chamber, and led me forth.
¹ Cod. 'Yabusemakh'.	¹ B.M. MS. 'is crucified'.	¹ Bodl. 'will array thee in'.
² Dan. v. 16.	² Lit. 'his reason flew'.	
³ Cod. 'Yabusemakh'.	³ Cod. 'him'.	

And the king said: Speak, speak, my servant, well-doing and trusty. For thou hast not sinned. But of many good things hast thou become worthy. If thou showest me Khikar, I will give thee royal purples and one hundred thousand talents of gold.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 5. 11-13

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
	to him, saying, 'O Haiqâr, I bring the greatest of joy, and happiness, and delight!' And Haiqâr said to him, 'What is the news, O Abu Samîk?' And he told him all about Pharaoh from the beginning to the end. Then he took him and	
11 And forthwith the king mounted his chariot, and came unto me in haste, and opened [my prison] over me, and I ascended and came and fell before the king; the hair of my head had grown down on my shoulders, and my beard reached my breast; and my body was foul with the dust, and my nails were grown long like eagles'. ¹	11 went to the king. And when the king looked at him, he saw him in a state of want, and that his hair had grown long like the wild beasts' and his nails like the claws of an eagle, and that his body was dirty with dust, and the colour of his face had changed and faded and was now like ashes.	And the colour of 11 my face was changed and my head ¹ was matted and my nails were grown like an eagle's.
12 And when the king saw me, he wept and was ashamed to talk with me, and in great grief he said to me, 'It was not I that sinned against thee, Ahiqâr; but thy son whom thou broughtest up, he it was that sinned against thee.'	12 And when the king saw him he sorrowed over him and rose at once and embraced him and kissed him, and wept over him and said: 'Praise be to God! who hath brought thee back to me.' Then he consoled him and comforted him. And he stripped off his robe, and put it on the swordsman, and was very gracious to him, and gave him great wealth, and made Haiqâr rest.	When the king beheld me ² , 12 he bent his head and was ashamed to look in my face; and hardly looked in my face, his face being full of shame; and ^a he said to me: O my loved and honourable brother Khikar, go to thy house and repair thy person for forty days, and then come unto me. And I did so. And I came back again to the king, and the king said: I have sinned against thee, father Khikar. Not I is it that has sinned against thee, but Nathan thy sister's son, whom thou didst bring up.
13 Thereupon I answered and said to him, 'Because I have seen thy face, my lord, no evil is in my mind.' And the king said to me, 'Go to thy house, Ahiqâr, and shave off thy hair, and wash thy body, and recover thy strength ² forty days; and after that come to me.'	13 Then said Haiqâr to the king, 'Let my lord the king live for ever! These be the deeds of the children of the world. I have reared me a palm-tree that I might lean on it, and it bent sideways, and threw me down. But, O my lord! since I have appeared before thee, let not 14 care oppress thee.' And the king said to him: 'Blessed be God, who showed thee	And I fell on my face and 13 kissed the earth before the king and said: Forasmuch as I have seen the face of the king, I am alive; and all evils are turned for me into wellbeing, forasmuch as thy servant Khikar has found grace.
		The king said: Hast thou heard this, O honourable good Khikar, to wit, what the Egyp-
¹ Dan. iv. 33. ² Lit. 'let thy soul come into thee'.		¹ Canon: 'the hair of my head.' ² Bodl. adds 'in such plight'.

^a For the text of MS. Canon see below:

And he sent me to the bath for them to wash and anoint me with fragrant oil (omitting the direct speech of the king on this point). And they did so, and brought raiment of great price and clad me in it. And the king brought and set me close to him. And all that he had promised to Abusmaq he fulfilled amply.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 6. 1

SYRIAC

ARABIC

ARMENIAN

6 1 Therefore I went to my house, and I was in my house about thirty days, and when I was recovered¹, I came to the king, and the king answered and said to me: 'Hast thou seen, Aḥikar, what a letter Pharaoh, king of Egypt, has written me?'

¹ Lit. 'my soul was in order upon me'.

mercy, and knew that thou wast wronged, and saved thee and delivered thee from being slain. But go to the warm bath, and shave thy head, and cut thy nails, and change thy clothes, and amuse thyself for the space of forty days, that thou mayst do good to thyself and improve thy condition and the colour of thy face may come back
15 to thee.' Then the king stripped off his costly robe, and put it on Haiqâr, and Haiqâr thanked God and did obeisance to the king, and departed to his dwelling glad and happy, praising the Most High God. And the people of his household rejoiced with him, and his friends and every one who heard that he was alive rejoiced also.

6 1 And he did as the king commanded him, and took a rest for forty days. Then he dressed himself in his gayest dress, and went riding to the king, with his slaves behind him and before him, rejoicing and delighted. But when Nadan his sister's son perceived what was happening, fear took hold of him and terror, and he was perplexed, not knowing what to do. And when Haiqâr saw it he entered into the king's presence and greeted him, and he returned the greeting, and made him sit down at his side, saying to him, 'O my darling Haiqâr! look at these letters which the king of Egypt sent to us, after he had heard that thou wast slain. They have provoked us and overcome us, and many of the people of our country have fled to Egypt for fear of the taxes that the king of Egypt has sent to demand from us.' Then

tian has sent and that which is said, that the inhabitants of Nineveh and Asorestan are fled? And I said to the king: Therefore let a herald proclaim at the
14 gate of thy palace, that Khikar is alive; and all who shall hear it will return, each man to his place.

And the king commanded a herald to cry, saying: Khikar is alive; and that all the dwellers in Nineveh and Asorestan returned, each man to his place.

Then the king brought the letter of Pharaoh and gave it to me, and said: Read and give an answer to this letter.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 6. 2-5

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
<p>2 And I answered and said, 'My lord the king, let there be no trouble to thee over this affair. I will go to Egypt and build the king a castle: and I will make him answer concerning all that he may ask me: and I will bring back with me the three years' tribute of Egypt.'</p>	<p>Haiqâr took the letter and read it and understood all its contents. Then he said to the king, 'Be not wroth, O my lord! I will go to Egypt, and I will return the answers to Pharaoh, and I will display this letter to him, and I will reply to him about the taxes, and I will send back all those who have run away; and I will put thy enemies to shame with the help of the Most High God, and for the happiness of thy kingdom.'</p>	<p>And I said to the king Sene-6 1 qerim: Concerning this matter which the Egyptian has sent, do thou not be anxious. I will 2 go and give him answer and will bring to thee the tribute from Egypt.</p>
<p>3 And when the king heard these things he rejoiced with a great joy: and he gave me gifts: and as for Nabusemakh¹. . . he set him at the head of all. And after this I wrote a letter to Eshfagni my wife, as follows:</p>	<p>3 And when the king heard this speech from Haiqâr he rejoiced with a great joy, and his heart was expanded and he showed him favour. And Haiqâr said to the king: 'Grant me a delay of forty days that I may consider this question and manage it.' And the king permitted this.</p>	<p>When the king 3 heard this he was glad, and established Abusmaq at the head of the divan. And on the morrow I wrote to Abestan my wife and said as follows:</p>
<p>4 'When this letter reaches thee, command my huntsmen that they catch me two young eagles: and command the workers in flax, that they make me hempen ropes; the length of each one of them shall be a thousand ells, and their thickness that of one's little finger.</p>	<p>4 And Haiqâr went to his dwelling, and he commanded the huntsmen to capture two young eaglets for him, and they captured them and brought them to him: and he commanded the weavers of ropes to weave two cables of cotton for him, each of them two thousand cubits long, and he had the carpenters brought and ordered them to make two great boxes, and they did this.</p>	<p>When thou readest this 4 writing, do thou have caught two nestlings of an eagle, and two children not yet able to talk, and two nursing women to nurse the little ones. And they shall say: Clay, lime, mortar, brick. The artisans stand idle. And have two ropes spun, the length thereof two hundred ells, and the thickness thereof one ell.</p>
<p>5 And bid the carpenters to make me cages for the young eagles: and deliver over Ubael and Tabshelim, the two boys, who do not yet know how to talk, and let them teach them to say on this wise: "Give the builders mud, mortar, tiles, bricks, for they are idle."</p>	<p>5 Then he took two little lads, and spent every day sacrificing lambs and feeding the eagles and the boys, and making the boys ride on the backs of the eagles, and he bound them with a firm knot, and tied the cable to the feet of the eagles, and let them soar upwards little by little every day, to a distance of ten cubits, till they grew accustomed and were educated to it; and they rose all the length of the rope till they reached the sky; the</p>	<p>And cause a 5 carpenter to fit together two cages for the children; and give food to the eagles, every day two lambs. And cause the children to be bound upon the eagles, and to make little flights, until they form the habit. And in this way habituate them until they soar aloft two hundred ells.</p>

¹ *Ut supra.*

And I took and read it, and said to the king: Send yon envoys to go to their place. And I will later set out and fulfil the behests of Pharaoh.

And when they were gone, I, Khikar, Secretary, sent and had brought two eaglets. . . .

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 6. 6-8

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
	boys being on their backs. Then he drew them to himself.	
6 And Eshfagni my wife did all that I commissioned her: then I said to the king: 'Command, my lord, and send me that I go to Egypt.' And when the king commanded me to go, I took me a force of soldiers and went.	6 And when Haiqâr saw that his desire was fulfilled he charged the boys that when they were borne aloft to the sky they were to shout, saying, 'Bring us clay and stone, that we may build a castle for king Pharaoh, for we are idle.' And Haiqâr was never done training them and exercising them till they had reached the utmost possible point (of skill). Then leaving them he went to the king and said to him, 'O my lord! the work is finished according to thy desire. Arise with me that I may show thee the	And Abestan my wife was 6 very wise and did everything at once which I told her. Then the king commanded me to depart to Egypt.
7 And when we came to the first halting-place, I let out the young eagles and bound the ropes to their feet and made the boys ride on them; and they took them and went up to a height, and the boys cried out as they had been taught, 'Mud, mortar, tiles, bricks supply to the builders who are idle.' Then I pulled them in again.	7 wonder.' So the king sprang up and sat with Haiqâr and went to a wide place and sent to bring the eagles and the boys, and Haiqâr tied them and let them off into the air all the length of the ropes, and they began to shout as he had taught them. Then he drew them to himself and put them in their places. And the king and those who were with him wondered with a great wonder: and the king kissed Haiqâr between his eyes and said to him, 'Go in peace, O my beloved! O pride of my kingdom! to Egypt and answer the questions of Pharaoh and overcome him by the strength of the Most High God.'	And when I 7 reached the gate of Egypt, I brought the children's cages, even as they were habituated. And I bound them upon the eagles; they flew up and soared aloft, and the children cried out and said: Clay, lime, mortar, brick. The artisans stand idle.
8 And when we came to Egypt, I went to the king's gate: and his nobles told the king, 'There is come the man whom the king of Assyria has sent.' And the king commanded and gave me a place to reside in; and on the following day I came in before him and worshipped him and inquired after his health ¹ .	8 Then he bade him farewell, and took his troops and his army and the young men and the eagles, and went towards the dwellings of Egypt; and when he had arrived, he turned towards the country of the king. And when the people of Egypt knew that Sennacherib had sent a man of his Privy Council to talk with Pharaoh and to answer his questions, they carried the news to king Pharaoh,	And I, Khikar, took a rod, and 8 I went after all whom I met and struck them blows (and said): Hurry up, give what the artisans ask for. The king of Egypt came up and was very astonished, and was glad and bade us make (the birds) come down. And he said: Come, rest them from their labours. Eat, drink, and be merry, and on the morrow come to me.

¹ Lit. 'asked after his peace'.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 6. 9-11

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
	and he sent a party of his PrivyCouncillorstobringhim before him ¹ . And he came and entered into the presence ofPharaoh,and did obeisance to him as it is fitting to do	
9 And the king answered and said unto me, 'What is thy name?' And I said to him, 'My name is Abikam: one of the contemptible ants of the kingdom.' And the king answered and said to me, 'Am I thus despised of thy lord, that he has sent me a despised ant of his kingdom? Go, Abikam, to thy lodging, and come to me early in the morning.'	9 to kings. And he said to him: 'O my lord the king! Sennacherib the king hails thee with abundance of peace and might, and honour; and he has sent me, who am one of his slaves, that I may answer thee thy questions, and may fulfil all thy desire: for thou hast sent to seek from my lord the king a man who will build thee a castle between the heaven and the earth.	And when it was dawn the king 9 called me and said: What is thy name? And I said: Abikam is my name. For I am a serf of Seneqerim the king.
		And when the king heard, he was grieved exceedingly, and said: Have I seemed so contemptible in the eyes of Seneqerim the king of Asorestan, that he has sent a serf unto me to give me answer? And he said to me: Go unto thy house and to-morrow come to me.
10 Then the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in red,' and the king dressed himself in fine linen, and sat on his throne. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam, and to what are my nobles like?' And I answered and said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like unto Bel, and thy nobles are like unto his priests.' And again he said to me, 'Go to thy lodging, and come to me on the morrow.'	10 And I by the help of the Most High God and thy noble favour and the power of my lord the king will build [it] for thee as thou desirest. But, O my lord the king! what thou hast said in it about the taxes of Egypt for three years—now the stability of a kingdom is strict justice, and if thou winnest and my hand hath no skill in replying to thee, then my lord the king will send thee the taxes which thou hast mentioned, and if I shall have answered thee in thy questions, it shall remain for thee to send whatever thou hast mentioned to my lord the king.'	And when on the morrow I 10 went, the king gave command to his forces to dress themselves in scarlet <i>chlamid</i> ; and the king himself was arrayed in purple raiment, and sat on his throne, and his forces around him. He commanded and called me to him and said: Abikam, unto whom am I like? Or my forces, whom are they like? I said, Thou art like to the <i>dig</i> ¹ and thy satraps to their priests. He said to me: Go to thy lodgings, and to-morrow come unto me.
11 And the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in robes of white linen,' and the king himself put on white and sat on his throne. And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abikam, and to what are my nobles like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the sun, and thy nobles to his rays.' And again he said to me, 'Get thee to thy lodging, and come to me to-morrow.'	11 And when Pharaoh heard that speech, he wondered and was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue and the pleasantness of his speech.	When I had gone to my 11 house and came the next day to him, he had arrayed his forces in linen, and he himself was arrayed in scarlet, and he said to me: Unto whom am I like, or my forces, to whom are they like? And I said: Thou art like the sun and thy satraps are like its rays.

¹ Lit. 'betwixt his hands'.

¹ i.e. 'to God'. The plural *dig* literally = 'demons', but is used like the Hebrew Elohim as a singular. The same use is found in the Arm. version of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, Bk. 1. In the Arm. O. T. it is used as a plural.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 6. 12-16

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
<p>12 And again the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow clothe yourselves in black,' and the king put on crimson. And he commanded, and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abiqām; and to what are my nobles like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the moon, and thy nobles to the stars.' And again he said to me, 'Go to thy house: and come to me to-morrow.'</p> <p>13 And the king commanded his nobles, 'On the morrow dress in diverse and varied colours, and let the doors of the palace¹ be covered with red hangings.' And the king himself was robed in fine needlework.² And he commanded and I came into his presence: and he said to me, 'To what am I like, Abiqām? and my nobles, to what are they like?' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, thou art like to the month Nisan, and thy nobles to its flowers.' Then</p> <p>14 the king said to me, 'The first time thou didst compare me to Bel, and my nobles to his priests. The second time thou hast compared me to the sun, and my nobles to its rays. The third time thou hast compared me to the moon, and my nobles to the stars. And the fourth time thou hast likened me to Nisan, and my nobles to the flowers thereof. And now tell me, Abiqām, to what is <i>thy</i> lord like?'</p> <p>15 And I answered and said to him, 'Be it far from me, my lord the king, that I should make mention of my lord Sennacherib, whilst thou art seated.</p> <p>16 My lord Sennacherib is like³</p>	<p>12 And king Pharaoh said to him, 'O man! what is thy name?' And he said, 'Thy servant is Abiqām, and I am a little ant of the ants of king Sennacherib.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Had thy lord no one of higher dignity than thee, that he has sent me a little ant to reply to me, and to converse with me?'</p> <p>13 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! I would to God Most High that I may fulfil what is on thy mind, for God is with the weak that He may confound the strong.'</p> <p>14 Then Pharaoh commanded that they should prepare a dwelling for Abiqām and supply him with provender, meat, and drink, and all that he needed. And when it was finished, three days afterwards Pharaoh clothed himself in purple and red and sat on his throne, and all his viziers and the magnates of his kingdom were standing with their hands crossed, their feet close together, and their heads bowed. And Pharaoh sent to fetch Abiqām, and when he was presented to him, he did obeisance before him, and kissed the ground in front</p> <p>16 of him¹. And king Pharaoh</p>	<p>And again he 12 said to me: Go to thy lodgings, and on the morrow come to me.</p> <p>And when I went on the 13 morrow, he commanded the satraps to array themselves in dyed raiment, and he arrayed himself in raiment of plumes, and sat on his throne and said to me: To whom am I like? I said: Thou art like to the 14 green grass¹ and thy satraps to the blossoms thereof.</p> <p>Then the king was glad and said: Tell me the truth. Seneqerim the king, to whom is he like? I said: God forbid that 15 thou shouldst mention Seneqerim the king, since thou art sitting down. But stand up, and I will tell thee. When he had risen up, I said: Seneqerim 16</p>

¹ Lit. 'temple': but as in Daniel, it means palace; cf. Dan. iv. 4, 'I, Nebuchadnezzar, was at rest in my house, and flourishing in my palace בְּהֵיכָלִי'; Dan. vi. 18, 'Then the king went to his palace הֵיכְלָה.' Cf. also 1 Reg. xxi. 1; 2 Reg. xx. 18, &c.

² 'Dressed in tapestry.'

³ An erasure has been made of two words, and these are now illegible.

¹ Lit. 'between his hands'.

¹ Venice MS. = 'to the plain'.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 6. 16 (17-26 Arab.)

SYRIAC

[the God of Heaven] and his nobles to the lightnings that are in the clouds: for when he wills, he fashions the rain and the dew [and] the hail; and if he thunders, he restrains the sun from rising, and its rays from being seen; and he will restrain Bel from coming in and from going forth in the street, and his nobles from being seen; and he will hinder the moon from rising and the stars from appearing.'

Perhaps the original text was 'the God of Heaven', which was erased to make way for 'the idol Bel', but this correction was a stupid one, seeing that Pharaoh has himself been compared to the great god Bel; hence perhaps a final erasure. The Arabic has 'my lord is the God of Heaven', which is sufficiently audacious to invite correction. Mrs. Lewis by the use of a reagent has brought up the word Bel, and perhaps the whole expression 'our god Bel'.

ARABIC

said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom are they like?' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! thou art like the idol Bel, and the nobles of thy kingdom are like his servants.' He said to him, 'Go, and come back hither to-morrow.' So Haiqâr went as king Pharaoh had commanded him.

ARMENIAN

the king is like unto Bélshim, and his satraps to the lightnings. When he willet, he weaveth the rain¹; and he shooteth out the dew on high, he sendeth it forth in his empery. He thunders, and imprisons the rays of the sun. And when he willet, he doth bring hail and grindeth to dust tree, green herb and dry; and he makes the dawn break and smiteth the shoots of green grass.

¹ Bodl. = 'the material of rain'.

ARABIC

- 17 And on the morrow Haiqâr went into the presence of Pharaoh, and did obeisance, and stood before
18 the king. And Pharaoh was dressed in a red colour, and the nobles were dressed in white. And
Pharaoh said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and the nobles of my kingdom, to whom
are they like?' And Abiqâm said to him, 'O my lord! thou art like the sun, and thy servants
are like [its] beams.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go to thy dwelling, and come hither to-morrow.'
19 Then Pharaoh commanded his Court to wear pure white¹, and Pharaoh was dressed like them and
sat upon his throne, and he commanded them to fetch Haiqâr. And he entered and sat down before
20 him. And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and my nobles, to whom
are they like?' And Abiqâm said to him, 'O my lord! thou art like the moon, and thy nobles
are like the planets and the stars.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go, and to-morrow be thou here.'
21 Then Pharaoh commanded his servants to wear robes of various colours, and Pharaoh wore a red
velvet dress, and sat on his throne, and commanded them to fetch Abiqâm. And he entered and
22 did obeisance before him. And he said, 'O Abiqâm, whom am I like? and my armies, to whom
are they like?' And he said, 'O my lord! thou art like the month of April, and thy armies are like
23 its flowers.' And when the king heard it he rejoiced with a great joy, and said, 'O Abiqâm! the
first time thou didst compare me to the idol Bel, and my nobles to his servants. And the second
time thou didst compare me to the sun, and my nobles to the sunbeams. And the third time thou
didst compare me to the moon, and my nobles to the planets and the stars. And the fourth time thou
24 didst compare me to the month of April, and my nobles to its flowers. But now, O Abiqâm!
tell me, thy lord, king Sennacherib, whom is he like? and his nobles, to whom are they like?' And
Haiqâr shouted with a loud voice and said: 'Be it far from me to make mention of my lord the king
and thou seated on thy throne. But get up on thy feet that I may tell thee whom my lord the
king is like and to whom his nobles are like.'
25 And Pharaoh was perplexed by the freedom of his tongue and his boldness in answering. Then
Pharaoh arose from his throne, and stood before Haiqâr, and said to him, 'Tell me now, that
26 I may perceive whom thy lord the king is like, and his nobles, to whom they are like.' And
Haiqâr said to him: 'My lord is the God of heaven, and his nobles are the lightnings and the thunder,
and when he wills the winds blow and the rain falls. And he commands the thunder, and it
lightens and rains, and he holds the sun, and it gives not its light, and the moon and the stars, and
they circle not. And he commands the tempest, and it blows and the rain falls and it tramples
on April and destroys its flowers and its houses.'

¹ Or a dress completely white.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 6. 17-20 (27-30 Arab., 17-24 Arm.)

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
<p>17 And when the king heard these things he was exceeding wroth, and said to me, 'By the life of thy lord, I adjure thee tell me what is thy name?'</p> <p>18 And I answered and said to him, 'I am Ahiḱar the Secretary and Great Seal of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh.'</p> <p>19 And the king said to me, 'Did I not certainly hear that thy lord had killed thee?' And I said to him, 'I am yet alive, my lord the king: and God saved me from something which my hands did not.'</p> <p>20 And the king said to me, 'Go, Ahiḱar, to thy house, and come to me to-morrow, and tell me a word which I never heard nor any one of my nobles, and which was never heard in the city of my kingdom.'</p>	<p>27 And when Pharaoh heard this speech, he was greatly perplexed and was wroth with a great wrath, and said to him: 'O man! tell me the truth, and let me know who thou really art.'</p> <p>28 And he told him the truth. 'I am Haiqâr the scribe, greatest of the Privy Councillors of king Sennacherib, and I am his vizier and the Governor of his kingdom, and his Chancellor.'</p> <p>29 And he said to him, 'Thou hast told the truth in this saying. But we have heard of Haiqâr, that king Sennacherib has slain him, yet thou dost seem to be alive and well.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'Yes, so it was, but praise be to God, who knoweth what is hidden, for my lord the king commanded me to be killed, and he believed the word of profligate men, but the Lord delivered me, and blessed is he who trusteth in Him.'</p> <p>30 And Pharaoh said to Haiqâr, 'Go, and to-morrow be thou here, and tell me a word that I have never heard from my nobles nor from the people of my kingdom and my country.'</p>	<p>The king said: Tell me, what 17 is thy name? I said: Khikar is my name. He said: Wretch, 18 hast thou come to life? And I said: Since I have seen thy face, O king, I am alive. The king 19 said: May this day be blessed, for I have seen Khikar with my own eyes alive, with my own eyes.</p> <p>And I fell on my face and 20 did homage to him and kissed him. The king said: Expound this saying.</p> <p>There stands a pillar, and 21 upon that pillar twelve cedars, and upon them thirty wheels, and upon each wheel two couriers¹, the one black and the other white. And I said: O king, this the cowherds of the Asores know. The pillar of which thou spakest is the year and the cedars are the twelve months. The thirty wheels are the days of the months. The two couriers, the one black and the other white, are dawn and nightfall².</p> <p>The king said, What is this 22 story, that from Egypt as far as Nineveh there are 500 leagues—how did our mares hear the neighing of your stallions and miscarry? I, Khikar, went out from him, and I took a cat and scolded and tortured it. Then they told the king, saying: Khikar flouts the <i>diq</i> and tortures the cats. The king called me and said: Khikar, wherefore dost thou flout our <i>diq</i> and torture the cats? And I said: 23 Yon cat has done harm enough to me. Aforetime the king gave to me a cock; sweet of voice was it, and at each hour it awoke me, to go to the king's palace. This very night (the cat) went off and bit off the head of the cock and came back here. And the king said to me 24 as follows: It appears that as thou growest old, in the same</p>

¹ The Arm. word has this meaning.

² After the explanation of the pillar MS. Canon passes direct to the rope of sand incident, as does the Syriac.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 7. 1-5

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
		measure your words and wisdom are changed round. From Egypt to Nineveh there are 500 ¹ leagues. How then in a single night could a cat bite off the head of the cock and come back hither? But I said: How could your mares hear the neighing and miscarry?
		The king said: Leave this. ²⁵ Come and weave me a rope of sand. When I had gone out from him, the king said to all those with him: Whatever Khikar says, ye shall say, 'We know and have heard this saying.'
7 1 Then I sat down and meditated in my heart and wrote a letter as follows: 'From Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to Sennacherib, king of Assyria and Nineveh, greeting. 2 'Kings have need of kings and brethren of brethren: and at this time my gifts are become scant, because silver is scarce in my treasury: command, therefore, to send me from thy treasury 900 talents of silver, and in a little while I will return them to their place.'	7 1 And Haiqâr went to his dwelling, and wrote a letter, saying in it on this wise: 'From Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh to Pharaoh king of Egypt. 2 'Peace be to thee, O my brother! and what we make known to thee by this is that a brother has need of his brother, and kings of each other, and [my] hope from thee is that thou wouldst lend me nine hundred talents of gold, for I need it for the victualling of some of the soldiers, that I may spend [it] upon them. And after a little while I will send it thee.' Then he folded the letter, and presented it on the morrow to Pharaoh. 3 And when he saw it, he was perplexed and said to him, 'Verily I have never heard anything like this language 4 from any one.' Then Haiqâr said to him, 'Truly this is a debt which thou owest to my lord the king.' And Pharaoh accepted this, saying, 'O Haiqâr, it is the like of thee who are honest in the service of kings. Blessed be God who hath made thee perfect in wisdom, and hath adorned thee with philosophy and knowledge. And 5 now, O Haiqâr, there remains what we desire from thee, that thou shouldst build us a castle between heaven and earth.'	And I took and wrote a letter 7 1 thus: From Seneqerim king, all hail to Pharaon king of Egypt. Brethren have need of brethren 2 to behold them and kings of kings. In this season expenses and debts enough have there been and silver is wanting in our treasuries. So then give orders and have brought to me by dispatch a hundred talents of silver. And I fastened up 3 the letter and went in to the king and said: In this dispatch I have written of a matter, of which neither your city ² nor your satraps have heard. And they all said: We have heard and we know this matter of yours. But I said: If ye have heard, say then before ye have opened the letter. And they could not say, but opened and read it. I said: Ye have heard what is written. The king said ³ : 4 If a rope of sand thou weavest not for me, thou shalt not carry
3 This letter, then, I folded and held it in my hands: and the king commanded and I came into his presence, and I said to him, 'Perhaps in this letter there is a word that was never heard by thee.' And when I read it before the king and before his nobles, they cried out, as they were ordered by the king to do, and said, 'This has been heard by all of us, and it is so.'		
4 Whereupon I said to them, 'Behold, [in that case] there is a debt of 900 talents from Egypt to Assyria.' And when the king heard this, he marvelled.		
5 Then he said to me, 'I am planning to build a castle between earth and heaven. Its height from the earth shall be one thousand fathoms.'		

¹ MS. Canon has 360.

² 92 adds 'nor your king'.

³ Canon = 'and Pharaon said: Weave me a rope of sand, in length nine ells. And I said: My lord king, order them to bring forth from your treasury a model that I may see and according to the model make it, that it be not too thick or too thin. And Pharaon said: In my treasury is none. But unless thou weave it, thou carriest not off the silver, which by thy wisdom thou hast sought and I promised.'

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 7. 6-8

SYRIAC

6 Then I brought out the young eagles and bound the ropes to their feet, and set the boys on their backs; and they were saying, 'Provide mud, mortar; [foreman, mix] tiles and bricks for the builders, because they are idle.' And when the king saw it, he was confounded.

7 Then I, Ahikar, took a switch and beat the king's nobles, till they all took to flight. Then the king was indignant with me, and said to me, 'Thou art gone clean mad, Ahikar: who is able to carry up anything to these boys?'

8 And I said to him, 'Concerning the affairs of Sennacherib my lord, say ye nothing; for if he had been at hand, he would have built a couple of castles in one day.' And the king said to me, 'Have done with the castle, Ahikar, and go to thy lodging; and in the morning come to me.'

ARABIC

6 Then said Haiqâr, 'To hear is to obey. I will build thee a castle according to thy wish and choice; but, O my lord! prepare us lime and stone and clay and workmen, and I have skilled builders who will build for thee as thou desirest'. And the king prepared all that for him, and they went to a wide place; and Haiqâr and his boys came to it, and he took the eagles and the young men with him; and the king and all his nobles went and the whole city assembled, that they might see what Haiqâr would do.

Then Haiqâr let the eagles out of the boxes, and tied the young men on their backs¹, and tied the ropes to the eagles' feet, and let them go in the air. And they soared upwards, till they remained between heaven and earth. And the boys began to shout, saying, 'Bring bricks, bring clay, that we may build the king's castle, for we are standing idle!'

7 And the crowd were astonished and perplexed, and they wondered. And the king and his nobles wondered. And Haiqâr and his servants began to beat the workmen, and they shouted for the king's troops, saying to them, 'Bring to the skilled workmen what they want and do not hinder them from their work.' And the king said to him, 'Thou art mad; who can bring anything up to that distance?' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord! how shall we build a castle in the air? and if my lord the king were here, he would have built several castles in a single day.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'Go, O Haiqâr, to thy dwelling, and rest, for we have given up² building

ARMENIAN

away the tribute from Egypt. And I went into a deeply dug chamber, and perforated the wall of the chamber on the side whence the dawn shone; and when the dawn gleamed forth, it flashed into the chamber seven ells; and I took up dust of sand and cast it into the hole bored and blew into it. It appeared like woven twists, and I said: Give orders, O king, that they collect yon ropes and I will weave yet others.

When the king saw this he⁵ laughed and said: Blessed art thou before the *diq*. And he gave me very great presents, and allowed the tribute from Egypt and well and gladly dismissed me, and I departed.

¹ Lit. 'on the eagles' backs'.

² Lit. 'we have passed away from'.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 7. 9-14

SYRIAC

9 And when it was morning, I came into his presence, and he said to me, 'Explain to me, Ahikar, the following matter. The horse of thy lord neighs in Assyria, and our mares hear his voice here, and their foals miscarry.'

10 Then I went forth from the king's presence, and commanded my servants to catch me a cat, and I whipped it in the streets of the city; and when the Egyptians saw it, they went and told the king that 'Ahikar has acted contemptuously of our people and makes mock of us. For he has caught a cat and whips it in the streets of our city.'

11 And the king sent for me and called me; and I came into his presence.

12 And he said to me, 'In what way art thou insulting us?' and I answered and said to him, 'This cat has seriously damaged me in no slight matter; for a cock had been entrusted to me by my lord, whose voice was extremely beautiful, and by the time that he crowed I understood that my lord wished for me, and I went to the gate of my lord. And in this past night this cat went to Assyria and tore off the head of this cock of mine and returned.' And the king answered and said to me, 'As far as I can see, Ahikar, since thou art grown old thou art become stark mad. For it is 360 parasangs from here to Assyria; and how canst thou say that in a single night this cat went and cut off the head of the cock and came back?'

14 Then I said to him, 'And if it is 360 parasangs from Egypt to Assyria, how do thy mares in this place hear the voice of the horse of my lord, and their foals miscarry?'

ARABIC

the castle, and to-morrow come to me'.

9 Then Haiqâr went to his dwelling and on the morrow he appeared before Pharaoh. And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, what news is there of the horse of thy lord? for when he neighs in the country of Assyria and Nineveh, and our mares hear his voice, they cast their young.' And when Haiqâr heard this speech he went and took a cat, and bound her and began to flog her with a violent flogging till the Egyptians heard it, and they went and told the king about it.

11 And Pharaoh sent to fetch Haiqâr, and said to him, 'O Haiqâr, wherefore dost thou flog thus and beat that dumb beast?' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! verily she has done an ugly deed to me, and has deserved this drubbing and flogging, for my lord king Sennacherib had given me a fine cock, and he had a strong true voice and knew the hours of the day and the night. And the cat got up this very night and cut off its head and went away, and because of this deed I have treated her to thisdrubbing.' And Pharaoh said to him, 'O Haiqâr, I see from all this that thou art growing old and art in thy dotage, for between Egypt and Nineveh there are sixty-eight parasangs, and how did she go this very night and cut off the head of thy cock and come back?'

14 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord! if there were such a distance between Egypt and Nineveh, how could thy mares hear when my lord the king's horse neighs and cast their young?'

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 7. 15-20

SYRIAC

- 15 And when the king heard this, he was sore vexed, and he said to me, 'Ahiqâr, expound to me this riddle: A pillar has on its head twelve cedars; in every cedar there are thirty wheels, and in every wheel two cables, one 16 white and one black.' And I answered and said to him, 'My lord the king, the ox-herds in our country understand this riddle that thou tellest. The pillar of which thou hast spoken to me is the year; the twelve cedars are the twelve months of the year; the thirty wheels are the thirty days of the month; the two cables, one white and one black, are the day and the night.'
- 17 Again he said to me, 'Twine me five cables from the sand of the river.' And I said to him, 'My lord the king, bid them bring me from thy treasury one rope of sand, and I will make one to match it.' Then he said to me, 'Unless thou do this, I will not give thee the Egyptian 18 tribute.' Thereupon I sat down and calculated in my heart how I should do it. And I went out from the king's palace¹ and bored five holes in the eastern 19 wall of the palace. And when the sun entered the holes I scattered sand in them, and the sun's path² began to appear as if [the sand] were twined in the holes. Then I said to the king; 'My lord, bid them take up these, and I will weave you others in their stead.' And when the king and his nobles saw it, they were amazed.
- 20 And again the king commanded to bring me an upper millstone that was broken: and he said to me, 'Ahiqâr, sew up for us this broken millstone.' Then I went and brought a nether³ millstone, and cast it down before the king and said

¹ Lit. 'temple', *ut supra*.

² Lit. 'furrow'.

³ Lit. 'the mortar of a millstone'.

ARABIC

- and how could the voice of the horse reach to Egypt?' 15 And when Pharaoh heard that, he knew that Haiqâr had answered his questions.

- And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, I want thee to make me ropes of the sea-sand.' And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my lord the king! order them to bring me a rope out of the treasury that I may make 16 one like it.' Then Haiqâr went to the back of the house, and bored holes in the rough shore of the sea, and took a handful of sand in his hand, sea-sand, and when the sun rose, and penetrated into the holes, he spread the sand in the sun till it became as if woven like ropes. And Haiqâr said, 'Command thy servants to take these ropes, and whenever thou desirest it, I will weave thee (some) like them.'

- 17 And Pharaoh said, 'O Haiqâr, we have a millstone here and it has been broken and I want thee to sew it up.' Then Haiqâr looked at it, and found another stone. 18 And he said to Pharaoh, 'O my lord! I am a foreigner, and I have no tool for sewing. But I want thee to command thy faithful shoe-

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 7. 20-22

SYRIAC

to him, 'My lord the king, since I am a stranger here, and have not the tools of my craft with me, bid the cobblers cut me strips (?) from this lower millstone which is the fellow of the upper millstone; and forthwith
21 I will sew it together.' And when the king heard it, he laughed and said, 'The day in which Ahiḳar was born shall be blessed before the God of Egypt; and since I have seen thee alive, I will make it a great and appropriate day.'

22 Then he gave me the revenue of Egypt for three years, and straightway I returned and came to my lord the king Sennacherib: and he came forth to meet me and received me.

ARABIC

makers to cut awls from this stone, that I may sew that millstone.'

19 Then Pharaoh and all his nobles laughed. And he said, 'Blessed be the Most High God, who gave thee this wit and knowledge.'
20 And when Pharaoh saw that Haiqâr had overcome him, and returned him his answers, he at once became excited, and commanded them to collect for him three years' taxes, and to bring them to
21 Haiqâr. And he stripped off his robes and put them upon Haiqâr, and his soldiers, and his servants, and gave him the expenses of his journey. And he said to him, 'Go in peace, O strength of his lord and pride of his Doctors! have any of the Sultans thy like? give my greetings to¹ thy lord king Sennacherib, and say to him how we have sent him gifts, for kings are content with little.'
22 Then Haiqâr arose, and kissed king Pharaoh's hands and kissed the ground in front of him, and wished him strength and continuance, and abundance in his treasury, and said to him, 'O my lord! I desire from thee that not one of our countrymen
23 may remain in Egypt.' And Pharaoh arose and sent heralds to proclaim in the streets of Egypt that not one of the people of Assyria or Nineveh should remain in the land of Egypt, but that they should go with Haiqâr. Then Haiqâr went and took leave of king Pharaoh, and journeyed, seeking the land of Assyria and Nineveh; and he had some treasures and a great deal of wealth.

¹ Lit. 'my peace upon'.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 7. 23 (24-26 Arab., 6-7 Arm.)

SYRIAC

23 And he made it a great day and set me at the head of his household: and he said to me, 'Ask what thou wilt, Ahiḱar'; and I worshipped the king and said, 'Whatever thou wilt to give me, bestow it upon Nabusemakh . . .¹; because he gave me my life; and for myself, my lord, bid them give me my son Nadan, that I may teach him a further lesson. For he has forgotten my former teaching.'

ARABIC

24 And when the news reached king Sennacherib that Haiqâr was coming, he went out to meet him and rejoiced over him exceedingly with great joy and embraced him and kissed him, and said to him, 'Welcome home, O kinsman! my brother Haiqâr, the strength of my kingdom, and pride of my realm. Ask what thou wouldst have from me, even if thou desirest the half of my kingdom and of my possessions.' Then said Haiqâr unto him, 'O my lord the king, live for ever! Show favour, O my lord the king! to Abu Samik in my stead, for my life was in the hands of God and in his.'

25 Then said Sennacherib the king, 'Honour be to thee, O my beloved Haiqâr! I will make the station of Abu Samik the swordsman higher than all my Privy Counsellors and my favourites.' Then the king began to ask him how he had got on with Pharaoh from his first arrival until he had come away from his presence, and how he had answered all his questions, and how he had received the taxes from him, and the changes of raiment and the

26 presents. And Sennacherib the king rejoiced with a great joy, and said to Haiqâr, 'Take what thou wouldst fain have of this tribute, for it is all within the grasp of thy hand.' And Haiqâr said: 'Let the king live for ever! I desire naught but the safety of my lord the king and the continuance of his greatness. O my lord! what can I do with wealth and its like¹? but if thou wilt show me favour, give me Nadan, my sister's son, that I may recompense him for what he has done to me, and grant me his blood and hold me guiltless of it.'

ARMENIAN

When the king Seneqerim 6 heard of my coming, he went out to meet me with joy. When we had saluted each other, he took and led me into his palace and made me recline at the head of the couch; and made merry for several days, and bestowed on me very great presents, and said to me: O my father Khikar, ask of me other very great presents and I will give them to thee. And 7 I bowed to the earth to him and said: O king, live for ever. Whatsoever thou wouldst bestow on me, bestow on Abusmaq my comrade, who gave life to thy servant.

But to me thou shalt give Nathan my sister's son whom I taught¹. For he hath not well learned my former lore.

¹ Canon = 'sister's son, that I may teach him another teaching'.

Ut supra.

¹ غيرة here = *dergleichen*.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 7. 24-8. 2

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
<p>24 And the king commanded and gave me my son Nadan; and the king said to me, 'Go thy way, Ahiḱar, and work thy will on thy son Nadan; for no man shall rescue his body from thy hands.' Thereupon I took Nadan my son, and brought him to my house; and I bound him with iron chains whose weight was twenty talents, and I fastened the chains in rings, and I fastened collars on his neck; and I struck him one thousand blows on the shoulders and a thousand and one on his loins¹; and I put him in the porch of the door of my palace, and gave him bread by weight and water by measure.</p> <p>26 And I delivered him to my boy Nabuel to guard, and told my boy, 'Write down in a tablet whatever I say to my son Nadan, when I go in or come out.' And I answered and said to my son Nadan as follows:</p>	<p>27 And Sennacherib the king said, 'Take him, I have given him to thee.' And Haiqâr took Nadan, his sister's son, and bound his hands with chains of iron, and took him to his dwelling, and put a heavy fetter on his feet, and tied it with a tight knot, and after binding him thus he cast him into a dark room, beside the retiring-place, and appointed Nebu-hal as sentinel over him and commanded him to give him a loaf of bread and a little water every day; and whenever Haiqâr went in or out he scolded Nadan, his sister's son, saying to him wisely:</p>	<p>And the king gave Nathan 8 my sister's son into my hands, and I^a bound him with a single chain of iron, which was of the weight of seven talents, at the door of my portico; and I entrusted him to Bêliar my servant. And I ordered him to scourge him on his back and belly. And I said to him in my coming in and going forth: Whatsoever I speak in proverbs with him, do thou write on paper and keep it with thee; and I gave to him a 9 little bread and a little water. I began to speak and said as follows:</p>

The Parables of Ahikar, VIII. 1-41

<p>8 1 'My son, he who does not hear with his ears, they make him hear with the nape of his neck.'</p>	<p>1 'O Nadan, my boy! I have done to thee all that is good and kind, and thou hast rewarded me for it with what is ugly and bad and with killing.</p> <p>'O my son! it is said in the proverbs: He who listeneth not with his ear, they will make him listen with the scruff of his neck.'</p>	<p>Son, him that with his ears 8 1 heareth not they make to hear through his back.</p>
<p>2 My son Nadan answered and said to me, 'Wherefore art thou so angry against thy son?'</p> <p>I answered and said to him, 'My son, I set thee on the throne of honour; and thou hast cast me down from my throne. And</p>	<p>2 And Nadan said, 'For what cause art thou wroth with me?'</p> <p>And Haiqâr said to him, 'Because I brought thee up, and taught thee, and gave thee honour and respect and made thee great, and reared thee with the best of breeding, and seated thee in my place that thou mightest be my heir in the world, and</p>	<p>Nathan began to speak and 2 said: Wherefore art thou angry with me, my father? I have¹ sinned against thee, my father Khikar. If thou wilt have mercy on me, thy servant, I will even become to thee dust and ashes and a servant all the days of my life.</p> <p>And I said to him:</p> <p>Son, on the throne of glory I seated thee, and from my thronethou didst hurl me to ruin.</p> <p>Son, I in byssus and purples 3 clad thee, and thou with earth wouldst have destroyed my body.</p> <p>Son, I raised thee on high 4</p>
<p>¹ Cf. the punishment of the disobedient servant in the Gospel, <i>δαρήσεται πολλάς</i>.</p>		<p>¹ Canon, with Syriac, omits the words 'I have . . . of my life'.</p>

^a For the text of MS. Canon, see below:

Then I took Nathan, and led him to my house; and bound (him to) my pillar of iron, of which the weight was seven hundred utres; and I placed a rope round his neck. And I smote a thousand blows (lit. trees) on his chest and a thousand on his back. And he was kept in the door of my portico. And I gave him bread by weight and water by measure; and entrusted him to Beliar my servant, and I said to him: In my goings out and my comings in, whatever I say to Nathan write it in thy book.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 8. 2-6 (7-10 Arm.)

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
as for me, my righteousness ¹ has saved me.	thou didst treat me with killing and didst repay me with my ruin. But the Lord knew that I was wronged, and He saved me from the snare which thou hadst set for me, for the Lord healeth the broken hearts and hindereth the envious and the haughty.	like a tower, so that if the enemy should come to me, I might go forth and fortify myself in thee; and thou thyself hast been found to be the enemy in my house. Son, I gave thee to glory ⁵ and honour; and thou didst betray me into the hands of enmity and death. Son, I nurtured ¹ thee like ⁶ the cub of the fox; and thine eye was on thine hole and my finger smooth was on thy mouth and thy fingers were sharpened upon my eyes. Son, my righteousness and ⁷ innocency saved and rescued me; and thy injustice prospered thee not. Son, thou wast to me as a ⁸ scorpion which struck the needle. The needle said ² : Behold a sting which is worse than thine own. Again he struck the sole of the foot of the camel, and he set his foot hard upon that scorpion and crushed it and said: Captive, knewest thou not that thy breath and soul were under my feet? Son, thou hast been to me ⁹ like a goat which was eating madder. Says the madder: Why eatest thou me? Knowest thou not that with my root they dye thy skin ³ ? Said the goat: I in my lifetime eat thee, after my death they pluck up thy root and prepare (<i>lit.</i> build) my skin. Son, thou hast been to me ¹⁰ like him that shot his arrow up to the heavens; and he was not able to reach thereunto, but reaped the reward of his lawlessness, and the arrow returned upon his head.
3 Thou hast been to me, my son, like a scorpion, which strikes at a rock. And the rock said to it, "Thou hast struck at an unconcerned heart." And it struck at a needle, and they say to it, "Thou hast struck at a sting worse than thy own."	3 O my boy! thou hast been to me like the scorpion which, when it strikes on brass, pierces it.	
4 My son, thou hast been to me like a gazelle that was standing over a sumach-tree and eating it. And the sumach-tree said to it, "Why eatest thou me, seeing that they tan thy skin with me?" And the gazelle said, "I eat thee in my life, and when I am dead they will pluck thee up by thy roots." ²	4 O my boy! thou art like the gazelle who was eating the roots of the madder, and it said to her, "Eat of me to-day and take thy fill, and to-morrow they will tan thy hide in my roots."	
5 My son, thou hast been to me like the man that threw a stone at the heaven, and it did not reach the heaven; but he incurred sin against God.	5 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a man who saw his comrade naked in the chilly time of winter; and he took cold water and poured it upon him.	
6 My son, thou hast been like the man who saw his companion shivering from cold, and took a pitcher of water and threw it over him.	6 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a man who took a stone, and threw it up to heaven to stone his Lord with it. And the stone did not hit, and did not reach high enough, but it became the cause of guilt and sin.	
¹ In the primitive sense of 'alms-giving'?		¹ I render <i>snoutzi</i> of MS. Canon instead of <i>ousoutzi</i> = 'taught' of the other MSS. MS. Canon has the rest of the saying thus: 'like the young of the eagle, and thy fingers were sharpened against my eyes. For thine eye was evil to look upon me.'
² Apparently the point of the story is missed, which is that the sumach-tree has its revenge on the gazelle: 'thy skin shall be dyed with my roots presently.'		² I supply the words 'The needle said' from MS. Canon. The other copies omit it through <i>homoioteleuton</i> .
		³ So MS. Canon; the other MSS. less well: 'with me they work thy skin.'

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 8. 7-11

SYRIAC

- 7 My son, not when thou hadst killed me, wouldst thou have been able to stand in my place; for be well aware, my son, that even if the tail of the swine should grow to seven ells, he would never take the place of the horse: and even if his hair should become soft and woolly, he would never ride on the back of a free man.¹
- 8 My son, I said that thou shouldst be in my place; and thou shouldst acquire my house and my wealth, and inherit them. But God was not pleased therewith and has not heard thy voice.
- 9 My son, thou hast been to me as the lion that came upon an ass in the morning of the day and said to him, "Welcome, my lord Kyrios." But the ass said to him, "May the same welcome that thou givest me be the portion of him that tied me up last night, and did not make my halter fast, so that I had not seen thy face."
- 10 My son, a snare was set² upon a dunghill, and there came a sparrow and looked at it and said, "What doest thou here?" And the snare said, "I am praying to God." The sparrow said, "And what is that in thy mouth?" The snare said, "Bread for guests." Then the sparrow drew near and took it, and the snare caught him by the neck. And the sparrow said, as he was being shaken, "If this is thy bread for guests, may the God to whom thou prayest never listen to thy voice."
- 11 My son, thou hast been to me as an ox that was bound with a lion; and the lion turned and crushed him.

¹ We should expect 'the free man would never ride on his back'.

² A Syriac play of words between ܥܠܐ = *disposuit laqueos* and ܥܠܐ which follows.

ARABIC

- 7 O my boy! if thou hadst honoured me and respected me and hadst listened to my words thou wouldst have been my heir, and wouldst have reigned over my dominions.
- 8 O my son! know thou that if the tail of the dog or the pig were ten cubits long it would not approach to the worth of the horse's even if it were like silk.
- 9 O my boy! I thought that thou wouldst have been my heir at my death; and thou through thy envy and thy insolence didst desire to kill me. But the Lord delivered me from thy cunning.
- 10 O my son! thou hast been to me like a trap which was set up on the dunghill, and there came a sparrow and found the trap set up. And the sparrow said to the trap, "What doest thou here?" Said the trap, "I am praying here to God."
- And the lark¹ asked it also, "What is the piece of wood that thou holdest?" Said the trap, "That is a young oak-tree on which I lean at the time of prayer." Said the lark: "And what is that thing in thy mouth?" Said the trap: "That is bread and victuals which I carry for all the hungry and the poor who come near to me." Said the lark: "Now then may I come forward and eat, for I am hungry?" And the trap said to him, 'Come forward.' And the lark approached that it might eat. But the trap sprang up and seized the lark by its neck. And the lark answered and said to the trap, "If that is thy bread for the hungry

¹ For this rendering of قشقى see Payne Smith's *Thes. Syr.* col. 3555, sub ܩܫܩܝܐ.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 8. 12-17

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
	God accepteth not thine alms and thy kind deeds. And if that is thy fasting and thy prayers, God accepteth from thee neither thy fast nor thy prayer, and God will not perfect what is good concerning thee."	
	11 O my boy! thou hast been to me (as) a lion who made friends with an ass, and the ass kept walking before the lion for a time; and one day the lion sprang upon the ass and ate it up.	
12 My son, thou hast been to me like the weevil that is in the corn, which destroys kings' granaries, and is itself of no account.	12 ^a O my boy! thou hast been to me like a weevil in the wheat, for it does no good to anything, but spoils the wheat and gnaws it.	
13 My son, thou hast been to me like the pot, to which they made golden handles ¹ , but its bottom was not cleansed from blackness.		
14 My son, thou hast been to me like a husbandman that sowed a field with twenty measures of barley; and when he reaped it, it made him twenty measures. And he said to it: "What I scattered, I have gathered, but thou art shamed with thine evil name, in that thou hast made a bushel into a bushel ² : and I, [how] am I to live?"	12 ^b O my boy! thou hast been like a man who sowed ten measures of wheat, and when it was harvest time, he arose and reaped it, and garnered it, and threshed it, and toiled over it to the very utmost, and it turned out to be ten measures, and its master said to it: "O thou lazy thing! thou hast not grown and thou hast not shrunk." ¹	Son, thou hast been to 11 me like the sower, who sowed ten bushels, and gathered five bushels, and the rest failed.
15 My son, thou hast been to me like the . . . bird that could not save himself from death, and by his voice slaughtered his companions. ³	13 O my boy! thou hast been to me like the partridge that had been thrown into the net, and she could not save herself, but she called out to the partridges, that she might cast them with her(self) into the net.	
16 My son, thou hast been to me like the buck that led his companions into the slaughter-house; and yet he did not save his own life.	14 O my son! thou hast been to me like the dog that was cold and it went into the potter's house to get warm. And when it had got warm, it began to bark at them, and they chased it out and beat it, that it might not bite them.	
17 My son, thou hast been to me like the dog that came to the potters' oven to warm himself, and after he was warm rose up to bark at them.		
¹ Lit. 'ears'.	¹ This meaning of سحر will be found in Lane, p. 1776, col. 3.	
² Cf. Matt. xxv. 24-7.		
³ Reading ܕܒܝܬܐ.		

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 8. 18-24

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
<p>18 My son, thou hast been to me like the swine that had been to the baths, and when it saw a muddy ditch, went down and washed in it, and cried to its companions, "Come and wash."</p> <p>19 My son, my finger is upon thy mouth, and thy finger is upon my eyes. Why have I brought thee up, thou jackal, that thy eyes look thus upon apples?</p> <p>20 My son, the dog that eats of his hunting will become the portion of wolves: and the hand that is not industrious shall be cut off from its shoulder: and the eye in which there is no vision the raven shall pluck it out.</p> <p>21 What good hast thou done me, my son, that I remembered thee and that my soul had comfort in thee?¹</p> <p>22 My son, if the gods steal, by whom shall they make them to swear? And a lion that steals a piece of land, how will he sit down and eat it?</p> <p>23 My son, I caused thee to behold the face of the king, and brought thee to great honour: and thou hast chosen to do me evil.</p> <p>24 My son, thou hast been to me like the tree that said to its woodcutters, "If there had not been somewhat from me in your hands, ye had not fallen upon me."</p> <p>¹ We should have expected, 'that I might remember thee and that my soul might have comfort in thee'.</p>	<p>15 O my son! thou hast been to me like the pig who went into the hot bath with people of quality, and when it came out of the hot bath, it saw a filthy hole¹ and it went down and wallowed in it.</p> <p>16 O my son! thou hast been to me like the goat which joined its comrades (on their way) to the sacrifice, and it was unable to save itself.</p> <p>17 O my boy! the dog which is not fed from its hunting becomes food for flies.</p> <p>18 O my son! the hand which does not labour and plough and (which) is greedy and cunning shall be cut away from its shoulder.</p> <p>19 O my son! the eye in which light is not seen, the ravens shall pick at it and pluck it out.</p> <p>20 O my boy! thou hast been to me like a tree whose branches they were cutting, and it said to them, "If (something) of me were not in your hands, verily you would be unable to cut me."</p> <p>¹ <i>Gûre</i> means a hollow place, <i>siân</i> is presumably from the Hebrew <i>שֵׁן</i> to be soft or sticky and the Syriac <i>ܥܝܢܐ</i> <i>linus</i>, <i>coenum</i>. I can find no justification for <i>siâg</i>, the reading of the MSS. used by Salhani and Lidzbarski.</p>	<p>Son, thou hast been to^{12a} me like the axe that was chopping a tree. Said the tree: Wert¹ thou not from me, thou couldst not overcome me. Thus² didst thou imagine saying: I will fill his place. But if the^{12b} pig's tail were about five ells long, it would not fill the place of the horse. And if its fleece^{12c} were as purple, it could not be likened to the body of a king³.</p> <p>¹ MS. Canon, better: 'Were not what is in thy hand from me, thou wert not able to overcome me.'</p> <p>² MS. Canon, better: 'My son, thou didst imagine thus, saying: I fill the place of Khikar, but were the pig's tail nine ells long,' &c.</p> <p>³ MS. Canon like the Syriac adds here this saying: 'Son, I thus thought, that thou wouldst stay in my house and inherit my goods. But according to thy lawlessness, God hath not prospered thee.'</p>

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 8. 25-28

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
25 My son, thou hast been to me like the young swallows which fell out of their nest; and a cat caught them and said to them, "If it had not been for me, great evil would have befallen you." They answered and said to her, "Is that why thou hast put us in thy mouth?"		The maggot of the bread ate 12 ¹ the body of a king, but was itself of no use to any one nor profitable, but vile. Son, thou hast been to me 13 like the young of the swallow which fell out of its nest, and a weasel found it and said: If it had not been for me ¹ , then a great evil would have befallen you. The nestling said to the weasel: Thy good which thou hast done to me shall return upon thine head. ¹ Lit. 'if it had been apart from me'.

ARMENIAN

Son, a dog which itself eats the quarry, will become the prey of wolves. An eye that gives me 14 no light, the ravens dig it out. Hand which helps me not, from the shoulder let them lop it off.

Son, thou hast been to me like the lure which lay buried in the dung. A sparrow found it and 15 said: What doest thou? ² And it said: I am engaged in prayer unto God. Said the sparrow: And that which is in thy mouth, what is it? It said: A little loaf for the hungry. The sparrow darted in to take the bread and was caught by the neck and said: If this was a little loaf for the hungry, God even so heareth thy prayer.

Son, they said to the wolf: Keep away from the fold. It answered: If I live away, I am 16 blinded; for the dust is a remedy for my eyes and benefits them.

Son, thou hast been to me as the wolf that encountered an ass, and said: Peace be unto thee. 17 The young ass said: Peace to yonder master of mine, who hath loosed the cord of my feet, and let me behold thy face evil and bloodthirsty.³

Son, thou hast been to me like one who saw his fellow a-shivering. Taking water he threw 18 it over him.

Son, thou hast been to me like the dog which went into the oven of the potter. When he 19 was warm, he began to bark at the potter.

² So Paris 69: the rest = 'What art thou?'

³ Canon omits 'evil and bloodthirsty'.

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
26 My son, thou hast been to me like the cat, to which they say, "Leave off thy thievish ways, and thou shalt go out from and come in to the king's palace, according to thy heart's wish." And she answered and said, "If I should have eyes of silver and ears of gold, I will not leave off my thieving."	21 O my boy! thou art like the cat to whom they said: "Leave off thieving till we make for thee a chain of gold and feed thee with sugar and almonds." And she said, "I am not forgetful of the craft of my father and my mother."	Son, they said to the cat, 20 Give up thy habitual affair ⁴ , and the privilege ⁴ is extended to thee to enter the palace and quit it. The cat said: If my eyes were gold and my paw of silver, I would yet not give up the habitual thing ⁵ .
27 My son, thou hast been to me like a serpent that was mounted on a thorn-bush and thrown into a river; and a wolf saw them and said to them: "Bad rides on bad, and worse than either carries them off." The serpent said to him, "If thou hadst been here, thou shouldst have paid the reckoning for the she-goats and their young ones."	22 O my son! thou hast been like the serpent riding on a thorn-bush when he was in the midst of a river, and a wolf saw them and said, "Mischief upon mischief, and let him who is more mischievous than they direct both of them." And the serpent said to the wolf, "The lambs and the goats and the sheep which thou hast eaten all thy	Son, thou hast been to me as 21 a snake that wound itself round a bramble and fell into a river. A wolf saw it and said: Lo, the evil is mounted on the evil, and evil is that which drives them along. ⁴ Lit. 'word'. ⁵ Canon here has 'habit', <i>bars</i> for <i>ban</i> = 'word', and this should probably be read all through.
28 My son, I have seen a she-		

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 8. 28-33

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
goat brought into the slaughter-house, and because its time was not yet come, it returned to its place and saw its children and its children's children.	life, wilt thou return them to their fathers and to their parents or no?" Said the wolf, "No." And the serpent said to him, "I think that after myself thou art the worst of us."	
My son, I have seen colts that have become slayers of their mothers.	23 O my boy! I fed thee with good food and thou didst not feed me with dry bread. ¹	
29 My son, I fed thee with every pleasant meat: and thou, my son, hast fed me with bread of ashes ¹ , and I was not satisfied therewith.	24 O my boy! I gave thee sugared water to drink and good syrup, and thou didst not give me water from the well to drink.	
30 My son, I salved thee with sweet salves, and thou, my son, hast fouled my body with dust.	25 O my boy! I taught thee, and brought thee up, and thou didst dig a hiding-place for me and didst conceal me.	
	26 O my boy! I brought thee up with the best upbringing and trained thee like a tall cedar; and thou hast twisted and bent me.	
31 My son, I trained up thy stature like a cedar, but thou hast humbled me in my life, and hast made me drunken with thy wickedness.	27 O my boy! it was my hope concerning thee that thou wouldst build me a fortified castle, that I might be concealed from my enemies in it, and thou didst become to me like one burying in the depth of the earth; but the Lord took pity on me and delivered me from thy cunning.	
32 My son, I raised thee like a tower and said, "If the enemy should come upon me, I will go up and dwell in thee": and thou, when thou sawest my enemy, didst bow before him.	28 O my boy! I wished thee well, and thou didst reward me (with) evil and hatefulness, and now I would fain tear out thine eyes, and make thee food for dogs, and cut out thy tongue, and take off thy head with the edge of the sword, and recompense thee for thine abominable deeds.	Son, thou hast been to me as ²² a mole which came out of its hole and one with another went forth because of their eyes not seeing. And an eagle swooped and seized him; and the mole said: If there had been no senses in my case, I should have remained in my place and lived a peaceful life.
		Son, they gave teaching to ²³ the wolf's cub, and said: Say thou, <i>ayb, ben, gim</i> ¹ ; and he said <i>ayts, bouts, garhn</i> (i.e. goat, kid, lamb).
		Son, they took the swine to ²⁴ the bath, and he plunged into it, then rolled himself in the bog, saying: You wash in your own, and I will in mine.
¹ Lit. 'dust'.		
² Lit. 'receive'. But perhaps the original was 'that he might see the sun, though he had no eyes'.		
	¹ For this meaning of حاف cf. Lane, Book I, part 2, p. 598, and Badger, p. 272.	
		¹ i.e. the first three letters of the Armenian alphabet.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 8. 34-38

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
<p>34 My son Nadan answered and said to me, 'My father Ahikar, such things be far from thee: do to me according to thy mercy: for God also forgives the fault of men: and thou also, forgive me this my folly: and I will tend thy horses and feed thy pigs which are in thy house, and I shall be called evil: but thou, devise not evil against me.'</p>	<p>29 And when Nadan heard this speech from his uncle Haiqâr, he said: 'O my uncle! deal with me according to thy knowledge, and forgive me my sins, for who is there who hath sinned like me, or who is there who forgives like thee? Accept me, O my uncle! Now I will serve in thy house, and groom thy horses and sweep up the dung of thy cattle, and feed thy sheep, for I am the wicked and thou art the righteous: I the guilty and thou the forgiving.'</p>	<p>Nathan began to speak and 24^b said: My father Khikar, men sin unto God, and He forgives them, when they say: I have sinned. Father, I have sinned unto thee. Forgive me, and I will be to thee a slave henceforth for ever.¹</p>
<p>35 I answered and said to him, 'My son, thou hast been to me like that palm-tree that stood by a river, and cast all its fruit into the river, and when its lord came to cut it down, it said to him, "Let me alone this year, and I will bring thee forth carobs." And its lord said unto it, "Thou hast not been industrious in what is thine own, and how wilt thou be industrious in what is not thine own?"'</p>	<p>30 And Haiqâr said to him, 'O my boy! thou art like the tree which was fruitless beside the water, and its master was fain to cut it down, and it said to him, "Remove me to another place, and if I do not bear fruit, cut me down." And its mastersaid to it, "Thou being beside the water hast not borne fruit, how shalt thou bear fruit when thou art in another place?"'</p> <p>31 O my boy! the old age of the eagle is better than the youth of the crow.</p> <p>32 O my boy! they said to the wolf, "Keep away from the sheep lest their dust should harm thee." And the wolf said, "The dregs of the sheep's milk¹ are good for my eyes."</p> <p>33 O my boy! they made the wolf go to school that he might learn to read, and they said to him, "Say A, B." He said, "Lamb and goat² in my belly."</p> <p>34 O my boy! they set the ass down at the table and he fell, and began to roll himself in the dust, and one said, "Let him roll himself, for it</p>	<p>And I spake to Nathan thus: Son, thou hast been to me 25 like a palm-tree which was growing with roots on the bank of the river. When the fruit ripened, it fell into the river. The lord of the tree came to cut it down, and the tree said: Leave me in this place², that in the next year I may bear fruit. The lord of the tree said: Up to this day hast thou been to me useless, in the future thou wilt not become useful.</p> <p>Son, God hath rescued me 26^a because of my innocence, but hath destroyed thee because of thy lawlessness. God passes judgement between me and thee. For the tail of the dog gives 26^b bread and his mouth a cudgel.³</p>
<p>36 My son, they say to the wolf, "Why dost thou follow after the sheep?" He said to them, "Their dust is exceeding good for my eyes." Again they brought him into the school-house¹: the master said to him, "Aleph, Beth"; the wolf said, "Kid, Lamb."</p> <p>37 My son, I taught thee that there is a God: and thou risest up against good servants, and beatest those that have not sinned; and like as God has kept me alive on account of my righteousness² so hath He destroyed thee for thy works.</p> <p>38 My son, they set the head of the ass over a dish at the table, and he rolled off and fell in the dust. And they say, "He spites</p>	<p>¹ This is evidently a pun, <i>ghabar</i> meaning dust, and <i>ghubr</i> the last milk in the udder.</p> <p>² The animals mentioned by the wolf had names which doubtless began with A, B. In the Arabic and English this is lost.</p>	<p>¹ Canon adds: 'like one of the sinners'.</p> <p>² Canon = 'Leave me for this year'.</p> <p>³ Canon adds this precept about the dog after no. 16. It comes as the fourth in the first series of the Syriac.</p>
<p>¹ Lit. 'house of the scribe'.</p> <p>² Query, 'almsgiving'? <i>ut supra</i>.</p>		

THE STORY OF AHIKAR 8. 38-41

SYRIAC	ARABIC	ARMENIAN
himself; he does not receive honour."	is his nature, he will not change."	
39 My son, thou hast verified the proverb, which is current: "Call him whom thou hast begotten, thy son, and him whom thou hast purchased, thy slave."	35 O my boy! the saying has been confirmed which runs: "If thou begettest a boy, call him thy son, and if thou rearest a boy, call him thy slave."	
40 My son, the proverb is true that is current: "Take thy sister's son under thy arm and dash him against a stone."	36 O my boy! he who doeth good shall meet with good; and he who doeth evil shall meet with evil, for the Lord requiteth a man according to the measure of his work.	
But God is He that hath kept me alive, and He will judge between us.'	37 O my boy! what shall I say more to thee than these sayings? for the Lord knoweth what is hidden, and is acquainted with the mysteries and the secrets. And He will requite thee and will judge betwixt me and thee, and will recompense thee according to thy desert.'	
41 Thereat Nadan swelled up like a bag and died. And to him that doeth good, what is good shall be recompensed: and to him that doeth evil, what is evil shall be rewarded. ¹ And he that diggeth a pit for his neighbour, filleth it with his own stature. And to God be glory, and His mercy be upon us. Amen.	38 And when Nadan heard that speech from his uncle Haiqâr, he swelled up immediately and became like a blown-out bladder. And his limbs swelled and his legs and his feet and his side, and he was torn and his belly burst asunder and his entrails were scattered, and he perished, and died. And his latter end was destruction, and he went to hell. For he who digs a pit for his brother shall fall into it; and he who sets up traps shall be caught in them. This is what happened and (what) we found about the tale of Haiqâr, and praise be to God for ever. Amen, and peace. This chronicle is finished with the help of God, may He be exalted! Amen, Amen, Amen.	In the same hour Nathan 26 ^e swelled up and all his body burst asunder, and I said: Son, ^a he that doeth good, 27 winneth good; and he that digs a pit for others, himself falls into the pit. The good endeth in good and the evil in evil.
The proverbs of Ahikar the sage and secretary of Sennacherib king of Assyria and Nineveh are ended.		Here endeth Khikar. ¹
J. R. HARRIS.	A. S. LEWIS.	F. C. CONYBEARE.
¹ Lit. 'He shall be rewarded evil'.		¹ The last three words in Codex Ven. alone.

^a The text of MS. Canon is as follows:
Said Khikar: He that doeth well to the good will meet with good. And he who diggeth a pit for his fellow, with his own person filleth it. He who loves evil is hateful to many, and he who pursues the good inherits it.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

AETHIOPIC FRAGMENTS OF THE SAYINGS OF AHIKAR.

The following is the translation of the fifteen sayings of Aḥikar, published by Cornill in his *Mashafa Falâsfâ Tabîbân*, or *Book of the Wise Philosophers*. These sayings are taken from two MSS., one at Frankfort and the other at Tübingen. They apparently come from an Arabic collection of ethical maxims, and not from a complete story of Aḥikar. We should have inferred that the precepts were in separate circulation in Arabic, from the title of a MS. in the Vatican described by Assemani which is said to contain *Hicari philosophi Mosulani praecepta*.

Instruction of Ḥaikar the Wise.

- 1 He spake as follows:
‘Hear, my son, and keep in remembrance my discourse, so that thou rememberest God the High and the Mighty.
My son, if thou hearest a discourse, hide it in thy heart and disclose it not to thy neighbour, that it become not to thee as a coal and burn thy tongue, and bring derision upon thee and make thee hateful to God.
- 2 My son, make fair thy discourse and thy behaviour; for the wagging of a dog’s tail gives him bread, but his jaw brings him stones.
- 3 My son, do not tarry with him, in whom there is strife: for strife brings controversy: and strife gives for an inheritance revengefulness and murder.
- 4 My son, if a house could be built by talk without action, an ass would build two houses a day.
- 5 My son, it is better to haul stones with a wise and understanding man, than to drink wine with a fool.
- 6 My son, so long as there are shoes on thy feet, tread down the thorns, and level the way for thy children and thy children’s children.
- 7 My son, if the rich man eats a snake, they say of him, “He seeks a medicine therein”; if, however, the poor man eats it, they say of him, “It was from hunger.”
- 8 My son, if there come to thee a slenderer and poorer man than thyself, rise up to receive him.
- 9 My son, the wicked falls and rises not again; but the good man falls and rises immediately and remains in his condition.
- 10 My son, cease not to beat thy son; for the chastisement of a child is good for it, even as dung makes the land good; and as the land which is not rugged and on which there is grass delights the cattle, so doth a well-brought up son delight his father.
- 11 My son, keep thy son in curb, as long as he is small, that he may not grow up and thou have no more control over him, and be fain to blush over his corrupt behaviour.
- 12 A fair repute is better than a fair appearance; for the fair repute abides for ever, but the fair appearance and form pass away.
- 13 My son, it is better to stumble with the foot than with the tongue; and bring no discourse out of thy mouth, before thou hast entered into counsel with thine own self.
- 14 My son, if the course of water should turn backwards, and if birds should fly without wings, and if the raven should become white as snow, then may a fool become wise.
- 15 My son, if thou wilt be wise, refrain thy tongue from lying and thy hands from stealing.’

J. R. HARRIS.

THE ARAMAIC FRAGMENTS FROM ELEPHANTINÉ.

The following represents roughly the narrative portion of the Aḥikar-legend, and the most important of the Parables and Proverbs of Aḥikar preserved in the papyrus:

- 1 Aḥikar was his name, a wise and erudite scribe, who instructed his son He said: The son will be for me before Aḥikar the Great Seal of Sennacherib, king of Assyria and there was no son to me and Sennacherib, king of Assyria, had fulfilled (his days) and Sennacherib died his son, named Esarhaddon, and he was king of Assyria in the place of his father (Sennacherib) Assyria. Thereupon I (took) my son and I instructed him and virtue in the Palace along with I presented him before Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria. And wisdom what he had asked him. And thereon Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, loved him and said, (Long) life the wise scribe, the counsellor of all Assyria, who has appointed as his son, and no son and I bowed down and worshipped, I, Aḥikar, before Esarhaddon (the king) of Assyria. Aḥikar, and when I saw the face of Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, favourably, I rose up (as I was before) Sennacherib thy father, who was king (before thee)

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

I shall not be able to serve (the king) in the gate of this palace whose name is Nadin, my grown-up son, and he shall succeed me as Secretary (and Great) Seal shall he be; and also my wisdom and the king of Assyria. And he said to me, (like thyself) and in thy stead he shall do thy work. I went to my house and I set him in the gate of the palace and I said, he will seek after what is good (my son Nadin) whom I have brought up, think on the king Sennacherib, thy father he is wise and according to his counsel and advice will much disquiet the king. Listen as a son, who is not my son; as a son

4 1 (Answered) Esarhaddon the king and said: whom my father hath made great, who (ate) the bread of my father thou wilt seek, where thou canst find that old man Ahiḳar. He is a wise secretary whether he can corrupt the country against us, after that Assyria; he attached to him two men, in order to see that officer (?) Nabuṣumiṣkun, riding upon a swift horse with him after yet three days and the others who were with him, as I was walking in the vineyards. Nabuṣumiṣkun, the officer, rent his garment, and lamented the wise Secretary and master of good counsel who by whose counsel and words all Assyria was directed (Nadin, thy son) whom thou hast appointed in the gate of the Palace, hath undone thee.

9 Then was I much afeard, even I Ahiḳar; and I answered and said to Nabuṣumiṣkun I am he who aforetime saved thee from undeserved death the father of the present king, Esarhaddon, (was angry) with thee I brought thee to my house, thither was I bringing thee

10 (I treated thee) as a man treats his brother, and I hid thee from the presence of (king Sennacherib). I said, I have killed him, until at another time and after yet many days I presented thee before king Sennacherib, and caused thy sins to pass away before him: and no evil did he to thee. And with me also king Sennacherib was well pleased, because I had preserved thee alive and not slain thee. And now do thou also to me in the same fashion as I did to thee. Slay me not, but bring me into thy house until other days. King Esarhaddon is merciful as one towards another. He will remember me and will long for my advice. Thou wilt then present me before him, and he will suffer me to live. Thereupon answered Nabuṣumiṣkun and said to me, Fear not. Thou shalt live, Ahiḳar, the father of all Assyria, according to whose counsel Sennacherib and all the Assyrian army were wont to make war. Nabuṣumiṣkun, the officer, spake to those two men, his companions, who were with him, (Listen) and I will give you a piece of advice, and it is good advice too. The two men answered and said to him, Tell it us then. And Nabuṣumiṣkun answered and said to them, Listen to me. Yonder is Ahiḳar, a great man. He is the Great Seal of Esarhaddon. According to his counsel and word is the whole army of Assyria governed. Do not let us kill him. There is a eunuch whom I have, and whom I will give you. He must be killed in the mountain; he shall be a substitute for Ahiḳar other people (may come and) see the body of yonder Ahiḳar, for the body of the young man, the eunuch, whom I have

. until our brother Esarhaddon (shall have regret) over our brother and the heart of Esarhaddon I will give you much treasure and the soul (of the officer) was content with his two companions.

11 (And they said,) Do as thou counsell'est Thereupon they slew the aforementioned eunuch

12 in the stead of Ahiḳar At that time report was made in the king's palace, (and they said) to the king, He hath been slain. Thereupon Nabuṣumiṣkun (brought me to his house, and he caused to be supplied to me there (meat and drink) and said, Let these things be furnished to my

13 lord (Ahiḳar). Likewise he brought much treasure Thereupon Nabuṣumiṣkun, the officer, went to Esarhaddon the king (of Assyria), and informed him, saying, I went my way, (as directed) and I found Ahiḳar (walking in his vineyards), and I have put him to death. And do thou, O king, inquire of the two men whom thou didst appoint. So spake he until that Esarhaddon (believed his words).

(This is all of the narrative which has been preserved: the extant portions of the proverbial and allegorical parts of the book are very fragmentary in character, and uncertain as to their restoration, to order, and sense. The most important are as follows:—

What is stronger than a braying ass?

The son who is instructed and disciplined, and who has on his feet

Do not withhold thy son from beating, if thou

My son, if I beat thee, thou diest not. And if I leave on thy heart

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

Smite the boy, like even so to all thy servants

The lion will be the stag in the secret of his den (?)

And he pours out his blood and eats his flesh

The ass has left and does not carry it. He takes up from his companions,
. which was not his.

.

Watch carefully over thy mouth and make thy heart slow (?), for the word spoken is
like a bird, and he who utters it is like a man without the craft of the mouth is mightier
than the craft

Do not conceal (?) the word of a king

They deal with trees by fire, with flesh by a knife, and with man

Let not thy heart rejoice in the multitude of children and over their fewness (be not thou dis-
couraged).

(Cf. Armenian sayings, No. 34.)

A king is as a merciful man, also his voice is higher than that of him who stands before him . . .

The king is fair to look on as the sun, and for them that walk the earth, his adornment is
costly . . .

(My son,) I have lifted sand, and I have carried salt, but there was nothing heavier than

I have lifted straw and handled (?) the plough and there was nothing lighter than the
man who dwells in

The panther met the goat, and it was naked. And the panther answered and said to the goat,
Come and I will cover thee with my skin.

The goat answered and said to the panther, Why my skin? Take it not from me . . .

The wolf came to the lambs (?) and I will be silent. The lambs answered and said to
him, Take what thou wantest from us

Nothing lies in a man's power, to lift up his foot or to set it down

(Do not bend) thy bow and shoot an arrow at the upright, lest God should and cause it
to return upon thyself.

(Thou hast bent) thy bow and shot thy arrow at one who is more righteous than thou. That is
a sin against our God.

A loan is heavy, and borrow thou not from a man and if thou contractest a loan, give
thy soul no peace until

. in thine ears, for the charm of a man is his trustiness, and his hatred is lying with his
lips (?).

The son of my body has spied out my house he has told strangers

He has become a false witness against me:

And who will now declare my righteousness?

.

With him that is higher than thyself do not

With him that is stronger than thyself, do not

. and be not insolent to thy father

The thorn-bush sent to the pomegranate (and said):

The thorn-bush to the pomegranate. How numerous are thy thorns for him who handles thee!

The pomegranate answered and said to the thorn-bush,

Thou art all thorns for him who handles thee.

.

.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

GREEK VERSION OF THE LEGEND OF AHIKAR.

The following is the portion of the story of Aesop which shows coincidence with Ahiḳar.

Fabulae Romanenses Graecae Conscrip̄tae (ed. Eberhard).

c. xxiii Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῆς νήσου ἀπάρας, περιῆει τὴν οἰκουμένην, τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν φιλοσόφων διαλεγόμενος· ἀφικόμενος δὲ καὶ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σοφίαν ἐπιδειξάμενος, μέγας παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυκῆρῳ ἐγένετο. κατ' ἐκείνους γὰρ τοὺς χρόνους οἱ βασιλεῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους εἰρήνῃ ἔχοντες καὶ τέρψεως χάριν προβλήματα τῶν σοφιστικῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους γράφοντες ἔπεμπον. ἄπερ οἱ μὲν ἐπιλυόμενοι φόρους ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς πρὸς τῶν πεμπόντων ἐλάμβανον· εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς ἴσους παρείχον. ὁ τοίνυν Αἰσωπος τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν προβλημάτων Λυκῆρῳ συνῶν ἐπέλυνε, καὶ εὐδοκιμεῖν ἐποίει τὸν βασιλέα. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ Λυκῆρου ἕτερα τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀντέπεμπεν, ὧν ἀλύτων μενόντων, φόρους ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι πλείστους εἰσέπραττεν.

c. xxiv Αἰσωπος δὲ μὴ παιδοποιησάμενος, ἕνα τινὰ τῶν εὐγενῶν, Ἐννον τὴν κλήσιν, εἰσεποιήσατό τε καὶ ὡς γνήσιον παῖδα τῷ βασιλεῖ προσενέγκας συνέστησε. μετὰ δ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον τοῦ Ἐννου τῇ τοῦ θεμένου παλλακῇ συμφθαρέντος, Αἰσωπος τοῦτο γνούς, ἀπελαύνειν ἔμελλε τῆς οἰκίας. ὁ δέ, τῇ κατ' ἐκείνου ὀργῇ ληφθεὶς, ἐπιστολὴν τε πλασάμενος παρ' Αἰσώπου δῆθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀντισοφισζομένους Λυκῆρῳ, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἔτοιμός ἐστι προστίθεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Λυκῆρῳ, τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐνεχείρισε, τῷ τοῦ Αἰσώπου ταύτην σφραγισάμενος δακτυλίῳ. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τῇ τε σφραγίδι πεισθεὶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτῳ ὀργῇ χρησάμενος, παραχρήμα τῷ Ἑρμιππῳ κελεύει, μηδὲν ἐξετάσαντα οἷα δὴ προδότῃν διαχειρίσασθαι Αἰσωπον. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμιππος φίλος τε ἦν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ καὶ τότε δὴ τὸν φίλον ἐπέδειξεν. ἐν τινι γὰρ τῶν τάφων μηδενὸς εἰδότης κρύψας τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐν ἀπορρήτοις ἔτρεφεν. Ἐννος δέ, τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος, πᾶσαν τὴν διοίκησιν Αἰσώπου παρέλαβε.

c. xxv Μετὰ δὲ τινα χρόνον Νεκτεναβὼ βασιλεὺς Αἰγυπτίων πυθόμενος Αἰσωπον τεθνηκέναι, πέμπει Λυκῆρῳ παραχρήμα ἐπιστολὴν, οἰκοδόμους αὐτῷ ἀποστεῖλαι κελεύουσιν, οἱ πύργον οἰκοδομήσουσι μήτ' οὐρανοῦ μήτε γῆς ἀπτόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀποκρινόμενον ἀεὶ πρὸς πάνθ' ὅσα αὐν ἐρωτῇ· καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα, φόρους εἰσπράττειν, εἰ δὲ μή, κατατίθεσθαι. ταῦτα τῷ Λυκῆρῳ ἀναγνωσθέντα εἰς ἀθυμίαν ἐνέβαλε, μηδενὸς τῶν φίλων δυναμένου τὸ πρόβλημα τὸ περὶ τοῦ πύργου συνέλναι.

After this he set sail from the island, and went c. xxiii about the world, in discourse everywhere with the philosophic; and having reached Babylon, he then also exhibited his wisdom and acquired renown with Lykeros the king. In those days the kings were at peace with one another, and used to amuse themselves by sending one another sophistical questions to answer; and those who could resolve them used to get for their answers tribute from those who proposed them; if, however, they failed, they paid in turn the like amount. So Aesop, who was associated with Lykeros, used to solve the problems which were sent to him, and caused the king to become famous. And he himself sent through Lykeros counter-challenges to the kings, the non-solution of which brought an abundance of revenues to the king.

Now as Aesop himself had no children, he c. xxiv annexed a certain young man of noble birth named Ennus, and brought him to the king, with commendation as his proper son. And when, not long after, Ennus played false with the concubine of his adoptive father, Aesop, becoming aware of it, would have banished him the house. But he, seized with rage against him, and having forged a letter, to wit, from Aesop to the kings who were in contest with Lykeros, to the effect that he was prepared to take their side rather than that of Lykeros, went and put the letter into the king's hands, having first sealed it with Aesop's signet.

So he, being persuaded thereby, and under the influence of implacable anger, forthwith directs Hermippus to make away with Aesop without a trial, on the ground that he was a traitor. Hermippus, however, was a friend of Aesop, and showed himself so at the time. Without any one knowing it, he concealed Aesop in one of the tombs, and secretly maintained him. Meanwhile Ennus, by the king's orders, took over all Aesop's affairs.

Some time after, Nectenabo, the king of the c. xxv Egyptians, having ascertained that Aesop was dead, forthwith sends to Lykeros a letter, commanding him to send builders to construct him a tower that should not touch either heaven or earth, and a man withal who should make him continual answer to all his questions; if thus he would do, he should revenues acquire; but if the contrary, he should pay them over. When these

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

ὁ μέντοι βασιλεὺς καὶ κίονα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας ἔλεγεν ἀπολωλεκέναι τὸν Αἴσωπον. Ἑρμιππος δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δι' Αἴσωπον λύπην μαθὼν, προσῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ζῆν ἐκείνον εὐηγγέλισατο, προσθεὶς ὡς τοῦδε χάριν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνείλεν, εἰδὼς ὡς μεταμελήσει ποτὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀποφάσεως. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡσθέντος, Αἴσωπος ῥυπῶν καὶ αὐχμῶν ὄλος προσηνέχθη, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς εἶδεν αὐτόν, δακρύσαντος καὶ λούσασθαί τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ἀξιοθῆναι κελεύσαντος, Αἴσωπος μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν κατηγορήθη τὰς αἰτίας ἀπεσκευάσατο. ἐφ' οἷς καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Ἑννον ἀναιρεῖν μέλλοντος, Αἴσωπος αὐτῷ συγγνώμην ῥήτησατο. ἐπομένως δὲ τούτοις ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ἐπιστολὴν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἐπέδωκεν ἀναγνῶναι. ὃ δὲ αὐτίκα τὴν λύσιν συνείς τοῦ προβλήματος, ἐγέλασέ τε καὶ ἀντιγράφειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἐπειδὴν χειμῶν παρέλθῃ, πεμφθῆναι τοὺς τε τὸν πύργον οἰκοδομήσοντας καὶ τὸν ἀποκρινούμενον πρὸς τὰ ἐρωτώμενα. ὁ βασιλεὺς οὖν τοὺς μὲν Αἰγυπτίους πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν, Αἰσώπῳ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διοίκησιν ἐνεχείρισεν ἅπασαν, ἔκδοτον αὐτῷ παραδοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἑννον. ὁ δὲ Αἴσωπος παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἑννον, οὐδὲν ἀηδὲς αὐτὸν ἔδρασεν, ἀλλ' ὡς νίφ' πάλιν προσσχῶν, ἄλλους τε καὶ τούτους ὑπετίθει τοὺς λόγους.

things were read to Lykeros, they put him in a sad muse, seeing that none of his friends could understand the riddle about the tower. Whereupon the king was saying that he had lost in Aesop the very pillar of the kingdom. Hermippus, however, when he learned the king's grief over Aesop, came to the king, and gave him the good news that he was yet alive, adding that it was for this very reason that he had not done him to death, because he knew that the king would some time repent him of the sentence. And when the king was mightily pleased thereat, Aesop was brought in to him, all filthy and begrimed, and the king, when he saw him, wept, and bid him to the bath and to be attended with all care, and after this Aesop cleared himself of all the accusations that had been made against him. Whereupon the king would in turn have slain Ennus, but Aesop asked that he would pardon him. Thereafter the king put into Aesop's hand the letter of the Egyptian to read. And he, promptly divining the solution of the riddle, laughed and bid them dispatch a reply to the effect that, on the approach of winter, he would send him both the builders of the tower, and the person who should answer his questions. So the king sent ambassadors to Egypt, and to Aesop he entrusted all his ancient affairs, handing over to him Ennus, to boot. So Aesop took to him Ennus, nor wrought he him any unpleasantness, but dealing with him again as with a son, he imparted to him the following and kindred instructions.

c. xxvi. 1 ‘Τέκνον, πρὸ πάντων σέβου τὸ θεῖον; τὸν βασιλέα 2 δὲ τίμα· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς σου δεινὸν σεαυτὸν παρασκευάζε, ἵνα μὴ καταφρονῶσί σου· τοῖς δὲ φίλοις πρᾶον καὶ εὐμετάδοτον, ὡς ἐννουστέρους σοι μᾶλλον 3 γίνεσθαι. ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐχθροὺς νοσεῖν εὐχον καὶ πένεσθαι, ὡς μὴ οἴους τε εἶναι λυπεῖν σε· τοὺς δὲ φίλους κατὰ πάντα εὖ πράττειν βούλον. αἰεὶ τῇ 4 γυναικὶ σου χρηστῶς ὁμίλει, ὅπως ἐτέρου ἀνδρὸς πειρᾶν μὴ ζητήσῃ λαβεῖν. κοῦφον γὰρ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐστι 5 φῦλον καὶ κολακευόμενον ἐλάττω φρονεῖ κακά. ὀξείαν μὲν πρὸς λόγον κτῆσαι τὴν ἀκοήν, τῆς δὲ γλώττης 6 ἐγκρατὴς ἔσο. τοῖς εὖ πράττουσιν μὴ φθόνει, ἀλλὰ σύγχαιρε· φθονῶν γὰρ σεαυτὸν μᾶλλον βλάψεις. 7 τῶν οἰκετῶν σου ἐπιμελοῦ ἵνα μὴ μόνον ὡς δεσπότην 8 σε φοβῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εὐεργέτην αἰδῶνται. μὴ 9 αἰσχύνου μανθάνειν ἀεὶ τὰ κρείττω. τῇ γυναικὶ μηδέποτε πιστεύσῃς ἀπόρρητα, ἀεὶ γὰρ ὀπλίζεται πῶς σου 10 κυριεύσει. καθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ εἰς τὴν αὔριον ἀποταμιεύου· βέλτιον γὰρ τελευτῶντα ἐχθροῖς καταλείψαι, ἢ ζῶντα 11 τῶν φίλων ἐπιδεῖσθαι. εὐπροσήγορος ἔσο τοῖς συναντώσιν, εἰδὼς ὡς καὶ τῷ κυναρίῳ ἄρτον ἢ οὐρὰ προσ- 12, 13 πορίζει. ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος μὴ μετανοεῖ. ψίθυρον ἄνδρα ἔκβαλε σῆς οἰκίας, τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ σοῦ λεγόμενα 14 καὶ πραττόμενα ἐτέροις φέρων ἀναθήσει. πρᾶττε μὲν τὰ μὴ λυπήσουντά σε, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς συμβαίνουσι μὴ 15 λυποῦ. μήτε πονηρὰ βουλευσῇ ποτὲ μήτε τρόπους κακῶν μιμήσῃ.’

‘My child,’ said he, ‘first of all revere the divine, c. xxvi. 1 and honour the king; to thine enemies make 2 thyself dread that they despise thee not: but to thy friends be gentle and generous, that they in turn may be better affected to thyself. Further, let it be thy prayer that poverty and 3 sickness may be the lot of thy enemies, that they may not have it in their power to annoy thee; but for thy friends desire good fortune in every- thing. Ever talk kindly to thy wife, that she 4 may not seek to make experiment of another man. For the female sex is a slight thing, and when flattered makes little of mishap. Keep 5 thine ear attentive to discourse, but be retentive of thy speech. Envy not the prosperous, but be 6 glad with them: for by envying thou wilt rather damage thyself. Have such care of thy servants 7 that they not merely fear thee as lord, but revere thee, too, as benefactor. Take no scorn to be 8 always learning better. Never entrust secrets 9 to the wife, for she ever sets her camp to have mastery over thee. Every day, and for the 10 morrow, do thou store up: for it is better to die and leave one's estate to enemies than to live and 11 be dependent on friends. Be affable to those whom thou meetest, knowing that even for the 12 dog his tail provides him bread. When thou

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

τούτοις τοῦ Αἰσώπου τὸν Ἔννον νουθετήσαντος, ἐκείνος τοῖς τε λόγοις καὶ τῇ οἰκείᾳ συνειδήσει οἰάτινι βέλει πληγείς τὴν ψυχὴν, μετ’ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν.

c. xxvii Αἴσωπος δὲ τοὺς ἰξευτὰς πάντας προσκαλεσάμενος, ἀετῶν νεοττοὺς τέτταρας συλληφθῆναι κελεύει. συλληφθέντας οὖν οὕτως ἔθρεψεν, ὥς λέγεται, καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν, ὅπερ οὐ πάντ’ ἐμε πειθόμενον ἔχει, ὥς παῖδας διὰ θυλάκων αὐτοῖς προσηρτημένων βαστάζοντας εἰς ὕψος αἵρεσθαι, καὶ οὕτως ὑπηκόους τοῖς παισὶν εἶναι, ὥς ὅποιπερ ἂν ἐκείνοι βούλαιντο ἵπτασθαι ἂν τε εἰς ὕψος ἂν τε εἰς γῆν χαμαζέ. τῆς δὲ χειμερινῆς ὥρας παραδραμούσης καὶ ἡρὸς διαγελάσαντος, ἅπαντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν συσκευασάμενος Αἴσωπος, καὶ τοὺς τε παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἀετούς, ἀπῆρεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, πολλῇ φαντασίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἐκεῖ κεκρημένους. Νεκτεναβὼ δ’ ἀκούσας παραγεγονέναι τὸν Αἴσωπον, ‘ἐνήδρενμαι,’ φησὶ τοῖς φίλοις, ‘μεμαθηκὼς Αἴσωπον τεθνηκέναί.’

c. xxviii τῇ δ’ ἐπιούσῃ κελεύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας τοὺς ἐν τέλει λευκὰς περιβαλέσθαι στολὰς, αὐτὸς δὲ κίρραν ἐνεδύσατο καὶ διάδημα καὶ διάλιθον κίταριν. καὶ κατεσθεὶς ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ δόφρου, καὶ τὸν Αἴσωπον εἰσαχθῆναι κελεύσας, ‘τίνι με εἰκάσεις,’ εἰσελθόντι φησὶν, ‘Αἴσωπε, καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἐμοί;’ καὶ ὅς, ‘σὲ μὲν ἡλίῳ ἔαρινῳ, τοὺς δὲ περὶ σε τούτοις ὠραίοις στάχυσι.’ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς θαυμάσας αὐτὸν καὶ δώροις ἐδεξιώσατο. τῇ δὲ μετ’ ἐκείνῃν ἡμέρᾳ πάλιν ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς στολὴν λευκοτάτην ἐνσκευασάμενος τοῖς δὲ φίλοις φοινικὰς κελεύσας λαβεῖν, εἰσελθόντα τὸν Αἴσωπον τὴν προτέραν αὐθις πένσιν ἐπέθετο. καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος, ‘σὲ μὲν,’ εἶπεν, ‘εἰκάζω ἡλίῳ, τοὺς δὲ περὶ σε τούτοις ἀκτῖσι.’ καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ, ‘οἶμαι μὴδὲν εἶναι Λυκῆρον πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἐμὴν βασιλείαν’ καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος μειδιάσας ἔφη, ‘μὴ εὐχερῶς οὕτω περὶ ἐκείνου, ὦ βασιλεῦ, λογίζου. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἔθνος ἡ ὑμῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένη βασιλεία δίκην ἡλίου σελαγεῖ· εἰ δὲ Λυκῆρῳ παραβληθείη, οὐδὲν ἂν δέοι μὴ τὸ φῶς τοῦτο ζόφον ἀποδειχθῆναι.’ καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ τὴν τῶν λόγων εὐστοχίαν ἐκπλαγείς, ‘ἦνεγκας ἡμῖν,’ ἔφη, ‘τοὺς μέλλοντας τὸν πύργον οἰκοδομεῖν’ καὶ ὅς· ‘ἔτοιμοί εἰσιν, εἰ μόνον ὑποδείξεις τὸν τόπον.’

c. xxix μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξελθὼν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὸ πεδῖον, ὑπέδειξε διαμετρήσας τὸν χώρον. ἀγαγὼν τοίνυν Αἴσωπος ἐπὶ τὰς ὑποδειχθείσας τοῦ τόπου γωνίας τέτταρας τοὺς τέτταρας τῶν ἀετῶν ἅμα τοῖς παισὶ διὰ τῶν θυλάκων ἀπηρτημένοις, καὶ οἰκοδόμων τοῖς παισὶ

hast been kindly do not regret it. Turn the 13 whisperer out of thy house, for he will carry off and deposit with others whatever thou sayest or dost. Do such things as will grieve thee not 14 afterwards, but over things that happen grieve thou not. Devise thou not evil, nor ever imitate 15 the ways of bad men.’

When thus Aesop had admonished Ennus, the latter was compunct in soul as with an arrow at his words, and by his own conscience, and not many days after he departed this life.

Aesop then called to him all the hunters, and c. xxvii directed the capture of four eaglets. When these were caught he reared them (so it is said) and trained them (a thing which does not altogether convince me) to carry boys, attached to them by bags, up into the air, and to be so under the boys’ direction as to fly wherever they willed, whether to the heaven above or the earth beneath. Winter being now past and smiling spring arrived, Aesop made all things ready for his journey, and taking with him the boys and the eagles, he hied him to Egypt, employing much splendour and great array for the astonishment of the people in that country. Now when Nectenabo heard of the arrival of Aesop, he said to his friends, ‘I have been entrapped by the information of Aesop’s death.’

On the next day, then, the king bid all his c. xxviii officials to robe them in white raiment, whereas he clad him in a suit of orange, with a diadem and a jewelled turban. He took his seat on a lofty throne and bid Aesop to be summoned. To whom entering said he, ‘To whom dost thou compare me, Aesop, and those who are with me?’ Whereat he, ‘Thee to the sun in spring, and them that are around thee to its beauteous ears of corn.’ The king marvelled at him, and honoured him, too, with gifts. On the next day the king arrayed him in purest white, and bid his friends be clad in purple, and upon Aesop’s entrance he asked him again his former question. Whereat Aesop, ‘Thee,’ said he, ‘I compare to the sun, and them that are about thee to his rays.’ Whereat Nectenabo, ‘I think,’ said he, ‘that Lykeros has nothing to compare with this kingdom of mine.’ Aesop smiled, and said, ‘Reckon not so readily, O king, concerning him. To your people your vaunted kingdom hath indeed the splendour of the sun: but if it should be compared with Lykeros, it would take nothing to convert that light into mirk.’ Nectenabo, amazed at his witty words, inquired, ‘Hast thou brought us those who are to build the tower?’ Said he, ‘They are ready, if only you show us the place.’

After that the king went out into the plain, c. xxix and pointed out and measured the spot. Thereupon Aesop, bringing to the four corners of the place indicated the four eaglets with the boys fastened to them by bags, and giving to the

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

μετὰ χεῖρας δοὺς ἐργαλεῖα, ἐκέλευσεν ἀναπτῆναι. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὕψος γενόμενοι, ‘δότε ἡμῖν,’ ἐφώνουν, ‘λίθους, δότε κονίαν, δότε ξύλα, καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν ἐπιτηδείων.’ ὁ δὲ Νεκτεναβὼ τοὺς παῖδας θεασάμενος εἰς ὕψος ὑπὸ τῶν αἰγῶν ἀναφερομένους ἔφη· ‘πόθεν ἐμοὶ πτηνοὶ ἄνθρωποι;’ καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· ‘ἀλλὰ Λυκῆρος ἔχει· σὺ δὲ θέλεις ἄνθρωπος ὦν ἰσοθέω ἐρίξειν βασιλεῖ;’ καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ· ‘Αἴσωπε, ἤττημαι.’

c. xxx ἐρήσομαι δέ σε, σὺ δέ μοι ἀπόκριναι’ καὶ φησὶν· ‘εἰσὶ μοι θήλειαι ὧδε ἵπποι, αἵ περ ἐπειδὴν ἀκούσωσι τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων, εὐθὺς συλλαμβάνουσιν. εἴ σοι πρὸς τοῦτο πάρεστι σοφία, ἐπίδειξαι.’ καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· ‘αὐριοι ἀποκρinoῦμαί σοι, βασιλεῦ.’ ἐλθὼν δὲ οὐ κατήγετο, αἰλουρον τοῖς παισὶν ἐκέλευσε συλλαβεῖν, καὶ συλληφθέντα δημοσίᾳ περιάγεσθαι μαστιζόμενον. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ ζῶον σεβόμενοι, οὕτω κακῶς πάσχον αὐτὸ θεασάμενοι, συνέδραμον, καὶ τὸν αἰλουρον τῆς χειρὸς τῶν μαστιγούντων ἐκσπᾶσαντες, ἀναγγέλλουσιν ὡς τάχος τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ πάθος· ὁ δὲ καλέσας τὸν Αἴσωπον, ‘οὐκ ἤδεις,’ φησὶν, ‘Αἴσωπε, ὡς θεὸς σεβόμενος παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐστὶν αἰλουρος; ἵνα τί γούν τοῦτο πεποίηκας;’ καὶ ὅς· ‘Λυκῆρον τὸν βασιλέα ἠδίκησεν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς οὗτος ὁ αἰλουρος· ἀλεκτρύονα γὰρ αὐτοῦ πεφόνευκε μάχιμον καὶ γενναῖον, προσέτι μὴν καὶ τὰς ὥρας αὐτῷ τῆς νυκτὸς σημαίνοντα.’ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς· ‘οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ψευδόμενος, Αἴσωπε; πῶς γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ νυκτὶ αἰλουρος ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἦλθεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα;’ κακεῖνος μειδιάσας φησί· ‘καὶ πῶς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τῶν ἵππων χρεμετιζόντων αἱ ἐνθάδε θήλειαι ἵπποι συλλαμβάνουσιν;’ ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα ἀκούσας, τὴν αὐτοῦ φρόνησιν ἐμακάρισε.

c. xxxi μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μεταπεμφάμενος τῶν ἀφ’ ‘Ἠλίου πόλεως’ ἄνδρας ζητημάτων σοφιστικῶν ἐπιστήμονας, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Αἰσώπου διαλεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς, ἐκάλεσεν ἅμα τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἐπ’ εὐωχίαν. ἀνακλιθέντων οὖν αὐτῶν, τῶν ‘Ἠλίου πολιτῶν τίς φησι πρὸς τὸν Αἴσωπον’ ‘ἀπεστάλην παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μου πεῦσίν τινα πυθέσθαι σου, ὡς ἂν αὐτὴν ἐπιλύσῃς.’ καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· ‘ψεύδῃ· θεὸς γὰρ παρ’ ἀνθρώπου οὐδὲν δεῖται μαθεῖν. σὺ δὲ οὐ μόνον σαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ σου.’ ἕτερος πάλιν εἶπεν· ‘ἔστι ναὸς μέγας καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ στῦλος, δώδεκα πόλεις¹ ἔχων, ὦν ἐκάστη τριάκοντα δοκοῖς ἐστέγασται, τούτους δὲ περιάσι δύο γυναικες.’ καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος ἔφη· ‘τοῦτο τὸ πρόβλημα καὶ οἱ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐπιλύσονται παῖδες· ναὸς μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ κόσμος, στῦλος δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτός, αἱ δὲ πόλεις, οἱ μῆνες, καὶ δοκοὶ αἱ τούτων ἡμέραι, ἡμέρα δὲ καὶ νύξ αἱ δύο γυναικες, αἱ παραλλὰξ ἀλλήλαις διαδέχονται.’

c. xxxii τῇ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρᾳ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους ἅπαντας ὁ Νεκτεναβὼ φησι· ‘διὰ τὸν Αἴσωπον τοῦτον ὀφλήσομεν φόρους τῷ βασιλεῖ Λυκῆρω.’ εἰς δὲ τις αὐτῶν εἶπε· ‘κελεύσωμεν αὐτῷ προβλήματα φράσαι ἡμῖν,

hands of the boys the builders’ tools, bid them fly away. But they, mounted on high, kept crying out, ‘Give us stones, give mud, give timber, whatever else is proper for building.’ Nectenabo, regarding the lads high borne in the air of the eagles, said, ‘Whence shall I get me winged men?’ But Aesop said, ‘Yea! but Lykeros hath such: and wilt thou, a man, strive with a king, the mate of gods?’ Whereat Nectenabo: ‘I am beaten, Aesop,’ quoth he.

‘I will, however, ask thee somewhat, and c. xxx answer thou me.’ Says he, ‘I have mares here, which, when they hear the horses in Babylon neighing, straightway conceive offspring. If thou hast aught of wisdom for that matter, show it.’ Said Aesop, ‘To-morrow, O king, I will answer thee.’ When he came to his lodging, he bid his boys to catch a cat, and when caught to drag it about in public and whip it. But the Egyptians who reverence that beast, seeing it suffer thus, ran together, and pulling the cat out of the hands of those that were whipping it, report immediately to the king its sufferings. He, then, called Aesop, and said, ‘Knowest thou not, Aesop, that the cat is worshipped amongst us as a god? Wherefore hast thou done thus?’ Said he, ‘This cat, O king, in the past night, did wrong to King Lykeros, for he killed his cock, a game bird and well bred, which, further, used to tell him the hour of the night.’ To whom the king: ‘Dost thou not blush, Aesop, thus to lie? How came a cat in one night from Egypt to Babylon?’ He, smiling, made reply: ‘And how, O king, do thy mares here conceive when the horses neigh in Babylon?’ When the king heard this, he commended his understanding.

After this he sent for men from Heliopolis, expert c. xxxxi in sophist questions, and having discoursed with them about Aesop, he invited them and him to a banquet. When they were set at meat, one of the citizens of Heliopolis says to Aesop: ‘I have been sent by my god with an inquiry for thee to resolve.’

‘Liar!’ said Aesop. ‘God needeth not lore from man. Thou accusest not thyself only, but thy god!’

Another again said: ‘There is a great temple, and in it is a pillar, it has twelve gates, whereof each is roofed with thirty beams, and round these go two women.’ And Aesop replied: ‘Even boys in our country can solve that riddle; For the temple is this world, and the pillar is the year, the gates are the months, and their beams are the days: moreover night and day are the two women who succeed one another alternately.’

On the following day, Nectenabo called to c. xxxii him all his friends and said: ‘Through this Aesop we shall incur revenue debts to King Lykeros.’ But one of them said, ‘Let us bid him

¹ Sic! lege πύλας.

THE STORY OF AHIKAR

περὶ οὗ οὐτ' εἶδομεν οὐτ' ἠκούσαμεν.' ἀρεστὸν οὖν τοῦτο τῷ Νεκτεναβῶ δόξαν, καλέσας τὸν Αἴσωπον ἔφη· 'φράσον ἡμῖν, Αἴσωπε, πρόβλημα περὶ οὗ οὐτ' εἶδομεν οὐτ' ἠκούσαμεν.' καὶ ὅς· 'αὔριον περὶ τούτου ὑμῖν ἀποκρινοῦμαι.' ἀπελθὼν οὖν καὶ συνταξάμενος γραμματεῖον, ἐν ᾧ περιείχετο Νεκτεναβῶ ὁμολογῶν χίλια τάλαντα τῷ Λυκῆρῳ ὀφείλειν, πρωίας ἐπανελθὼν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ γραμματεῖον ἐπέδωκεν. οἱ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως φίλοι, πρὶν ἀνοιχθῆναι τὸ γραμματεῖον, πάντες ἔλεγον· 'καὶ εἶδομεν τοῦτο καὶ ἠκούσαμεν, καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐπιστάμεθα.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'χάριν ὑμῖν οἶδα τῆς ἀποδόσεως ἕνεκεν.' ὁ δὲ Νεκτεναβῶ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς ὀφειλῆς ἀναγνοὺς εἶπεν· 'ἐμοῦ Λυκῆρῳ μὴδὲν ὀφείλοντος πάντες ὑμεῖς μαρτυρεῖτε;' καὶ οἱ μετὰβαλόντες εἶπον· 'οὐτ' εἶδομεν οὐτ' ἠκούσαμεν.' καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος· 'καὶ εἰ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, λέλνται τὸ ζητούμενον.' καὶ ὁ Νεκτεναβῶ πρὸς ταῦτα· 'μακάριός ἐστι Λυκῆρος τοιαύτην σοφίαν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἑαυτοῦ κεκτημένος.' τοὺς οὖν συμφωνηθέντας φόρους παραδοὺς τῷ Αἰσώπῳ, ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἀπέστειλεν. Αἴσωπος δ' εἰς Βαβυλῶνα παραγενόμενος, διεξῆλθέ τε Λυκῆρῳ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πραχθέντα ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπέδωκε. Λυκῆρος δ' ἐκέλευσεν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν τῷ Αἰσώπῳ ἀνατεθῆναι.

enounce riddles, of things we never heard nor saw.' This seemed agreeable to Nectenabo, so he called Aesop and said : 'Enounce us, Aesop, a riddle of somewhat we nor heard nor saw.' Said he, 'I will answer thee of this to-morrow.' So he went away and composed a letter in which it was contained that Nectenabo admits that he owes a thousand talents to Lykeros, and on the morrow he returned¹ to the king and gave him the document. But the friends of the king, before the paper was opened, cried out together, 'We both know this and have heard it, and we truly understand it.' Said Aesop, 'Thank you for your answer.' But Nectenabo took and read the admission of the debt. Said he : 'You all bear witness that I owe nothing to Lykeros.' And they took him up and said, 'We neither saw nor heard of it.' Whereat Aesop : 'And if the thing is really so, your inquiry is answered.' To which Nectenabo said, 'Happy is Lykeros who has such wisdom in his kingdom.' So he handed over to Aesop the tribute as agreed, and sent him away in peace.

And Aesop, when he reached Babylon, discoursed to Lykeros of all that had taken place, and delivered to him the tribute. And Lykeros bid that a statue of gold should be set up to Aesop.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ZADOKITE PARTY AND INCIDENTALLY OF THE BOOK.

WRITTEN towards the close of the first century B.C. in good Hebrew,¹ our book represents the beliefs and expectations of a body of reformers who sprang up in the second century B.C. within the priesthood, as the Pharisees had within the laity, and called themselves, at all events in the first century, 'the Sons of Zadok'.² The reformation, in which they were the chief movers, was the result of a slow but steady religious revival, which took place between the years 196 and 176 B.C. or thereabouts (i. 6), and which culminated at the close of this period in the formation of a Party within the priesthood. This Party—'the penitents of Israel'—appears to have attempted the reform of irregularities connected with the Temple (§ 10. i), but having failed in the attempt they left Jerusalem and the cities of Israel, either voluntarily or under compulsion, and withdrew to Damascus under the leadership of 'the Star', otherwise designated as 'the Lawgiver' (§ 10. i), where they established the 'New Covenant'—'the Covenant of Repentance'. Thus the first breach of the Party was with their brethren the Sadducean priesthood. After the institution of the New Covenant, the Party appears to have returned from Damascus and made the cities of Israel the sphere of their missionary efforts. For an unspecified period of years till the coming of the Teacher of Righteousness, they were to obey faithfully the interpretation of the Law laid down by the Lawgiver above referred to. It was probably during this period that they first came into open antagonism with the Pharisees—an antagonism which grew in bitterness with the growing years. The most virulent attacks in our book are directed against the Pharisees (§ 10. ii). The ground for these attacks can be best understood from the knowledge of the origin of the Party. The movement that gave them birth was of an intensely ethical and religious character, and naturally tended to lead them to recognize the Prophets as of great worth, even if not of equal worth with the Law, and therein to differentiate themselves from both Pharisee and Sadducee. This was one cause of the breach with the Pharisees. Another arose from the fact that whereas the Pharisees were upholding and developing a vast body of oral tradition, the reformed Sadducees (i.e. our Party) absolutely opposed its acceptance except in a few particulars. They clung fast to the written Law and would have none of the oral. While the Pharisees called their school or college 'the House of Midrash', our Party designated theirs as 'the House of the Law'. Furthermore, since they claimed to represent the true Israel, especially on the priestly side, to them belonged the covenants and the priestly functions, and the rights of teaching and judging Israel—which latter functions had been usurped by the Pharisees; to them also belonged the Temple at Jerusalem as their Sanctuary, to them belonged Jerusalem, 'the holy city' (§ 10. iii).

The precepts of the Law as expounded by the Lawgiver were to be obeyed till the coming of the Teacher of Righteousness. This Teacher was to come 'in the end of the days'. It was probably during this time that the Party assumed the name 'the Sons of Zadok' (§ 10. iv).

After the death of the 'Teacher of Righteousness', whose teaching and activities are not recounted—a fact which points to the defectiveness of our MSS.—a considerable period elapses, much more than forty years. We have now arrived at the date of our author. He is living 'in the end of the days', and the advent of the Messiah 'from Aaron and Israel' is momentarily looked for. If I am right in my interpretation of this phrase, the Messiah was to be a son of Mariamne and Herod (i.e. from Aaron and Israel), and the book was therefore written between 18 and 8 B.C. Herod put his two sons to death in 8 B.C., since they were the popular idols of the nation, and so this hope, like so many that preceded it, failed to reach fulfilment (§ 12).

¹ There are some Aramaisms and Rabbinic expressions in the text, but the Hebrew is good on the whole.

² The Party, though originating apparently with the priests and Levites, came to embrace a strong lay element, just as the Pharisaic party, though in the main a lay movement, came ultimately to embrace a section of the priests.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

The later history of the Sons of Zadok is buried in all but impenetrable gloom. It is, however, not at all improbable that many of their members joined the Christian Church (§ 10. vi). For their appreciation of the Prophets—unparalleled in legalistic Judaism; their insistent preaching on the need of repentance; their constant proclamation of God's readiness to forgive the repentant; their expectation of a Messiah (and just at this period) and of a future life—all these beliefs and hopes prepared them to accept Christianity, and accordingly it is not unreasonable to conclude that they formed part of the 'great company of the *priests* that became obedient to the faith' (Acts vi. 7).

§ 2. THE TITLE.

Our book, which in its present form is only fragmentary, was most probably called 'The Book of Zadok' or some such designation. We draw this inference from the statements of Kirkisani, a Karaite scholar, who wrote in the tenth century A.D. and appears to have had our book or one closely resembling it before him. In his *Kitab al-Anwar* ('Book of Lights') he states (1) that Zadok was the first to attack the Rabbinites. This is true of our author, who attacks fiercely the Pharisees of his time. Kirkisani further states (2) that Zadok absolutely forbade divorce: so our author in vii. 1; (3) that Zadok did not support by proofs the laws he laid down save in case of his forbidding a man to marry his niece—the daughter of his brother or sister—on the ground that these connexions were already prohibited in Lev. xviii. 13, being analogous to the forbidden connexion of a man with his aunt on the father or mother's side: so in our author, vii. 9–10.

It is worth observing also that in i. 1*a* there is a play on the name Zadok, also that the Zadokites ascribed to a Zadok the merit of having rediscovered the Law, vii. 6. Who this Zadok was can hardly be determined. In v. 7 'the Priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok' are mentioned. From the explanation of these words in vi. 1–2 it is clear that the Priests and Levites represent the original priestly founders of the Party, and that the expression 'Sons of Zadok' designates their spiritual successors 'at the end of the days'.

§ 3. THE MSS.

The text is preserved in two MSS. in the University Library, Cambridge, which are designated respectively as T.-S. 10 K. 6 and T.-S. 16. 311. After the precedent of Schechter, who presented them to the Library and issued the *editio princeps*, they will hereafter be called A and B.

A, which embraces the entire work so far as it exists except ix. 28–54, consists of eight leaves $8\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. The first eight pages have twenty-one lines on each page, pages 9–12 have twenty-three lines on each page. As regards 13–16 the number of lines is uncertain owing to the mutilation of the bottom of the pages, but was probably twenty-three—there were at least twenty-two lines on pages 13 and 14. This mutilation extends in a slight degree to the edges of the leaves.

This MS. belongs according to Schechter to the tenth century, but the writing is of a decidedly careless description. ' and ı are frequently confused, and ı is occasionally so large as to resemble ı. ן and ן are likewise confused.

B consists of a single leaf, $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in., of the eleventh or twelfth century and is a more careful reproduction than A. There are thirty-four lines on each page. These two pages contain viii. 20–ix. 3, 10–54, thus preserving ix. 28–54, which has been lost in A, as well as ix. 11. That the MSS. were freely dealt with will be manifest from a comparison of ix. 3, where A gives a quotation from Isa. vii. 17, whereas instead of it B gives a quotation from Zech. xiii. 7.

§ 4. THE HEBREW TEXT AND ITS PHRASEOLOGY.

The text is on the whole fairly preserved, though there are many corruptions. Most of these can be emended with tolerable certainty. The rest can only be tentatively restored.

The language is in itself a witness to an ancient epoch. It is good Hebrew enriched by a few Aramaisms like the Book of Daniel and Sirach, though in a less degree. It contains also a few Mishnaic and Talmudic expressions, but in certain cases the phrases in question bear a different meaning in post-Biblical Jewish literature. The language, as has been generally recognized, is not that of the Mishnah, the Midrashim, or the Talmud.

Like Sirach, our author makes constant use of O. T. diction, but, unlike him, he quotes its text frequently in the name of the writer. At times our text is of the nature of a mosaic of O. T. phrases.

The language is, as we have said, pure Biblical Hebrew, but interspersed with a few phrases which are not Biblical and are not attested save in Mishnaic or Talmudic Hebrew. Those of a Talmudic character may be due to the substitutions of later scribes. Some of these can be

INTRODUCTION

supported from Jewish pre-Christian literature. Thus גלגל השמש 'the sun's orb', xiii. 1, is clearly the Hebrew implied by 1 Enoch lxxviii. 4: חבור ישראל 'the community of Israel', xiv. 8, is supported by the inscription on the Maccabean coins; see note *in loc.*: להרשותי 'allowing', xiv. 1; cf. Sirach iii. 22, הורשית 'thou art allowed': המוכן 'that which has been prepared', xiii. 8, implied in Jub. ii. 29, l. 9.

Others which have not such ancient support are פרוש ii. 8 (note), הבריאה 'the creation' vii. 3—a Talmudic word; העריות 'sexual intercourse' vii. 11; למשכים 'on the following morning' xiii. 5 (note); מוֹבֵה 'entrance' xiii. 16 (see note); ממוֹן 'wealth' xviii. 9 (note); מדוקדק xix. 14 (see note).¹

All the preceding words are authenticated in their use in our text by parallels in earlier or later Jewish literature; but there are some expressions, as might be expected, which are more or less unique in the meaning that must be attached to them in this book. Thus סרך ix. 1, &c., which means 'order', 'arrangement', &c., is unexampled in Hebrew in this sense, but it is found in Aramaic (see note on ix. 1). Again, בית השתחווה 'the house of worship', xiv. 2, is as a name of the Temple or a Synagogue ἀπ. λεγ. Again, the word המבקר 'the censor', x. 10 (note), xvi. 1 (note), is used in Jewish literature, but not in the sense attributed to it in our text. Again, the term מעמד='office' (ii. 8 note), has in our text a nuance of its own, but Jewish literature furnishes fairly good analogies.

Finally, the term עֵץ (see i. 5 note) must, I think with Lévi, Bacher, and Lagrange, be rendered 'period' or 'division of time'. No true parallel for this use of the word appears to occur elsewhere, though it is easy to see how it could mean 'a final period'.

§ 5. THE ZADOKITES WERE A PARTY AND NOT A SECT.

Since there is no question as to the genuineness of the orders of the Zadokite Priests and Levites, and since further their Sanctuary, which is so often referred to (see note on i. 3), is, as Lévi has recognized, the Temple in Jerusalem, it follows that the Zadokites were not a heterodox Sect but a Party within Judaism. They were no more a Sect than the Pharisees. It is true that even the Pharisees are described as a Sect (*αἵρεσις*) in Acts xv. 5, xxvi. 5, Joseph. *Vita* 38; the Sadducees in Acts v. 17, Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 9. 1, and the Christians in Acts xxiv. 5, 14, xxviii. 22; but its application to the two former is a misuse of the term. If, however, we use this term of the Pharisees and Sadducees, there can be no objection to its application in the same sense to the Zadokites. But since the term is in itself misleading we shall only speak of the Party of the Zadokites.

§ 6. DATE OF THE ORIGINAL.

The limits of time between which our book appears to have been written seem clear. Since the Book of Jubilees is referred to (xx. 1) it must have been written after 106 B.C. This forms the *terminus a quo*. The *terminus ad quem* is no less obvious; for the Temple is still standing (see note on i. 3, where it is shown that the Sanctuary so often referred to is the Temple).² Thus our book was written between 106 B.C. and 70 A.D.

But it may be possible to define these limits more closely, and fix on one or other of two periods within these limits.

(i) If the nation was free from foreign control, as might be inferred from our entire text, with the exception of the doubtful passage in x. 1, then it was written before Pompey seized Jerusalem in 63 B.C., or before Judaea was made a Roman province by Gabinius in 57 B.C. This would bring the composition of the book within the years 106–57 B.C.

¹ Schechter treats חָבַר 'incurred guilt', iv. 9, as a Rabbinic term. But it is found in the Piel in Dan. i. 10, and critics read חִבְתִּי for סִבְתִּי in 1 Sam. xxii. 22, in accordance with the LXX, Vulg. and Pesh. Again, דֶּם זִוְכָה 'the blood of her issue', vii. 8, is a Biblical expression (cf. Lev. xv. 19 זִוְכָה בְּבִשְׂרָה), and not merely a Rabbinic one.

² In addition to the grounds given in i. 3 as proofs that the Temple was still standing when our book was written, is to be mentioned the fact that nowhere is the destruction of the Second Temple so much as hinted at. Had it already occurred our author could not have omitted such an argument in support of his attack on the Pharisees. For it is characteristic of his method to trace the great national calamities of the Jews to their unfaithfulness to God. This, he declares, was the ground of the Captivity in 586 B.C., and the destruction of the First Temple, i. 3 sqq. The same unfaithfulness (ix. 17–19) led to the desolation of Judaea and Jerusalem under Antiochus Epiphanes (ix. 20). And yet, notwithstanding such judgements in the past, 'the builders of the wall' (i.e. the Pharisees), our author complains, persist in their evil ways (ix. 21). Now, if the Second Temple had been already destroyed, this latest and overwhelming judgement could not have been passed over. Our author would have pressed it home as an irresistible proof of their guilt. That he did not do so is no accident. It was an event still in the future.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

Some statements partially support this date. (a) The expectation of the Messiah from Aaron and Israel, ii. 10, viii. 2, ix. 10 (B), 29 (B), xv. 4, xviii. 8. This expectation arose, as we know, in connexion with the Maccabean family, and probably persisted only in connexion with that family. But for the peculiar statement 'from Aaron *and Israel*', we could with some reason infer that the Maccabees were still ruling. (b) The halacha are severer than those in the Talmud and are closely related in some respects to those in the Book of Jubilees. (c) ix. 39, which speaks of 'the men of war' who marched with 'the man of lies' during forty years, would apply tolerably to Jannaeus, who was rightly an object of unmixed hatred to all the faithful of his time. He was a great warrior and his troops were ever on the march. It may, however, be objected that this king reigned not forty but twenty-six years. But to surmount this difficulty it is only necessary to suppose that the book was written during his lifetime, and that the writer expected an evil period of forty years like that in the wilderness. We have a good parallel in the 'Assumption of Moses', where the author predicts that the sons of Herod would reign for a shorter period than their father. This prediction was falsified.

If the above reasoning were valid, our book was probably written between 106 and 58 B.C. But there are stronger grounds for a later date.

(ii) Our book was most probably written between 18 B.C. and A.D. 70, or possibly between 18 B.C. and 8 B.C. The grounds for these dates are as follows: (a) x. 1 does seem to imply political subjection on the part of the Jews. Hence our author wrote after 63 or 57 B.C. (b) The phrase 'man of lies' receives its most easy explanation as applied to Herod the Great, who reigned forty-one years. The phrase 'man of lies' is eminently fitting for a prince who was wholly devoid of principle and religion. The 'men of war' who went with him were his fierce soldiery—all mercenaries, Galatians, Thracians, Germans—who on the slightest uprising struck down relentlessly on every side.¹ Now, if these identifications are valid, our book was written either during Herod's life, 37 B.C.—A.D. 4, or after Herod's death, accordingly as we take the forty years in our text as a prediction or as recording a fact already past. The next piece of evidence—the peculiar form of the Messianic expectation—favours the former alternative. (c) The Messiah was to arise from Aaron and from Israel. See § 12. This implies that he was not to be purely of Levitic or priestly descent, but to be sprung from Levi (i.e. the Maccabees) and some other tribe of Israel. Now when all the direct male descendants of the Maccabees were put to death directly or indirectly by Herod—Antigonos II in B.C. 37, Antigonos III, the brother of Mariamne, in 35 B.C., Hyrcanus II in 30 B.C.—there remained only Mariamne, the wife of Herod, who represented the royal Maccabean house both on her father's and her mother's side and all its claims, and the two sons of Mariamne and Herod, Alexander and Aristobulus. In 29 B.C. Mariamne was executed on a false charge by Herod, and so her two sons Alexander and Aristobulus might reasonably be described as descended *from Aaron and Israel*, seeing that Mariamne was of Aaronic descent alike on her father's and her mother's side, and Herod was said to be a Jew (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8. 7; cf. xiv. 1. 3), and the Herodian family regarded themselves as Jews, though they were at times reminded that they were only half Jews (*Ant.* xiv. 15. 2). These two young men were held in high esteem by the nation owing to their descent on their mother's side and their own brilliant qualities (*Ant.* xvi. 1. 2), and it is quite possible that the Zadokite Party may have cherished the hope that one of them might become the Messiah, just as similar hopes had arisen in connexion with the earlier Maccabees in the second century B.C. If this be so, our book was probably written between 18 B.C. (when these youths returned to Jerusalem after finishing their education in Rome) and 8 B.C., when they were put to death by their father. With their death the hope of a Messiah arising from the Maccabean family must have finally perished.² Hence it is not improbable that our book was written during the lifetime of these young princes.

§ 7. INTEGRITY OF THE TEXT.

(i) Our text is *incomplete*. This is obvious even on the most cursory examination. Its end is missing, and probably large portions of the rest of the text as at the close of ix. In the case of the

¹ Herod treated the Sadducees with the utmost rigour. He executed forty-five of the ablest and wealthiest of their party, and confiscated their estates (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 1. 2; xiv. 9. 4; *Bell. Jud.* i. 18. 4). The hatred of the priesthood for Herod is therefore very intelligible.

² Both Alexander and Aristobulus left sons, the former having married Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, and the latter Bernice, the daughter of Salome. But the descendants of Alexander abandoned Judaism, and the descendants of Aristobulus, being three-fourths Herodian in blood, could not represent the priestly and royal house of the Maccabees, while their infamous character in itself was enough to alienate the few, if any, surviving hopes that attached to this great family.

INTRODUCTION

A text we see that after ix. 28 there is a loss of twenty-six verses, which have happily been preserved in the B text.

(ii) Our text is in great *disorder*. The question of vows is introduced in ix. 1, and then ignored till xx. 2-12. The enumeration of the laws of the Sabbath is given in xiii. 1-11, broken off in xiii. 12 and resumed in xiii. 13, broken off in xiii. 27 and resumed in xiv. 6. The duties of the Censor are dealt with in xvi. 1-12, and again in xvii. 6-7. The laws as to Uncleaness are scattered here and there throughout chapters xii-xv, i.e. in xii. 1-2, xiii. 12, xiv. 1-3, 7-16, xv. 1-3.

(iii) Our text may be based on an earlier document or documents. This appears to be so in i. 5, where there is a prose insertion in the midst of verse. A still more obvious prose addition is to be found in ii. 8. Yet these prose additions are in character with the later chapters of the book.

§ 8. ATTITUDE OF THE PARTY TO THE O. T. AND OTHER ANCIENT JEWISH BOOKS.

We have here a very interesting question. We have to inquire into the attitude of the Party towards the various sections of the O. T., i.e. the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa. In this inquiry we shall, for the present, take account only of those passages which are introduced by such significant expressions as **כִּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר**, **אֲשֶׁר אָמַר**, &c. Afterwards we shall deal with those passages which are actually quotations, but which are not introduced as such. By a study of these two classes of passages, we shall be able to determine the respective values our author set on the three divisions of the O. T.

(i) *Quotations from the O. T. introduced as such (a) but without mention of the speaker or writer.*

(a) **כִּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר** (= καθὼς εἶπεν John i. 23, vii. 38: cf. καθὼς ἐλάλησε Luke i. 55, 70). This expression is used once of the Law, i.e. Num. xxx. 16 in ix. 1, and three times of the Prophets, i.e. Amos v. 26-7 in ix. 5, Amos ix. 11 in ix. 6, and Hosea iii. 4 in ix. 40. This usage, as we have seen above, is found in the N. T. also.

(b) **אֲשֶׁר אָמַר** (cf. προφηται . . . ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν Acts iii. 24, and ὁ λόγος Ἡσαίου . . . ὃν εἶπε John xii. 38). This expression is used twice of the Law, i.e. Lev. xix. 18 in x. 2, and Deut. xxiii. 24 in xx. 4: and twice of the Prophets, i.e. Hos. v. 11 in vii. 1 and Mic. vii. 2 in xx. 11. This usage also belongs to the N. T.

(c) **כְּתוּב** (= γέγραπται Matt. iv. 4, 6, 7, 10, xxi. 13, &c.). This expression is used once of the Law, i.e. Deut. xvii. 17 in vii. 4, once of the Prophets, i.e. Nahum i. 2 in x. 3, once of the Hagiographa, i.e. Prov. xv. 8 in xiv. 1. It occurs also in xiii. 27, but the quotation is lost. This is the most usual of the N. T. usages.

(d) **כִּאֲשֶׁר כְּתוּב** (= καθὼς γέγραπται Mark i. 2; Luke ii. 23; Rom. i. 17, iii. 10, &c.; ὡς γέγραπται Mark vii. 6; Luke iii. 4; καθὼς ἔστιν γεγραμμένον John vi. 31). This expression is used of the Law, i.e. Num. xxiv. 17 in ix. 8.

(e) **כֵּן** (= כְּכָתוּב—practically the same as the preceding = κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον 2 Cor. iv. 13 (cf. καθάπερ γέγραπται Rom. iii. 4, ix. 13, &c.—Westcott and Hort)). This expression is used of the Law, i.e. Deut. vii. 9 in viii. 21 (B).

(β) *With mention of the speaker or writer.*

(a) **אֲשֶׁר אָמַר אֵל** (cf. ὃν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τ. ἀγίων . . . προφητῶν Acts iii. 21). This expression is used twice of the Law, i.e. Deut. xxxii. 33 in ix. 19 and Lev. xix. 17 in x. 5 (**אֵל אֲשֶׁר אָמַר**), and once of the Prophets, i.e. Mal. i. 10 in viii. 11.

(b) **אֲשֶׁר אָמַר מֹשֶׁה**. This expression is used of the Law, i.e. Deut. ix. 5 and vii. 8 in ix. 23 (A B). In vii. 10 we have **וּמֹשֶׁה אָמַר** (= Μωσῆς εἶπεν Mark vii. 10; Acts iii. 22) used of Lev. xviii. 13.

(c) **אֲשֶׁר אָמַר יֵשׁעִיָּה** in viii. 8 from Isa. liv. 16.

(d) **אֲשֶׁר אָמַר בִּיד יְחֻזְיָאֵל** in ix. 11 (B) from Ezek. ix. 4.

(e) **אֲשֶׁר כְּתוּב בִּיד זְכַרְיָה** in ix. 2 (B) from Zech. xiii. 7.

(f) **כְּתוּב בִּרְבֵּרֵי יֵשׁעִיָּה** in ix. 2 (A) from Isa. vii. 17.

If we summarize the above facts, we find that, while the Hagiographa is expressly quoted once, the Law is quoted ten times and the Prophets eleven times. Thus in the eyes of the Zadokite Party the Prophets were at all events not less important than the Law, though theoretically the Law was held in the highest honour: cf. xix. 2, 11, xx. 2, 7. In this respect this Party are at variance with the practice of Judaism as a whole after the year A.D. 70, but not with the Apocalyptic or more spiritual side of Pharisaism before the Christian era. The chief studies of Apocalyptic Pharisaism were devoted to Prophecy, and hence to them the Law and the Prophets were *practically* of equal worth, however differently they might view this question *theoretically*. At all events, in the Apocalyptic School of Pharisaism this practical equating of the Law and the Prophets was current, and in this respect the Zadokites approximated to this School, being no doubt influenced by it. We are not surprised, therefore, that in the N. T. the actual phrase 'the Law and the Prophets' is used frequently: cf. Matt. v. 17, vii. 12, xxii. 40; Luke xvi. 16 (xxiv. 44); John i. 45; Acts xiii. 15,

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

xxiv. 14, xxviii. 23; Rom. iii. 21, and in the inverse order in Matt. xi. 13. The N. T. usage represents the culmination of this tendency which was at work in the preceding two centuries and more.

But in addition to the O. T. books our Party assigned to other writings a canonical or a deuterocanonical value¹. For in vi. 10 we have the expression 'concerning which Levi the Son of Jacob spake' (אשר אמר עליהם לוי בן יעקב), the source being probably the Test. Lev. ix. 9, xiv. 5-6, xvi. 1. In xi. 4 there is a quotation drawn apparently from Jub. xxiii. 11, and the title of this book is given in full in xx. 1. Possibly to both these books a quasi-canonical authority was accorded. Another book—hitherto wholly unknown—is 'the Book of the Hagu' in xi. 2, xv. 5, xvii. 5. From the contexts in which it is mentioned it seems to have contained traditional decisions. The ten judges of each congregation (xi. 1-2) were to be thoroughly versed in it (cf. xv. 5). These judges were both clerical and lay. Associated with this book is another entitled the 'Ordinances (or 'Foundations') of the Covenant' (xi. 2). This work probably contained the statutes of the New Covenant which was drawn up at Damascus. Again, in vii. 19 we have mention of the apocryph entitled 'Jannes and Jambres'. Finally, in ix. 28 A there may be an allusion to two Pseudepigraphs—'This is the word which Jeremiah spake to Baruch the son of Neriah, and Elisha to his servant Gehazi'.

In these two respects: 1° in the recognition of the Prophets as pretty much on the same level as the Law; 2° in the use and even the quasi-canonical recognition of a body of Pseudepigraphs, the Zadokite Party is like most of the intensely religious parties in Palestine before the Christian era; for all these parties edited Pseudepigraphs.

§ 9. *The Zadokite Party had its Origin in the Priesthood (i. e. the Sadducees) but was closely related to the Pharisees.*

The Zadokite Party represents an attempt at reform beginning within the ranks of the priesthood and extending outwards so as to embrace a strong lay element (xi. 2, xvii. 1-3), just as the Pharisaic movement was an attempt at reform initiated on the side of the laity but ultimately embracing a large section of the priesthood.

We have already come to the conclusion (§ 5) that the Zadokites formed a Party and not a Sect in Judaism. We have now to determine, so far as we may, the position and affinities of this Party in relation to the Samaritans, Essenes, Pharisees, and Sadducees. In the course of this comparison many of the distinctive teachings of this party will come to light.

1° *The Zadokites were not Samaritans.* The Zadokites were not Samaritans; for not only did they acknowledge the canonicity of the Prophets and Hagiographa, which the Samaritans denied, but they set on these two divisions of the O. T. a higher value than the legalistic side of Pharisaism.

2° *The Zadokites were not Essenes.* The Zadokites were not Essenes, since they inculcated the duty of animal sacrifice, xiii. 27; xiv. 1.

3° *The Zadokites were related in point of origin and name to the Sadducees, but were not Sadducees in the ordinary sense but a reformed Sadduceeism.* The two names are the same in Hebrew, צדוקים. The Zadokites called themselves 'sons of Zadok' בני צדוק, vi. 2, and this was also the name of the priests: cf. Sir. li. 12⁹ (Hebrew) הודו לבוחר בבני צדוק לכהן 'Praise Him who chose the sons of Zadok to be priests'. With this designation in Sirach cf. Ezek. xl. 46, xlv. 15, xlviii. 11; 1 Chron. xxix. 22. Thus the Party did not choose a new name but retained the name to which they had a right as priests and Levites. By so doing they no doubt claimed to be the true 'sons of Zadok' as opposed to the Sadducean priesthood. For, though they belonged in point of origin to the Sadducean priesthood, they came to differ essentially from them through internal reform and the adoption of new tenets. Theirs was a reformed Sadduceeism.

(a) They believed in a blessed future life, v. 6. So also the priestly author of the Book of Jubilees believed.

(b) They believed in the advent of the Messiah, ii. 10 (B), &c.

(c) They cultivated an ascetic form of life, viii. 12-20, as opposed to the self-indulgent life of the Sadducees: and shunned the wealth of the Temple, viii. 12, but the meaning of this passage is doubtful.

(d) They set a value on the Prophets and Hagiographa which the Sadducees would wholly have repudiated.²

¹ In Test. Lev. x. 5 there is an express quotation from 1 Enoch lxxxix. 54. This recognition of Pseudepigraphs was very general before A.D. 70. Whatever the Law was in theory, these books formed the living literature of the most ardent spirits of the time. The Book of Daniel is simply the most prominent member of this class.

² That in our Lord's time the main body of the Sadducees accepted only the Pentateuch as *normative* is clear from the fact that the only argument He used in favour of a future life in His debate with them was drawn from the Pentateuch. The same argument was used by the Samaritans for the same purpose. See *Encyc. Bib.* iv. 4240.

INTRODUCTION

(*e*) They attacked the Hellenizing priesthood, ix. 19–20. ‘Their wine is the poison of dragons’: i. e. they adopt the ways of the Greeks.

(*f*) They recognized a certain amount of tradition, whereas the Sadducees rejected all but the written Law. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10. 6. In the middle of the first century B. C. there was a great strife between the Pharisees and Sadducees, in which the former won the day under the leadership of Simon ben Shetach and Judas ben Tabbai. So overjoyed were the Pharisees over this victory, i. e. of oral tradition over the letter of the written Law, that they instituted a festival to commemorate it (Meg. Taan. iv).

(*g*) They accused Israel of ‘despising the prophets’, ix. 7. This charge could not have been brought by a purely Sadducean priest but only by a reformed Sadducean priest.

4° *The Zadokites were related in many respects to the Pharisees but were not Pharisees.* They were related in many respects; for

(*a*) They believed in a blessed future life, v. 6.

(*b*) „ „ angels and spirits, vi. 9, ix. 12 (ii. 4).

(*c*) „ „ the advent of the Messiah, ii. 10, &c.

(*d*) „ „ a certain body of tradition.

(*e*) „ „ the divine predestination, ii. 6, 10 *c*, and yet in free-will, iii. 1–2, 7, iv. 2, 10.

(*f*) They required separation from the people of the land, ix. 18.

But in many respects they were opposed to the Pharisees.

(*a*) The attack on ‘the builders of the wall’, vii. 1, ix. 21, 26, can be best explained in reference to the Pharisees and the abnormal growth of oral tradition (see note on ix. 21). The Pharisees ‘removed the landmark’, viii. 1, and they made the written Law of none effect by their tradition.

(*b*) The Zadokites forbade divorce, vii. 1–3, which was permitted freely by the Pharisees. Hence the charge of fornication brought against the Pharisees in vii. 1.

(*c*) The charges of robbing the Temple offerings may have been directed against them. Simon ben Shetach, the chief Pharisee of the reign of Jannaeus, was charged with this offence: see viii. 12 note. But the text may be interpreted differently (see (*g*) below).

(*d*) While it was the practice of the Rabbis to derive halacha from the Pentateuch almost universally, the Zadokites, owing to the higher estimation in which they held the Prophets, founded halacha on their writings. Thus halacha are derived, x. 4, from Nahum i. 2; in x. 6 from 1 Sam. 26, 31; in xiii. 16 from Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27 (cf. Neh. xiii. 19)—a regulation adopted also in the Mishna; in xiv 1 from Prov. xv. 8.

(*e*) The Zadokites, like the Sadducees (Erub vi. 2), were opposed to the Pharisaic principle of the ‘Erub, i. e. the combination of several private precincts in order to justify the carrying of food and vessels from one house to another on the Sabbath day: see our text xiii. 16.

(*f*) Our text in xiv. 15 (see note *ad fin.*) seems to extend the power of contamination from direct to indirect contact. This legislation was due to the Sadducees, Yad. iv. 7.

(*g*) Possibly the difficult words ‘to hold aloof . . . from the wealth of the Sanctuary’ (viii. 12) may be interpreted as referring to the Sadducean contention that the daily burnt-offering (Num. xxviii. 4) should be offered at the personal cost of the High Priest: whereas the Pharisees maintained that it should be provided as national sacrifice by the Temple treasury.

(*h*) The Zadokites charged the Pharisees with profaning the Temple through sexual pollution, vii. 8: with allowing a man to marry his niece, vii. 9—an act in which some of the Rabbis actually gloried: with disturbing the Sabbaths and festivals through their revolutionary reforms of the Calendar, v. 2 (see note). Though the details are not given they can be discovered by means of Jubilees and the Talmud. The Pharisees further were charged with usurping (i. 11) the judicial functions of the priesthood, vi. 4. Hence their judgements could not be right.

From the first of these two lists it appears that the Zadokite party were closely related to the Pharisees in their eschatological doctrines (*a, b, c*), in their acceptance of a limited measure of tradition, (*d*) in their views on predestination and free-will, and in their insistence on separation from the people of the land (*e, f*). On the other hand, from the second list it is clear that on several important questions as tradition, divorce, and the source of halacha they were opposed to the legalistic Pharisees, and in certain others mentioned under *e, f, (g?)*, *h*, they held fast to the positions maintained by the Sadducean priesthood. From these two facts, combined with the facts stated under 3°, the natural conclusion is that *the Zadokites had their origin in the priesthood and formed a party within it but a reforming party, the reformation being due largely to the Apocalyptic side of Pharisaism as is shown by the extreme importance attached to O. T. prophecy and the advanced views on Eschatology.*¹ The

¹ The Zadokites, owing to the right estimation they placed on O.T. prophecy, would naturally have been predisposed to accept Christianity, even in a greater degree possibly than the Apocalyptic side of Pharisaism. They may have formed part, at all events, of the ‘great company of the priests’ that became ‘obedient to the faith’ (Acts vi. 7).

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

fact that they used the literature that supported the claims of the Maccabees (i.e. Test. Twelve Patr. and Jubilees) would in part account for their looking forward to a Messiah sprung from the Maccabees, but see § 12.

§ 10. THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE ZADOKITE PARTY.

About 390 years after the fall of Jerusalem, i.e. 196 B.C. God had mercy on His people and 'visited them,

And He made to spring forth from Israel and Aaron
A root of His planting to inherit His land' (i. 5).

The order in this statement is remarkable, i.e. not 'from Aaron and Israel', but 'from Israel and Aaron'. If this order is original it seems to indicate that the religious revival referred to in i. 5-6 originated on the side of the laity. In other words, it was the same great lay movement that gave birth to the Pharisaic Party and likewise to the Zadokite, but, whereas in the case of the former the lay element always remained paramount, in the case of the latter the priestly element held unquestioned sway.¹

I will now place under separate heads the chief stages in the actual as well as the expected developments of the Zadokite Party.

(i) *Rise of the Party and its breach with the Sadducean Priesthood.* When God visited His people about 196 B.C. there ensued a period of spiritual unrest which lasted for twenty years, during which Israel 'groped after the way', and came to know that 'they were guilty men', i. 6. What followed immediately on this religious revival we can gather by reading between the lines. For from their vigorous action later we are justified first of all in inferring that this religious revival led to action, and in the next place, from their subsequent protest, which runs through several chapters, against the profanation of the Temple by the (Hellenizing) priests and others, we may reasonably conclude that the first public act of the Zadokite Party was the denunciation of the irregularities connected with the Temple worship in more scathing and irreconcilable terms than had been used by Malachi the prophet and 1 Enoch. But when in this attempt at reform they failed to gain the support of the people (cf. 1 Enoch xc. 6-7), they migrated either voluntarily or under compulsion to Damascus, vi. 1, possibly soon after 176 B.C., under the leadership of 'the Star', ix. 8, whose advent had been foretold in Num. xxiv. 17.

(ii) *The establishment of the New Covenant of Repentance and the subsequent breach of the Party with the Pharisees.* 'The Star' just referred to is likewise called 'the Lawgiver' (מחזק), viii. 5, 8, 9. He was not a lawgiver in the sense of Moses, but rather an interpreter of the Law. Of the Star, as of the Lawgiver, the outstanding characteristic is that 'he studied the Law', viii. 8, ix. 8. Under this Lawgiver the religious side of the movement culminated at Damascus in the establishment of 'the new Covenant' (הברית החדשה), viii. 15, ix. 28, 37—the covenant foretold by Jeremiah xxxi. 30 sqq., though this claim is not advanced by our author. This covenant was fittingly called 'the covenant of repentance' (ברית השונה), ix. 15 (B)), seeing that the Party as a whole originated in a conviction of their sinfulness before God, i. 6, and that they designated themselves as 'the penitents of Israel' (שבי ישראל), vi. 1, viii. 6, ix. 24; for they 'repented of their transgression', ii. 3, ix. 41; and dwelt frequently on the fact and the marvellousness of the divine forgiveness, ii. 3, v. 5, vi. 6, ix. 54, xviii. 8. To them the words of Ezekiel xlv. 15 were addressed, v. 7, and thus they alone formed the true priesthood of Israel, vi. 1-2.

Under the leadership of the Lawgiver the Party established itself resolutely on the lines of the *written* Law. In this task he was assisted by the other members of the Party, viii. 5.

'A well the princes digged,
The nobles of the people delved it
By the order of the Lawgiver.'

'The well' here, as our author explains, is 'the Law', and 'they who digged it are the penitents of Israel', viii. 6. But 'the Law' is not to be understood in the narrow sense of the Pentateuch. It embraces the Prophets and the Hagiographa. From the standpoint of the latter can be explained their adoption of certain tenets of the higher theology, which, from the standpoint of unreformed Sadduceism, would have been impossible (see §§ 8 and 9. 3^o).

It was most probably the intensely ethical and religious character of the revival in which the

¹ But it is to be observed that in viii. 3, where the same movement is referred to, its leaders are described as being raised by God 'from Aaron . . . and from Israel'. These words would represent the religious reformation as due to the joint efforts of the priests and the laity.

INTRODUCTION

Zadokite Party originated that led to their recognition of the Prophets as of equal value with the Law. It is this equal recognition of the Law and the Prophets that differentiates the Zadokite Party alike from the legalistic Pharisee and the unreformed Sadducee.

Taking their stand, therefore, on the written word, they charged the Pharisees with raising such a body of tradition (i.e. 'the wall' referred to in vii. 1, ix. 21, 26) round the written Law that it was made void (see § 9. 3°, 4°): with speaking rebellion against the Law and leading Israel astray, viii. 1, and despising the words of the Prophets, ix. 7. As the true representatives of the Law, they designated their Party as 'the House of the Law', ix. 35, 37, though it is possible that this phrase may mean the School or College belonging to their Party in which the Law was taught.¹

(iii) *The Party claims to be the true Israel: hence the Temple was their Sanctuary, Jerusalem their holy city, and the cities of Israel the sphere of their missionary effort.* The New Covenant was established by the leaders of the Party in Damascus, but from thence they returned to the land of Israel. There is not a hint that Damascus continued to be even one permanent place of sojourn of the Party among others, much less their head-quarters. Cf. viii. 6 with viii. 15, ix. 28, 37. For the true Israel as they claimed to be, heirs of all the divine promises, to whom belonged the Covenants, the priestly functions, the rights of teaching and judging Israel—which latter privileges had been usurped by the Pharisees—the Temple at Jerusalem (i. 3 note), in whose sacrifices they took part,² xiii. 27, and none other could be their Sanctuary, and Jerusalem and none other their Holy City, ix. 46, the city of their Sanctuary, ix. 46, xiv. 4, and all the cities of Israel were theirs to be instructed by them in the Law of God, xv. 1-3.

In all these cities the Zadokites organized themselves in congregations and assemblies, of which there are no less than five distinct Hebrew words used (see note on i. 17). Only the faithful members of the Party were allowed to share in their worship or take part in their counsels. To these a candidate for membership could be admitted only by the Censor, xvi. 6. Should a member of the Party profane the Sabbath or the Feasts he was to be excluded, and not to be restored for a period of seven years after his repentance, xiv. 6.

(iv) *Period of obedience to the precepts of 'the Lawgiver' (or 'the Star') till the coming of the 'Teacher of Righteousness'.* The Party henceforth called the 'Sons of Zadok'. 'Throughout the full period of the wickedness,' viii. 9 (cf. i. 5 note), the Zadokites were to walk according to the precepts laid down by the Lawgiver in accordance with the Law, viii. 9. All such as disobeyed these precepts were to be expelled from the congregation, ix. 31, and not reinstated until they returned to the degree of holy perfection, ix. 32. But in case they persisted in their apostasy, they and theirs should no longer have a share in the House of the Law, ix. 34-5. Besides these precepts they were to receive no fresh revelation or instruction till the 'Teacher of Righteousness' arose 'in the end of the days', viii. 10, i. 7 note. This last phrase is eschatological and indefinite, and does not help towards fixing the date of this Teacher. At all events, a probably considerable period elapsed between the founding of the New Covenant and his advent. From the fact that we are told nothing about the teaching of this Teacher of Righteousness, we may conclude the defectiveness of our MSS. The task of this Teacher, who was also designated the Unique Teacher, ix. 29, 39, 53, was apparently to prepare the way for the Messiah. Not improbably it was during the time of this Teacher that the Zadokites came to be known as, or assumed the name of, 'Sons of Zadok', for his time synchronizes with that of their assumption of this title—being both 'in the end of the days' (בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים), vi. 2, compared with viii. 10.

(v) *Period from the death of the Teacher of Righteousness to the expected advent of the Messiah.* After the death of the Teacher of Righteousness a fresh interval elapsed before we come to any definite date. In ix. 39-41 a period of 'about forty years' is spoken of. These may count from the death of the Teacher, or they may begin at some year subsequent to his death. In any case we have arrived at a new epoch which is at least forty years after the death of the Teacher, and may be more. Since the Teacher came 'in the end of the days', viii. 10, and at least forty years have already run their course since his removal, it follows that we have now come to our author's own time. During these forty years those 'who repented of transgression in Jacob' had 'observed the Covenant of God', ix. 41, exhorting each other to 'hold fast to the way of God', ix. 42. But as for those who had been faithless, they were to be handed over to the sword when the Messiah³

¹ With this expression we might contrast the expression 'The House of Midrash' (בֵּית הַמִּדְרָשׁ), which meant the (Pharisaic) School or College in which the Law and its problems were studied. In the earlier days it designated the seat of the High Court of Justice, or of the Sanhedrin in the Temple and in Jabne. See Levy, *Lex.* iii. 34. In opposition to this phrase the Zadokites may have chosen deliberately the above expression 'the House of the Law'.

² On the other hand the Zadokite priests were not allowed to share in the Temple ritual unless under certain conditions, viii. 12-20.

³ The Messiah was apparently called also 'the Sceptre', ix. 9.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

'from Aaron and Israel' comes, ix. 10, 29, xv. 4, xviii. 8. This event is still in the future. Now if I have been right in my interpretation of the peculiar phrase 'from Aaron and Israel' (see § 12), then the author wrote between the years 18 and 8 B.C. It is remarkable that, whereas a Pharisaic work—the Assumption of Moses—written shortly after this date abandoned wholly the hope of a Messiah, the present work, written by a priest, should just on the eve of the Christian era look forward earnestly to a militant Messiah, who should avenge his people, ix. 10, take upon himself the ruling of God's people and the settlement of all disputed questions, xv. 4.

(vi) The later history of the Zadokites can only be surmised. It is not at all improbable that some, if not many, of them joined the Christian Church. Their appreciation—unparalleled in Judaism—of the Prophets, their insistence on the need of repentance, their constant proclamation of the readiness of God to pardon the repentant, their expectation of the Messiah and of a blessed future life—all these beliefs and hopes would prepare them to accept Christianity, and accordingly it is not unreasonable to conclude that they formed part of the 'great company of the *priests* that became obedient to the faith' (Acts vi. 7).

(vii) Into the possible influence of the Zadokites on the Karaites, a Jewish Sect of the eighth century of the Christian era, we cannot enter here. The whole question is too doubtful to be discussed in the present connexion. Kirkisani, a Karaite scholar and exegete who flourished in the tenth century of our era, was, as we have already pointed out (§ 2), acquainted with our present text or with something very similar to it. That the Zadokites had any direct connexion with the Dosithean Sect is improbable in every way. According to the Ps. Tertullian (*Adv. omnes Haereses*, i) Dositheus was the first to deny the Prophets. If this statement is trustworthy, it is enough to prove that the Zadokites, who regarded the Prophets as of equal worth with the Law, had nothing whatever to do with the Dositheans. Rabbinical sources make Dositheus the founder of a Samaritan Sect (see *Jewish Encycl.* iv. 643). If this has any element of truth in it, the Dositheans could claim no affinity with the Zadokites. In fact Zadokites and Dositheans, from whatever source we derive our knowledge of the latter, are widely sundered on characteristic and essential doctrines. Agreement on minor points may be established, but these points of agreement were not peculiar to the two bodies with which we are concerned.¹

§ 11. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PARTY—THE FOUR ORDERS.

The Zadokite Party consisted of four Orders—Priests, Levites, Israelites, and Proselytes, xvii. 3. The governing body in each congregation (i. 17 note) was to consist of ten men chosen from the first three Orders, xi. 2, whose age was to be not less than twenty-five years and not more than sixty. These were to be called 'judges of the congregation', and were to be selected from the tribe of Levi and Aaron and from Israel, four from the former and six from Israel. This body was to be presided over by two men, who belonged to this number or were independent of it. The first of these was to be a priest from thirty to sixty years old, learned in the Book of the Hagu and in the judgements of the Law, xvii. 5, xv. 5. His duty was to number the members of the settlement according to their rank in the Four Orders, xvii. 1–5, to decide in regard to cases of leprosy, xv. 7–8, and generally to bear rule, xv. 5–6.

The second joint authority was the Censor (= מבקר). On Jewish officials bearing this title, but with different functions, the reader should consult the notes on x. 10, xvi. 1. In our text this official, whose age was to be between thirty and fifty, xvii. 6, had very extensive duties. It was his task to give instruction to the many in the works of God, xvi. 1; to admit new members into the Party, xvi. 6 (xix. 10 sq.), assigning to each his proper place according to his personal powers and qualifications, xvi. 4; to examine and receive back the lapsed on their repentance, xix. 7–10; to administer the monthly alms of the congregation to those in need, xviii. 2 sqq.; to regulate suits and controversies, xvii. 8, xix. 12; to exercise control over all business with the Gentiles, xvi. 7–8; and to fulfil the functions of supreme judge in the case of capital and other offences, x. 10–13.

This organization was spread over the cities of Israel, xv. 1. Congregations or communities on the above model were formed in these cities, which met together in 'houses of worship', xiv. 2, for divine service. These buildings were secured against ceremonial uncleanness on the part of the worshippers, xiv. 2.

But the centre of the Party was Jerusalem—'the city of the Sanctuary', where the usual burnt sacrifices were offered, xiii. 27. The entire city, as the holy city, ix. 46, was to be kept pure from Levitical impurity, xiv. 4.

¹ On the Dositheans, see 'Dositheus' in Smith's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, i. 902–4; in Herzog and Plitt's *Real-Encycl.*; in the *Jewish Encycl.* iv. 643–4; and the literature cited in these articles; also Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, pp. xxi–xxvi.

INTRODUCTION

§ 12. THE MESSIAH—EXPECTED TO ARISE FROM AARON AND ISRAEL.

The Zadokite Party expected a Messiah not from Levi simply as in the *Test. xii Patriarchs* but 'from Aaron and from Israel', ii. 10, viii. 2, ix. 10 (B), 29 (B), xv. 4, xviii. 8. It must be confessed that the form of the expectation is peculiar and needs explanation. Since our author was acquainted with the *Test. xii Patr.*, the fact that he does not simply repeat the expectation there entertained, but differentiates that of his Party from it, leads us to conclude that the difference of phraseology points to a real difference in the nature of the expectation. Since the Messiah was to be descended, not from Aaron simply, but 'from Aaron and from Israel', the additional words 'and from Israel' are surely significant. The priesthood was, of course, an hereditary privilege, and could only be passed on through the male line. As long as the succession from father to son was preserved the descent through the mother was *immaterial*; for the priests were not confined in their choice of wives to the Tribe of Levi. Not only could they marry any Israelite, but they could marry the daughter of a proselyte.¹ These facts make the phrase 'from Aaron and Israel' all the more strange. In the case of unbroken descent *in the male line*, the words 'and from Israel' would be wholly superfluous. Hence they cannot point to the maternal ancestry of the expected Messiah. If not to the maternal ancestry, then they can only refer to his paternal ancestry. If this reasoning is valid, it follows that the expected Messiah was to spring from Israel, i.e. from a non-priestly source, on his father's side, and from Aaron, i.e. from a priestly source, on his mother's. Such an expectation could only be explained, so far as I am aware, in reference to the two sons of Mariamne and Herod, i.e. Alexander and Aristobulus. Herod was an Israelite—see § 6. ii—while Mariamne combined in her own person all the royal claims of the Maccabean house. Since Alexander and Aristobulus were descended from Aaron on the spindle side, they could not legitimately inherit the priesthood. But the technically non-priestly character of Mariamne's sons could not stand in the way of the Messianic hopes attached to them by the Zadokite Party, since the all but universal expectation of Israel was directed to a Messiah sprung not from Levi but from Judah. But since the Zadokite Party rejected the expectation of a Messiah from Judah they described their expected Messiah as sprung from Aaron (i.e. from the Maccabees through Mariamne) and from Israel (i.e. from Herod).

But we can go a step further in defining the comprehension of the words 'and from Israel'. Since throughout our text there is a decided *animus* against Judah and the dynasty of David, we may fairly conclude that the Messiah was not expected to spring from Levi and Judah—which would have been a natural fusion of the two conflicting hopes—but from Aaron and an Israelite, who was not descended from Judah.

This hostility to the Davidic stock and to Judah is not an unmediated and unlooked-for phenomenon. The way had already been prepared for it in the struggles of the Jewish hierarchy to preserve its ancient prerogatives against the encroachments of the Pharisees and their followers. The hostility to the Davidic stock is already apparent in Sirach—the work of a priest or at all events an upholder of the high sacerdotal claims of that period. Lévi (*L'Ecclésiastique*, I. xxxvi) has drawn attention to Sirach's glorification of the priesthood at the expense of the kings. While only a few verses are assigned to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (xliv. 19–23), and even to Moses (xlv. 1–5), Aaron and his descendants are the subjects of long and glowing eulogiums (xlv. 6–24). To Aaron God gave the priesthood by 'an everlasting covenant' (xlv. 7, 15), which was to last 'as long as the heaven endureth' (xlv. 15); to the priesthood God had entrusted the charge of His commandments, the power to deal with statutes and judgements, and the right of teaching His people (xlv. 17); and the book practically closes with a lofty panegyric on Simon the High Priest, the son of Onias (l). On the other hand, Sirach depreciates the kingly dynasty. He admits that God had, indeed, made a covenant with David touching the kingdom, but he points out that that was only an ordinary and limited heritage passing from father to son, whereas that of Aaron was an everlasting heritage transmitted to all his posterity (xlv. 25). He is careful, moreover, to point out that the dynasty of David had proved itself unworthy of the divine favour; for that only three of them, including David (xlix. 4), had been faithful to God, and that accordingly they were stripped of the kingship and the government of the nation re-entrusted to the priesthood. Nor could the Messiah arise from such a stock: if a Messiah was to be expected he was to be Elijah reappearing in the flesh (xlviii. 10–11).

¹ The greatest care was taken in regard to the character of the wives chosen by the priests. Their pedigrees, unless known to be unimpeachable, were examined for four generations on both sides in the case of priestly lineage, for five if they were of non-priestly origin. Cf. Qid. iv. 4, 5, 77 *ab*: Joseph. *Contra Ap.* i. 7. Though a priest might not marry a proselyte, he could marry the daughter of a proselyte. If both parents of a woman were proselytes, a priest was not allowed to marry her; but if he did so, the marriage was considered legitimate. See *Jewish Encyc.*, x. 195.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

This glorification of Levi over Judah is repeated in Jubilees, which, like Sirach, was written by a priest, but by a priest who had assimilated some of the higher theology such as the doctrine of a blessed future life (xxiii. 31).¹ In Jubilees Levi receives the first blessing (xxxi. 15-17), and Judah the second (xxxi. 18-20). Levi was to be at once the supreme teacher, the sole priest, and the civil ruler of the nation. Judah's blessing dwells on his great military power, which the Gentiles should fear and at which the nations should quake. Thereby he should prove the help of Jacob and the royal dynasty should bring peace to Israel. There is a clause of two or three words in xxxi. 18*d* referring to a Messiah from Judah, but it is most probably an interpolation, since throughout the rest of this long work there is not even the barest hint of such a hope.

The glorification of Levi reaches its climax in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. Not only is Levi the supreme authority in Church and State: from Levi also is to spring the coming Messiah. In fact the Messiah had already come in the person of John Hyrcanus according to the author of the Testaments, just as according to the earlier writing, the CX Psalm, he had already come in the person of Simon the Maccabee.

The development actually realized and the tendencies in the process of evolution in these books find a not unnatural culmination in our author. The steady glorification of Levi in Sirach, Jubilees, and the Testaments had only served to reduce Judah to the second place of authority and honour in the nation, but not otherwise to depreciate that great tribe. In no case had this process degenerated into a hostile attack on Judah. And yet this and naught else could be the inevitable outcome of the tendencies which were actively at work in the second century before the Christian era.

These tendencies came to a head in the Zadokite Fragments. Therein the glorification of the Zadokite priests is carried out *pari passu* with the disparagement of the Davidic family and claims and an attack on Judah. David is accused of ignorance of the Law (vii. 5). The title 'king' (מֶלֶךְ) is replaced by that of 'prince' (נָשִׂיא) vii. 4). In ix. 7 the passage from Amos ix. 11, which promises the setting up of 'the tabernacle of David that is fallen', is explained in such a way that all reference to David is got rid of; for 'the king' is said to denote 'the Congregation', and 'the tabernacle of the king' to denote 'the books of the Law'. Having thus explained away the Davidic expectation, a prophecy of the Zadokite Messiah (see ix. 8) is discovered in Num. xxiii. 17.

The princes of Judah are attacked in ix. 13 as being 'like them that remove the landmark' (ix. 13), i.e. the Pharisees. When the time of the end was approaching the Zadokites were to break off all relations with Judah, vi. 7.

§ 13. SOME OF THE TEACHINGS OF THE BOOK.

I shall content myself in the main with referring to my notes on the theological views of the Zadokites.

The Messiah. See § 12.

Doctrine of a future life. See note on v. 6. Some scholars have doubted the reference of this verse to a future life. But even if it were absent it would not affect the question. The Zadokites are the disciples of the Prophets and the Hagiographa, and in these the doctrine of a future life is taught. The Party that regarded the Book of Daniel, the Book of Jubilees, and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs as authoritative could not have questioned the belief in a blessed future life.

Repentance. See note on vi. 1 and references: also Introd., § 10. ii. In this respect they prepare the way for the preaching of John the Baptist.

Predestination and free-will. See ii. 6 note, iii. 7*a*, iv. 2*c*, 10, § 9. 4°.

Divorce. Divorce is absolutely forbidden in our text. See vii. 1.

The Law and the Prophets. It will be sufficient here to refer to § 8 and Index I, to show how profoundly the Zadokites valued the Prophets. The fact to which we have drawn attention elsewhere (see § 9. 4°), that they based halacha on the Prophets, is proof that they regarded the Prophets as of equal authority with the Law. Their attitude in this respect is nearer to that of the Sermon on the Mount than that of any other Party in Judaism.

§ 14. BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(a) *Text.* As yet there is only one text, since owing to Dr. Schechter's arrangement with the University Library, Cambridge, no scholar is to be allowed to see the MSS. for five years after the publication of

¹ In the time of Josephus apparently only the Sadducees of the highest rank still denied the doctrine of a blessed future life (*Ant.* xviii. 1. 4). Thus this doctrine seemed gradually to have permeated the main body of the Sadducees by the middle of the first century of the Christian era.

INTRODUCTION

Dr. Schechter's edition. Even if Dr. Schechter's edition were thoroughly satisfactory this extraordinary action on his part could hardly fail to call forth the reprobation of scholars generally. We shall now proceed to pass a few criticisms on his text.

Fragments of a Zadokite Work edited from Hebrew MSS. in the Cairo Genizah Collection now in the possession of the University Library, Cambridge, and provided with an English Translation, Introduction, and Notes, by S. Schechter, M.A., D.Litt., President of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York.

Scholars are indeed grateful to Dr. Schechter for the discovery of these valuable MSS., but they cannot be expected to feel it in such measure for the way in which the text has been edited. It is carelessly done. Thus on eighteen pages of text there are two and a quarter pages of corrigenda and suggestions (pp. lvii–lix). A second list of corrigenda is to be found in the notes on the translation. In a third list (lix–lx) embodying corrections of and additions to the translation and notes a very important correction not included in the former two lists is given. But the above series of corrigenda are not exhaustive. This will be obvious to any student who carefully compares the text of p. 20 with the *facsimile* of this page. Let us take a few lines beginning with l. 17. In l. 17 if we read **א** there is room only for one letter and not two after it. In l. 18 before **אחיו** and after **א** a gap is left for seven letters, four of which Dr. Schechter supplies. There is room only for four. In l. 19 after **זכרן** Dr. Schechter leaves a space for two letters: it should be for four or five. Before **לחושבי** in the same line **ו** should be supplied or a gap left for one letter. In l. 21 after **חסד** a gap is left for two letters: it should be for four or five. In l. 33 the first word is **אח** not **אל**.

If Dr. Schechter chooses to edit his text so carelessly that is of course his own concern, but in that case he ought at all events to have published a *facsimile* of the entire MSS.—only a matter of eighteen pages. To publish such a text and then to deny all scholars access to the original MSS. for five years is strange conduct on the part of a seeker after truth. The world of scholars from Lévi, who first expressed the need of a *facsimile*, to the latest students of the text, look to Dr. Schechter either to remove this unscholarly embargo or himself to publish a *facsimile* without delay.

(b) *Translations*.¹ Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*. The translation of a text for the first time is obviously a piece of pioneer work, and should therefore be treated with all consideration. It betrays, as might be expected, frequent failures to apprehend the meaning of the writer, but on the other hand in many passages Dr. Schechter has shown great insight and his encyclopaedic knowledge of Rabbinic literature has helped to clear up many a difficulty from the outset.

Lévi, 'Un Écrit Sadducéen antérieur à la ruine du Temple' in the *Revue des Études Juives*, lxi. 161–205, 1911. This masterly translation, accompanied with a few notes, forms a vast advance on the preceding. My obligations to it are mentioned not unfrequently in my notes. Unfortunately I had completed both my translation and notes before I saw either this translation or that which follows, else my notes might have taken a different form.

Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique*, Avril, 1912, pp. 213–40. While Lévi's translation is racy and idiomatic, Lagrange's translation aims at being a literal reproduction of the text. It shows the influence of Lévi, but in certain passages makes a fresh contribution to the understanding of the text.

(c) *Critical Studies*. Bacher, *Zeitschrift f. hebr. Bibliographie*, No. 1, Jan.–Feb. 1911. Leszynski, 'Observations sur les "Fragments of a Zadokite Work" édités par Schechter' in the *Revue des Études Juives*, lxii. 190–6, with Lévi's rejoinder in pp. 197–200.

Margoliouth (G.) in the *Athenæum*, Nov. 26, 1911; 'The Sadducean Christians of Damascus' in the *Expositor*, Dec., 1911, pp. 499–517; March, 1912, pp. 212–35. In these studies Mr. Margoliouth has shown great learning and acuteness in criticizing the views of his predecessors. His own view is that the Zadokites were a type of Christians who regarded John the Baptist as the Messiah and Jesus as the Teacher of Righteousness. I have found myself unable to agree with this thesis.²

¹ A Dutch translation has been published in the *Theol. Tijdschrift*, but I have not seen it.

² Reviews of the *Zadokite Fragments* have appeared in *The American Journal of Theology*, by Dr. Kohler; in the *Harvard Theological Review*, by Dr. Moore; in the *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, by Landauer, &c.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK

I. *Israel sent into Captivity, 3-4. A Root of God's Planting made to spring forth after 200 B.C. and a Teacher of Righteousness raised up, 5-8. Description of Israel's Wickedness in the First Century B.C. or at an earlier date, 9-17.*

- 1 ¹ Now, therefore, hearken (unto me) all ye who know righteousness,
² And have understanding in the works of God.
 For He hath a controversy with all flesh,
 And will execute judgement upon all who despise Him.
- 3 For because of the trespass of those who forsook Him,
 He hid His face from Israel and from His Sanctuary,
 And gave them over to the sword.

I. 1. hearken . . . righteousness. i. e. שמעו כל יודעי צדק. From Isa. li. 7. The mention of צדק may with tolerable certainty be regarded as a play on the name of the Zadokites—הצדוקים. Cf. v. 7 for the מורה צדק 'teacher of righteousness'.

have understanding in the works of God. Same diction in Ps. xxviii. 5 יבינו . . . אל מעשה ידיו.

2. hath a controversy . . . with all flesh. i. e. ריב לו עם כל בשר. Based almost verbally on Jer. xxv. 31: 'The Lord hath a controversy . . . He will plead with all flesh.' Cf. Hos. iv. 1.

all who despise Him. Num. xiv. 11, 23.

3. hid His face. Ps. xxii. 24, liv. 8 and *passim*.

from His Sanctuary. These words are of extreme importance in dealing with our document; for before we can make any real advance in the interpretation of the book we must know whether this sanctuary is the Temple in Jerusalem or a heterodox temple in one of the provinces. That it was the former is clear, I think, from the following evidence. The term 'sanctuary' is used nine times, i. 3, v. 7, vi. 11, vii. 8, viii. 11, 12, ix. 47, xiv. 4 (*his*). In xiv. 4 we have the phrase 'the city of the Sanctuary' used twice. Now since in every case only one sanctuary is mentioned, as 'the Sanctuary', or 'His Sanctuary', we must conclude that it is one and the same sanctuary that is referred to in all cases. Is there any evidence to determine what sanctuary this was? Clearly there is in this very verse i. 3, where it is said that God 'hid His face from His Sanctuary'. Now there can be no doubt as to the identity of this sanctuary: it is the Temple in Jerusalem; for the context refers to the time of the Captivity. Nor can there be any doubt as to the identity of 'His Sanctuary' in v. 7; for the phrase occurs in a quotation from Ezek. xlv. 15. Next in viii. 12 it is said that the priests of the Party are 'to hold aloof from the wealth of the Sanctuary'. This could not be said of a small, sectarian provincial and wholly unknown temple. For in the first place such a temple would not have had wealth: and in the next its priesthood could have incurred no blame in accepting support from their own exclusive sanctuary. But an ascetic and puritan Party could most reasonably from their standpoint object to many things in the Temple in Jerusalem, as did Mal. i. 7; 1 Enoch lxxxix. 73; Ass. Moses v. 4, and yet share officially in its worship. Again in viii. 11 the Sanctuary can be none other than the Temple; for Mal. i. 10 is quoted as referring to it. This sanctuary, i. e. the Temple, is still standing vii. 8. Finally 'the city of the Sanctuary' which is twice mentioned in xiv. 4 and in ix. 46 can only be Jerusalem. The very phrase postulates this interpretation when we reflect that the Zadokites accepted not only the Law as binding upon them but also the rest of the scriptures, to which they attributed a higher degree of authority, than the Rabbis of subsequent times. It was the Prophets who made Jerusalem the sacred city, and the altar in Jerusalem the sole altar. Possessing genuine orders also as Priests and Levites they would naturally officiate in the Temple at Jerusalem. They were spread throughout the cities of Israel, xv. 1, just as the Priests and Levites were generally. In these they had their congregations: but they had only one sanctuary and that in Jerusalem. The severe conditions on which they were allowed to discharge their priestly functions in the Temple are given in viii. 11-20. Had the Zadokites disowned the Temple in Jerusalem, it is hardly possible that this matter would have been wholly passed over in silence in a document which criticizes the accepted Jewish authorities so freely—the Hellenizing priests, the Pharisees, and even the historical books of the O.T. (see vii. 7).

From the above conclusion it follows that the present work was written when the Temple was still standing. In other words, we have here the *terminus ad quem*.

gave them over to the sword (ויתנם לחרב). From Jer. xxi. 31. See preceding verse. Cf. i. 12 (להסגירם לח"), iv. 9 (יסגרו לח"), and so also in ix. 4 (A) (הסגרו לח"), ix. 11 (A and B), but ימסרו לח" in ix. 10 (B).

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 1. 4-7

- 4 But when He remembered the covenant of the forefathers,
He left a remnant to Israel
And gave them not over to destruction.
- 5 [And in the period of the wrath three hundred and ninety years after He had given them into the
hand of Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon He visited them],
And He made to spring forth from Israel and Aaron
A root of His planting to inherit His land,
And to grow fat through the goodness of His earth.
- 6 And they had understanding of their iniquity,
And they knew that they were guilty men,
And **had** like the blind **been groping** after the way twenty years.
- 7 And God considered their works ; for they sought Him with a perfect heart
And He raised them up a Teacher of righteousness
To lead them in the way of His heart.

4. remembered the covenant of the forefathers. i.e. וּבִזְכוּרָו בְּרִית רִאשֹׁנִים. Cf. viii. 3, ix. 25. From Lev xxvi. 45. Cf. Exod. ii. 24.

left a remnant to Israel (הַשְׂאִיר שְׂאִרִית). Cf. ii. 9 (הַחִיר פְּלִיטָה); Isa. i. 9; Jer. xxxi. 7; Ezek. xiv. 22.

5. in the period of the wrath. (i.e. בִּקְצֵן חֲרוֹן). I have with some hesitation adopted Lévi's rendering of קֶץ as 'period' and not as 'end', as in Sirach xliii. 6. In Job vi. 11 the LXX renders קֶץ by μου ὁ χρόνος (Smend). See our text ii. 8, vi. 1, 7, viii. 1, 9, 12, ix. 10, 11, 47, xv. 4, xix. 7. It is difficult to understand the chronology in this work. 'In the period of the wrath' appears to be the period beginning or else in the course of realization in the year 196 B.C. The phrase 'period of the destruction of the land' apparently refers to the same period. Probably by the phrase 'in the end of the days' (viii. 10) when the teacher of righteousness is to come, a portion of the same period is designed. On the other hand the phrases 'the period of wickedness' (viii. 12, xv. 4), 'the full period of wickedness' (viii. 9, xix. 7), 'the period of the treason of Israel' (ix. 47) appear to refer to the close of the period of the Messianic woes: cf. xv. 4.

three hundred and ninety years, &c. This number appears to be borrowed from Ezek. iv. 5, where the Massoretic text speaks of 390 days, i.e. years. Since in Ezekiel these years refer to the Exile, the Massoretic text is at variance with Ezekiel's real expectation, which is given in iv. 6, according to which it was to last forty years. The right text is preserved in the majority of the LXX MSS., i.e. 190 years. Israel had already been in exile about 150 years: Judah's exile was to last forty: thus the exile of the entire nation was to be about 190 years. But it is clear that our author found 390 in his Hebrew text—a reading that appears, therefore, to be later—possibly considerably later than 200 B.C. If we deduct 390 from 586, the year of the capture of Jerusalem, we arrive at the year 196 B.C. This date in our text would refer to the rise of the Chasidim. For 'twenty years' already the faithful in Israel had been groping after the way (i. 6). It is noteworthy that 1 Enoch xc. 6 assigns the origin of the Chasidim to the same period: see note in my edition *in loc.* The Chasidim in 1 Enoch spring from the righteous remnant, just as here they are symbolized by a root of God's planting.

wrath. See note on i. 14.

Nebuchadnezzar. This is the later and corrupt spelling for Nebuchadrezzar.

spring forth. Cf. Isa. xlv. 4, lxi. 11 where צִמַּח also is used.

A root of His planting. The text here reads שֹׁרֵשׁ מִטְעֵן, which I take to be corrupt for שֹׁרֵשׁ מִטְעָיו. Cf. Isa. lx. 21 נֶצֶר מִטְעָיו. With the idea, cf. 1 Enoch x. 16, xciii. 5 'the plant of righteousness': also xxvi. 1. The root of God's planting is the company of the Chasidim; see note on 'three hundred and ninety years' above.

6. had understanding . . . and they knew. Cf. i. 1.

had like the blind been groping. The text reads וְכִימִנְשִׁים which Schechter, on the basis of Isa. lix. 10 and Deut. xxviii. 29, has rightly emended into מִנְשִׁים.

twenty years. The 'twenty years', i.e. 196-176 B.C., may refer to the period during which the Hellenizing high priests were in league with Antiochus IV and the Syrian empire. Then came the great act of repentance often referred to in the text and probably the migration to Damascus: vi. 1, viii. 6.

7. considered their works (וַיִּבְנוּ אֵל אֵל מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם). From Ps. xxxiii. 15. Cf. text, vii. 16.

sought Him with a perfect heart. Cf. for the thought and diction Ps. cxix. 10, 1 Chron. xxix. 9, Jub. i. 15.

raised them up. Cf. ii. 9, viii. 4, Judges ii. 18.

a Teacher of righteousness. i.e. מוֹרֶה צֶדֶק. See different form of the Hebrew in viii. 10. Cf. Hos. x. 12 יוֹרֶה צֶדֶק. Who is this teacher of righteousness? We know something as to his date; for he is raised up during 'the period of the wrath' (i. 5) which began about 390 years after the capture of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. About this date, i.e. 196 B.C., God made 'a root of His planting to spring forth from Israel and Aaron', i.e. the Chasidim. This teacher may be referred to as 'the teacher' or 'teacher' in ix. 50, and is referred to as 'the teacher of righteousness' in ix. 53, and in viii. 10, according to which passage he is to arise 'in the end of the days'. So far, things are fairly certain. But there are two other titles, 'the unique teacher', ix. 29, 39, and

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 1. 8-11

- 8 And He made known to later generations
What He had done [to a later generation] to a congregation of treacherous men :
Those who turned aside out of the way.
- 9 This was the time concerning which it was written :
As a stubborn heifer
So hath Israel behaved himself stubbornly :
- 10 When there arose the scornful man,
Who talked to Israel lying words,
And made them go astray in the wilderness where there was no way,
[to bring low the pride of the world].
- 11 So that they should turn aside from the paths of righteousness,
And remove the landmark which the forefathers had set in their inheritance :

‘the Messiah’, ii. 10, viii. 2, ix. 10 (B); 29 (B), xv. 4, xviii. 8. There is no ground against identifying ‘the teacher of righteousness’ and ‘the unique teacher’. If this identification is right, then ‘the teacher of righteousness’ and ‘the Messiah’ are two different personages, ix. 29. The former prepares the way for the latter, but does not immediately precede him; for an undetermined interval elapses between them, which is longer than forty years at all events, ix. 40, but in reality nearer one hundred and forty.

lead them in the way of His heart. Cf. Isa. xlii. 16.

8-17. A difficult and important question of interpretation arises here as to the time with which these verses deal. First of all, it seems clear that the phrase ‘later generations’ refers to the generations subsequent to the coming of ‘a teacher of righteousness’ in *v.* 7. But there appears to be no way of determining the incident so vaguely described in *v.* 8, ‘What He had done . . . to a congregation of treacherous men.’ In any case this incident belongs to some earlier date. It is mentioned here apparently only in the way of admonition and warning against apostasy or unfaithfulness on the part of the Zadokites. We now come to *v.* 9. To which of the two periods implied in the preceding verse, i.e. the ‘later generations’ or the earlier time of judgement on the ‘treacherous congregation’, do the words ‘this was the time concerning which’, &c. apply? If we take *v.* 9 as referring to the period of the ‘later generations’, the time implied by the ‘later generations’ can hardly refer to any period earlier than the first century B.C., since the ‘Teacher of righteousness’ came after 176 B.C., and the ‘later generations’ must be two or more generations later than his time. If this interpretation is right, then *vv.* 9-17 would refer to the events of the first century B.C., and the persons attacked would probably be the Pharisees. Against them, at any rate, our author could bring the charge of removing ‘the landmark which the forefathers had set’, i.e. of introducing innovations in the ritual of the Temple and the interpretation of the Law. It is to be remembered in this connexion that although in the earlier years of Jannaeus the Pharisees were persecuted, in the later years of this king they were on friendly terms with him, whereas the Sadducean priesthood was mercilessly dealt with by him.

8. The fate of former apostates is a warning to those that come after.

[to a later generation], i.e. **בְּדוֹר אַחֵר**. I have bracketed these words as a dittograph of **דוֹרוֹת אַחֵרִים** congregation. See note on *v.* 17.

a congregation of treacherous men, i.e. **בְּעֵרַת בּוֹגְדִים**. Cf. **עֲצַרַת בּוֹגְדִים** in Jer. ix. 2.

turned aside out of the way (**סָרַי דֶּרֶךְ**). Cf. ii. 4, ix. 14; Exod. xxxii. 8; Deut. ix. 16.

9-17. These verses appear to refer to the sins of Israel after the Captivity: cf. viii. 1, 2 where the phraseology in 9-11 recurs. They deal with the judgements meted out to an earlier generation which were to be a warning to later generations, i. 8.

As a stubborn, &c. From Hos. iv. 16. The ‘so’ in our text is not in the original. Our author can easily apply these words to post-Exilic times.

10. the scornful man. i.e. **אִישׁ הַלְצִין**. Cf. ix. 36 ‘the scornful men’, i.e. **אֲנָשֵׁי הַלְצִין**. The latter phrase is from Isa. xxviii. 14.

talked . . . lying words. Cf. viii. 2.

talked, i.e. **הִטִּיף**. Cf. vii. 1, ix. 22; Amos vii. 16; Mic. ii. 6.

lying words. The text reads **מִיַּמֵּי כֹזֵב** ‘waters of lying’, which I have emended into **מֵאֲמָרֵי כֹזֵב** and so translated. Cf. ix. 22 (A.) **מֵטִיף כֹזֵב**, and ix. 39 **אִישׁ הַכֹּזֵב**. Is this ‘scornful man, who talked to Israel lying words’ a collective expression for the wicked leaders who are subsequently referred to in viii. 1?

made them go astray . . . no way. Cf. viii. 1. A quotation from Ps. cvii. 40. Cf. ii. 10 of our text, where the same action is ascribed to God.

[to bring low the pride of the world] = **לְהַשְׁכֵּחַ גְּבוּרוֹת עוֹלָם**. Cf. Isa. ii. 11, 17. But these words seem to be interpolated.

11. remove the landmark. Cf. viii. 1, ix. 13, 49. These words may refer to the revolutionary action of the Pharisees as regards law and ritual.

remove the landmark which . . . in their inheritance. From Deut. xix. 14 ‘Thou shalt not remove thy neighbour’s landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance’.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 1. 12-17

- 12 So as to make cleave unto them
The curses of His covenant,
To deliver them to the sword
That avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant.
- 13 Because they sought after smooth things,
And they chose deceits,
And kept watch with a view to lawless deeds.
- 14 And they †chose the best of the neck,†
And justified the wicked,
And condemned the righteous :
- 15 And transgressed the covenant,
And violated the statute,
And attacked the soul of the righteous.
- 16 And all that walked uprightly their soul abhorred,
And they pursued them with the sword,
And rejoiced in the strife of the people.
- 17 And so the wrath of God was kindled against their congregation,
So that He laid waste all their multitude,
And their deeds were uncleanness before Him.

12. So as to make cleave unto them. Cf. Deut. xxviii. 21.

The curses of His covenant. From Deut. xxix. 21.

deliver them to the sword That avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant. Repeated in ix. 11 (B). We have here a quotation from Lev. xxvi. 25 **הָרַב נִקְמָת נָקַם בְּרִית**. In the same verse the words 'and ye shall be delivered' occur, **וְנִתְּנָם**.

13. smooth things . . . deceits (i.e. **מִהַחֲלוֹת . . . חֲלָקוֹת**). These two words—the latter a *ἀπ. λεγ.* in the O.T.—are drawn from Isa. xxx. 10.

kept watch, i.e. **יָצַפוּ**. Lagrange thinks that the verb here means 'concealed', Schechter proposes **וַיַּפְרִצוּ** which gives a good sense 'brought about breaches' (or 'divisions').

14. †chose the best of the neck†. In the text **יִבְחָרוּ בְּמוֹב הַצְוֹאֵר**—it seems clear that **הַצְוֹאֵר** is corrupt—most probably for **הַצְּאֹן**. Cf. xi. 10 (B), where we have 'the poor of the flock'. We should then have 'they chose the best of the flock', i.e. for themselves. This may be right. But possibly the corruption lies deeper, and for the first two words we should read **יִהְרֹבוּ מִיטֵב**. We should then have: 'they laid waste the best of the flock.'

justified . . . the righteous. From Prov. xvii. 15. The words recur in vi. 4 of our text. Lévi thinks these words refer to the usurpation of judicial powers by the Pharisees in the time of Alexandra the widow of Jannaeus.

15. transgressed the covenant, i.e. **יַעֲבִירוּ בְרִית**. I have here emended **יַעֲבִירוּ** into **יַעֲבָרוּ**. Schechter emends the text into **יַעֲבָרוּ בְּבְרִית** and translates 'transgressed the covenant'. But this means 'entered into a covenant' (cf. Deut. xxix. 11). This clause is practically equivalent to the next.

attacked the soul of the righteous. From Ps. xciv. 21.

16. walked uprightly. Cf. iii. 2. From Ps. xv. 2 : cf. ci. 6 ; Gen. xvii. 1.

their soul abhorred. From Ps. cvii. 18.

pursued them with the sword (**וַיִּרְדְּפוּם לַחֶרֶב**). These words refer to the persecution of the Sadducees by Jannaeus or the Pharisees.

rejoiced. I follow Schechter in taking **יִשְׂשֹׁן** as **יָסִיסוּ**.

17. the wrath of God was kindled (**וַיִּהְיֶה אֵף אֱלֹ**). Cf. Exod. iv. 14, xxxii. 10, &c. This clause recurs frequently in our text : iii. 7, iv. 7, vii. 16, ix. (13), 22, 26, 40. Here the reference is doubtful. In iii. 7 it is directed against the Antediluvians : in iv. 7 against Israel in the wilderness : against Judah after the exile in vii. 16, ix. 13, 22.

their congregation (i.e. **עֵרְתָם**). This term **הָעֵדָה** 'the congregation' occurs frequently—thirteen times—in our author : cf. i. 8, iv. 7, ix. 22, 30, 31, xi. 1, 2, 3, xvi. 3, 4, 6, xvii. 7. In ix. 30, 31, xi. 1, 2, 3, xvi. 3, 4, 6, xvii. 7 it is used strictly of the congregation of the Zadokites in each city or village. In i. 17, iv. 7, ix. 22 it is used of Israel at large, and in i. 8 in a bad sense of faithless Israelites. Our text is particularly rich in terms applying to the Zadokites in their sacred capacity as a community or congregation. Thus we have 'assembly' (**סֹד**) in ix. 29, 'congregation' (**קָהָל**) in xiv. 3, 'community' (**חִבּוּר**) in xiv. 8. Another designation of their community, and rather a peculiar one, is 'camp' (**מַחֲנֶה**), which appears to have simply the meaning of settlement : cf. x. 7, xv. 6, xvi. 1, 6 (*his*), 8 (*his*), 9, xvii. 1, 6.

their deeds . . . uncleanness before Him (**מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם לְנֹדָה לְפָנָיו**). Cf. Ezek. xxxvi. 17.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 2. 1-8

II. *Wisdom is with God and Forgiveness of the repentant, but Wrath for the unrepentant, who are predestined to Destruction on the Ground of the Divine Foreknowledge, 1-7. But there is a Remnant whom He shall teach by the Messiah, 9-10.*

- 2 1 And now, hearken unto me all ye who have entered into the covenant,
And I will disclose to you the ways of the wicked.
- 2 God loveth [knowledge] wisdom :
And counsel He hath set before Him :
Prudence and knowledge minister unto Him.
- 3 Longsuffering is with Him
And plenteousness of forgivenesses
To pardon those who repent of transgression.
- 4 And power and might and great fury with flames of fire [therein are all the angels of destruction]
For them who turned aside out of the way,
And abhorred the statute,
- 5 So that there should be no remnant,
Nor any to escape of them.
- 6 For God chose them not from the beginning of the world,
And ere they were **formed** He knew their works.
- 7 And He abhorred **their** generations **from of old**,
And hid His face from **their** land till they were consumed.
- 8 [And He knew the years of (their) office and the number and exact statement of their periods for all the things that belong to the ages and have been, moreover whatsoever shall come to pass in their periods for all the years of eternity.]

II. 1. **ye who have entered into the covenant.** Cf. iv. 8, viii. 11, 15, ix. 12, 15, 49, x. 2; Jer. xxxiv. 10; **באו בברית**. This is the New Covenant that is spoken of in viii. 15, ix. 28, 37.

I will disclose. The text reads **אגלה אונכם** as in 1 Sam. xx. 2, xxii. 8. Schechter thinks **אונכם** a corruption of **ענייכם** and compares iii. 1.

2. **knowledge.** Bracketed as an interpolation. It occurs in the third line.

3. **Longsuffering . . . forgivenesses**, i.e. **סליחות עמו ורוב סליחות**. The text is based on a combination of Exod. xxxiv. 6. **אורך אפים ורב חסד** and Ps. cxxx. 4. **עמך הסליחה**. For the plural **סליחות** cf. Dan. ix. 9; Neh. ix. 17. The last passage contains all the elements of v. 3 *ab* save 'with Him'.

forgiveness. Cf. v. 5 *b*, xvi. 2.

To pardon. See v. 5 *a* note.

who repent of transgression, i.e. **שָׁבַי פְּשָׁע** from Isa. lix. 20. See ix. 41 and note on vi. 1.

4. **fury with flames of fire**, i.e. **בלהבי אש . . . חמה**. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 15 **אפו ונערתו בלהבי אש** which is probably the source.

therein . . . destruction. Bracketed as an interpolation.

angels of destruction (**מלאכי הבל**). Cf. 1 Enoch lxiii. 1, &c.

abhorred the statute (**מתעבי חק**). Cf. Mic. iii. 9.

5. **So that there should be no remnant**, &c. Contrast i. 4. The words 'no remnant, nor any to escape' are from Ezra ix. 14.

6. We have here the doctrine of divine election. Cf. v. 10 *c*.

formed, i.e. **נוצרו** emended by Bacher from **נוכרו**. Cf. Jer. i. 5.

7. **their generations from of old.** So I emend **דורות מרם** into **דורות מקדם**. Schechter retains **דורות** and would change **מרם** into **מקדם**. Landauer suggests **מרים** 'rebellious' for **מרם**.

their land. The text reads **ארץ מי**, which I take to be a corruption of **ארצם**, and have translated accordingly. Schechter takes the **מי** to be a remainder of **להשמירם**. But in the present MS. there is not space for a single additional letter, and the emendation I have made explains the MS. and satisfies the context.

till they were consumed (**עד תומם**). Phrase in Deut. ii. 15, xxxi. 24, 30; Joshua viii. 24, &c. But the words make the line too long and may be an interpolation.

8. This verse appears to be an addition of the editor of the whole. The subject-matter belongs to the teaching of the sect, but it is an intrusion in its present context. Verse 9 follows naturally and immediately on v. 7. The Hebrew of this verse is very abnormal.

years of (their) office. With this obscure phrase compare vi. 3 'duration of their office'. The word 'office' (or 'service' or 'function', i.e. **מעמד**) appears to mean that of the members of the inner council of the sect who in ix. 32 are spoken of as 'men of the perfection of holiness'. We should, perhaps, read **מעמדם** here as in vi. 3. We find in later Judaism the existence of a body of men called **אנשי מעמד** (Taanith 15 *b*) composed of priests, Levites,

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 2. 9—3. 2

- 9 Yet in all of them He raised Him up men called by name,
In order to leave a remnant to the earth,
And to fill the face of the earth with their seed.
- 10 And through His Messiah He shall make them know His holy spirit,
And he is true, and in the true interpretation of his name are their names :
But them He hated He made to go astray.
- III-IV. 1. *Exhortation to choose God's Will and to shun the evil Inclination, 1-2; through it fell the mighty Men of old, the Watchers and their Children, 3-5; and all Flesh and also the Sons of Noah, 6-iv. 1.*
- 3 1 Now therefore, children, hearken unto me,
And I will open your eyes to see,
And to understand the works of God.
And to choose what He approveth,
And to reject what He hateth :
- 2 To walk uprightly in all His ways,
And not to go about in the thoughts of an evil imagination
And (with) eyes (full) of fornication.

and Israelites exactly as in our text. According to Taanith 15 *b* these men had to arrange the proper prayers for the various days in order that the sacrifices might be favourably received. The head of this body was called ראש המעמד (Tam. v. 6). In Taanith 27 *b* it is said that if these duties were not fulfilled heaven and earth would cease to exist (אלמלי מעמדות לא נתקיימו שמים וארץ). Again, in Bikk. iii. 2, these אנשי מעמד, whose chief was called ראש המעמד (Tam. v. 6), are described as having to gather in the firstfruits from the districts under their charge. The country was divided into twenty-four districts, corresponding to the twenty-four orders of the Priests (1 Chron. xxiv. 7-18). The chief city of each such division was called עיר של מעמד. This office existed among the Essenes, amongst whom the *ma'amad* constituted the district authority: see *Jewish Encyc.* v. 230. The *ma'amad* in our text was composed of Priests, Levites and Israelites, as we may fairly assume from the constitution of the party as a whole: cf. xvii. 2, 3, v. 7: it would thus consist of the same elements as the *ma'amad* in Taanith.

the number and exact statement of their periods, i.e. מספר ופרוש קציהם. This is very irregular Hebrew. It is found, however, three times in the O.T., i.e. in Isa. xi. 2; Ezek. xxxi. 16; Dan. i. 4. Perhaps the suffix in קציהם refers, as in Aramaic, to what follows לבל שני עולם. This construction may recur at the end of the verse: cf. also v. 1 *c* note.

exact statement, i.e. פרוש. Cf. פרשה in Esther iv. 7, x. 2. I have rendered the word פרוש variously as 'statement' (vi. 3), 'true interpretation' (ii. 10): פשרו (vi. 10) 'this means' &c.

that . . . have been, i.e. נהיו—referring to the past as in Sir. xlii. 19: so also Lagrange.

moreover whatsoever, i.e. עוד קה. So I punctuate the text ער מה. Lévi takes it to be the equivalent of the Syriac ערמא.

9. raised Him up. See i. 7.

called by name. Cf. vi. 2 note.

to leave a remnant. See i. 4 note.

fill the face of the earth (למלא פני תבל). From Isa. xxvii. 6.

10. And . . . He shall make them know. So we must render יודיעם i.e. יודיעם; for according to ix. 10 (B) the Messiah had not come when our author was writing. But the word משיחו may simply = 'His anointed one', in this case Zadok.

His Messiah. Cf. viii. 2, ix. 10 (B), 29 (B), xv. 4; xviii. 8. See note on i. 7, where it is shown that the Messiah is distinct from 'the teacher of righteousness'.

His holy spirit. Contrast use of the phrase 'holy spirit' in vii. 12, viii. 20. Bacher here proposes to read 'by His holy spirit'.

in the true interpretation of his name. Possibly here the name of the Messiah hinted at may be הצדיק 'the Righteous One'. Cf. 1 Enoch xxxviii. 2, liii. 6. As He is הצדיק, they are the הצדיקים as in 1 Enoch xxxviii. 3, xlvii. 1, 2, 4, &c.

their names. Cf. vi. 3.

them He hated He made to go astray. Cf. i. 10.

III. 1. open your eyes. Cf. ii. 1.

2. walk uprightly. Cf. i. 16 note.

to go about in the thoughts of an evil imagination: i.e. לתור במחשבות יצר אשמה. If we take this line with the next, it would suggest that the writer had Num. xv. 39 in his mind לא תתורו אחרי לבבכם ואחרי עיניכם. But our author has changed the construction. אשר-אחם ונים אחריהם.

the thoughts of an evil imagination: i.e. מחשבות יצר אשמה. The יצר אשמה is here equivalent to the

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 3. 3—4. 1

- 3 For many were led astray by them,
And mighty men of valour stumbled by them from of old [and until this day].
- 4 Because they walked in the stubbornness of their heart the **watchers** of heaven fell.
By **them** were they caught because they kept not the commandment of God.
- 5 And their children whose height was like the loftiness of the cedars
And whose bodies were like the mountains fell **thereby**.
- 6 All flesh that was on dry land perished **thereby**,
And they were as though they had not been.
- 7 Because they did their own will,
And kept not the commandment of their Maker,
Until His wrath was kindled against them.
- 4 1 By **them** went astray the sons of Noah and their families:
Because of **them** they were cut off.

יצר הרע יצר alone has this meaning in Sir. xv. 14 ויתנהו ביד יצרו . . . ברא האדם = 'God created man . . . and put him into the hand of his inclination'. On the two inclinations see T. Asher i. 3 (note on my edition): 2 Baruch, pp. 92–3 (in my edition) and the literature referred to there.

eyes (full) of fornication. Reading עני for עני with Schechter, who compares Sifre 35 a עיניכם זו זנות 35 a. We might compare Sir. xxvi. 9 πορνεία γυναικὸς ἐν μετεωρισμοῖς ὀφθαλμῶν . . . γνωσθήσεται, and xxiii. 4; also T. Issach. vii. 2 'I never committed fornication by the uplifting of my eyes' and T. Benj. vi. 3; Prov. vi. 25; 2 Pet. ii. 14 ὀφθαλμοὺς . . . μεστοὺς μοιχαλίδος. Lévi retains עני and compares Sir. xlii. 8 עינה בזנות and Eccles. i. 13. He renders 'l'attrait de la luxure'.

3. **many were led astray by them.** The 'them' refers apparently to the 'thoughts of the imagination'. We have close parallels to, if not the actual antecedents of, the text in Sir. ix. 8 ἐν κάλλει γυναικὸς πολλοὶ ἐπλανήθησαν and T. Reub. iv. 7 'Many hath fornication destroyed; because, though a man be . . . noble . . . he bringeth reproach upon himself': T. Jud. xv. 2 'though a man be a king and commit fornication, he is stripped of his kingship by becoming the slave of fornication'.

by them. The MS. reads במ, but both 'thoughts' and 'eyes' are feminine in Hebrew. Hence here and in the next line I emend במ into בהן. On the other hand, as not infrequently in the O.T., the masc. suffix may refer to these feminine substantives: see note on vii. 2, and Gesenius *Heb. Gram.*² § 135 o. In iii. 4 b, iv. 1 a b בה should be emended into בהן, or else into בו in all cases. If the latter, the suffix would refer to the evil inclination (i.e. the יצר).

4. The example of the fall of the Watchers through fornication is cited also in the T. Reub. v. 6–7.

walked in the stubbornness of their heart (בלכתם בשרירות לבם). Cf. Jer. xiii. 10, xxiii. 17. Our author is fond of this phrase in various forms. Thus here and in iv. 5, ix. 35 we have the phrase "הלך בש" 'to walk in the stubbornness': in iv. 9 "תור אחרי ש" 'to go about after the stubbornness': in ix. 18 "בהר בש" 'to choose the stubbornness': and in ix. 27 "פנה בש" 'to turn away in the stubbornness'.

watchers: i.e. עירי emended by Schechter from עירי. See 1 Enoch vi–xvi and references.

By them: i.e. בהן (i.e. the thoughts of the evil inclination) emended from בה: or we may emend בה into בו and refer it to יצר. Cf. iv. 8.

kept not the commandment of God. Cf. iii. 7 b; iv. 2 b.

5. See 1 Enoch x. 9–10; xii–xvi; Jub. v. 9–11.

whose height was like the loftiness of the cedars (אשר כרום ארזים גבהם). From Amos ii. 9, save that our author reads 'loftiness' רים instead of 'height' גבה. On their height see 1 Enoch vii. 2.

thereby. Text reads כי which I have emended into בהן or בו. See v. 4.

6. **thereby.** Emended as in last line. Cf. Gen. vii. 22, 23.

they were as though, &c. From Obad. 16: cf. Job x. 19.

7. **did their own will** (or 'pleasure'). (Cf. iv. 10 a, c, v. 2 c), that is, they followed the evil inclination, or the thoughts of the evil inclination. See iii. 2, note.

did their own will, And kept not the commandment, &c. Cf. iv. 9 a, b, and contrast the conduct of Abraham iv. 2 b, c.

His wrath was kindled. See i. 17, note.

IV. 1. **By them.** MS. reads בה as in iii. 4 b, which I have emended into בהן. In both cases 'the thoughts of the imagination' are referred to. The same emendation is made in the next line. Of course it is possible that for בה we should read בו as in iv. 8, and thus refer directly to the *yesser* and not to the 'thoughts' of the *yesser* (or 'evil inclination'). Schechter thinks that for בה we should read בדם, and that the sin referred to is the eating of blood, but the whole context is against this.

went astray. Schechter has rightly emended תעו into תעו.

sons of Noah and their families. Cf. Gen. x. 32.

cut off. Cf. Lev. xvii. 10, 14.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 4. 2-9

IV. 2-9. *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob walked not after the evil Inclination of the Heart, 2-3; but the Sons of Israel did in Egypt and in the Wilderness and were punished accordingly, 4-9.*

- 2 Abraham did not walk in **them**,
And he was (recorded) friend because he kept the commandments of God,
And chose not the will of his own spirit.
- 3 And he delivered (the commandment) to Isaac and Jacob,
And they observed (it) and were recorded as friends of God,
And members of the covenant for ever.
- 4 The sons of Jacob went astray through them,
And they were punished **according to** their error.
- 5 And their children in Egypt walked in the stubbornness of their heart,
So that they took counsel against the commandments of God,
And every man did that which was right in his own eyes.
- 6 [And they eat blood], and He cut off their males in the desert (when He said) to them in Kadesh:
Go up and possess (the land, but they hardened) their spirit:
- 7 And they hearkened not unto the voice of their Maker
[The commandments of their **Teacher**] but murmured in their tents,
And so the wrath of God was kindled against their congregation:
- 8 And their children [perished by it
And their kings] were cut off by it,
And their mighty men perished by it,
And their land was made desolate by it.
- 9 By it the first that entered into the covenant incurred guilt,
And they were delivered unto the sword,

2. **in them**. MS. reads **בה** which I have emended into **בהן**. It could be emended into **בו** (i.e. 'the evil inclination') as proposed in note on iii. 3.

was (recorded) friend. Cf. Isa. xli. 8; Jub. xix. 9 'friend of God' (note): xxx. 21 'That they should fulfil (the covenant) and be recorded as friends': James ii. 23 *φίλος θεοῦ ἐκλογη*. The MS. is defective here, reading according to Schechter **הב**...**יע**, which he reads as **יעשה אהב**; but comparing 1 Chron. xxvii. 24, 2 Chron. xx. 34, for the use of **עלה** in the sense of 'to be recorded', we should here, I think, restore the text as follows **יע(לה א)הב**. If the **ע** is uncertain, then we might read **יכתב** as in *v. 3 b*, or **יקרא** as is implied in James ii. 23.

chose not the will of his own spirit. Contrast *v. 9 b*.

3. **recorded as friends**. This phrase occurs in Jub. xxx. 21, where the text implies exactly the same Hebrew as here **יכתבו אהבים**.

members of the covenant. For the phrase **ברית בעלי** see Gen. xiv. 13.

4. **through them**. Read **בהן** or **בו** instead of **בם**. See *v. 2* note.

according to. Reading **לפני** with Schechter for **לפי**.

5. **stubbornness of their heart**. See note on iii. 4.

did that which was right, &c. From Judges xvii. 6: cf. Deut. xii. 8: cf. ix. 17 *a*, *v. 2 c*, and contrast *v. 2 b, c*.

6. The original form of this verse seems wholly lost.

[**And they eat blood**]. I have bracketed this as an interpolation.

eat blood. Cf. 1 Enoch vii. 5; Jub. vi. 9, 12, 13; vii. 28, 29, &c.

(**when He said**) **to them**... (**the land, but they hardened**) **their spirit**. I have with Lévi supplied the words in brackets. **את הארץ ויקשו**... **באמר** from a comparison of Deut. i. 21, 46; Ps. cvi. 33.

7. **and they hearkened**... **Maker** (**ללא שמעו לקול עשיהם**). From Ps. cvi. 25 save for the change of **יהוה** into **עשיהם**. It is possible that the choice of the latter divine name is due to the fact that it rhymes with **באהליהם** in the next line.

the commandments of their Teacher. For **יוריהם** I read with Lévi **מוריהם**.

murmured in their tents. From Ps. cvi. 25.

wrath of God was kindled against their congregation. Cf. Ps. cvi. 40.

8. The tristich can be restored by excising 'perished by it and their kings' as an interpolation, or a dittograph of line 3. The reference to 'kings' at this period would be an anachronism.

their land was made desolate by it. From Jer. xii. 11. A strange statement in regard to this period.

9. **By it**, i.e. **בו**. This must mean the evil inclination as in iii. 4 *b*, iv. 1, &c.

the first that entered into the covenant. The Israelites at Sinai.

entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 4. 9—5. 5

Because they forsook the covenant of God :

- 10 And they chose their own will,
And went about after the stubbornness of their heart,
Every man doing his own will.

V. *God confirms the Covenant with the faithful through fresh Revelations, 1-3; when Israel transgressed again God forgave them, 4-6; and confirmed His Covenant with them through Ezekiel, 6-7.*

- 5 1 But with them that held fast by the commandments of God,
[Who were left of them],
God confirmed the covenant of Israel for ever,
Revealing unto them the hidden things
Wherein all Israel had erred :
- 2 His holy Sabbaths and His glorious festivals,
His righteous testimonies and His true ways,
And the desires of His will [the which if a man do, he shall live by them] He opened before them.
- 3 And they digged a well of many waters :
And he that despises them shall not live.
- 4 But they wallowed in the transgression of man,
And in the ways of the unclean woman,
And they said that †it belongs to us†.
- 5 But God wondrously pardoned their sins,
And forgave their transgression,

forsook the covenant of God : And they chose their own will. Cf. iii. 7 *ab*.

10. chose their own will. Cf. iii. 7 *a*, iv. 2 *c*, 5 *c*, 10 *c*.

went about after. The rare construction תור אחרי which occurs here is found in Num. xv. 39, which we know was in the mind of the author when writing iii. 2 *bc*. See iii. 4 note.

stubbornness of their heart. Cf. iii. 4 note.

Every man doing, &c. See iv. 10 *a* note. Cf. Esther i. 8 'to do according to each man's pleasure'.

V. 1. that held fast by, &c., i. e. מוחזקים ב. Cf. ix. 4, 12, 50; Prov. iii. 18; Isa. lvi. 4; T. Naph. iii. 1.

[Who were left of them]: i. e. The Remnant. Cf. i. 4 *b*, note. But it appears to be an interpolation.

the covenant of Israel. I have, with some hesitation, so rendered בריתו לישראל—an Aramaism, such as we find in ii. 8. But לישראל may be a gloss. In that case we should render 'His covenant'. Schechter gives the natural rendering 'His covenant with Israel', but this does not go properly with the preceding line.

the hidden things: i. e. those in the next verse.

2. His holy Sabbaths and His glorious festivals, &c. It is not improbable that the writer refers here to the Book of Jubilees: cf. i. 14 'they shall go astray as to new moons, and sabbaths, and festivals, and jubilees, and ordinances'. In vi. 33, 34 it is said that, if Israel neglects to observe the right reckoning of the years, 'they will disturb all their seasons . . . and they will neglect their ordinances . . . and . . . the new moons, and seasons, and sabbaths'; in vi. 38 'they will go wrong as to the new moons and seasons, and sabbaths, and festivals': and in xxiii. 19 'they have forgotten commandment, and covenant, and feasts, and months (? 'new moons', i. e. חדשים), and sabbaths, and jubilees, and all judgements'.

the which if a man do, &c. Bracketed as an interpolation from Lev. xviii. 5.

opened before them: i. e. פתח לפניהם. Cf. Luke xxiv. 32 διηγήσεν . . . τὰς γραφάς.

3. digged a well, studied or rather restudied the Law. See viii. 4-6; ix. 28.

4. wallowed . . . in the ways of the unclean woman. Cf. ix. 15 *b*.

transgression of man. Cf. Prov. xxix. 6.

†it belongs to us†, i. e. לנו היא.

5. wondrously. The MS. reads ברוי פלאו. Schechter emends the first word into ברוב and renders 'in the abundance of His wonder'. But this gives no sense. I emend the phrase into נפלאות, which gives a possible sense. Or comparing xvi. 1 (גבורות פלאו) it is not improbable that the text read ברחמי פלאו 'by His wondrous mercy'. See text xvi. 2.

pardoned, i. e. כפר בעד. This phrase with God as the subject is derived from 2 Chron. xxx. 18. This subject recurs frequently: cf. ii. 3, vi. 6, ix. 54, xviii. 8.

forgave (וישא לפשעם). Cf. ii. 3, xvi. 2.

transgression: cf. ii. 3.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 5. 5—6. 6

And He built them a sure house in Israel [the like of which never arose from of old nor until this day].

- 6 They who hold fast to Him are for the life of eternity,
And all the glory of man is for them;
As God confirmed it to them through Ezekiel the prophet, saying :
7 'The priests and the Levites and the sons of Zadok, that kept the charge of **My** Sanctuary when the children of Israel went astray from them, they shall bring near unto Me fat and blood.'

VI. *Migration of the Penitents to Damascus. Sons of Zadok hold office in the end of the Days, 1-3. Law to be obeyed and relations with Judah broken off in the Period in which Belial is let loose, 4-12.*

- 6 ¹ The priests are the penitents of Israel who went forth out of the land of Judah: and (the ² Levites are) they who joined them. And the sons of Zadok are the elect of Israel called by ³ the name, that are holding office in the end of the days. Behold the statement of their names according to their generations, and the period of their office, and the number of their afflictions, and the years of their sojournings, and the statement of their works.
4 The **first saints** whom God pardoned,
Both justified the righteous,
And condemned the wicked.
5 And all they who come after them must do according to the interpretation of the Law,
In which the forefathers were instructed
Until the consummation of the period of these years.
6 In accordance with the covenant which God established with the forefathers

built them a sure house (וּבֵן לָהֶם בֵּית נֶאֱמָן). The phrase is found in 1 Sam. ii. 35, 1 Kings xi. 38. The sure house is the pontifical dynasty of Zadok.

[the like of which . . . this day]. An interpolation.

6. **They who hold fast.** For phrase, cf. v. 1 a. This line shows that the author believes in a blessed immortality.

7. This verse, which is in prose, is a quotation from Ezek. xlv. 15 : וְהַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם בְּנֵי זְדוֹק אֲשֶׁר שָׁמְרוּ אֶת־מִשְׁמֶרֶת : מִקְדָּשִׁי בְּתַעֲוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מַעֲלֵי הַמָּזָה יִקְרְבוּ אֵלַי . . . לְהִקְרִיב לִי חֶלֶב וְדָם . . . The most important divergence in our text from the Massoretic is the insertion of an 'and' before 'the Levites' and an 'and' after them. But the first 'and' our author probably found in his text; for it is attested in the Syriac and Vulgate Versions, though it is absent (and rightly) from the LXX. The second 'and' may be due to our author. Our author reproduces the above quotation as follows : וְהַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם וּבְנֵי זְדוֹק אֲשֶׁר שָׁמְרוּ אֶת־מִשְׁמֶרֶת מִקְדָּשִׁי בְּתַעֲוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מַעֲלֵיהֶם יֵגִישוּ . . . Here מִקְדָּשִׁי is clearly a clerical error for מִקְדָּשִׁי and so I have translated.

VI. 1. **the penitents.** We should here punctuate שְׁבִי as שְׁבִי 'penitents' : cf. ii. 3 ; viii. 6 ; ix. 24 (A & B). Cf. Isa. i. 27 שְׁבִיָּה and lix. 20 שְׁבִי פֶשַׁע בִּיעֶקֶב . It could also be punctuated שְׁבִי 'captivity' with Schechter. But the former seems right. The New Covenant was one of repentance : cf. ix. 15 (B).

Israel who went forth out of the land of Judah. Cf. viii. 6. This migration to Damascus possibly took place somewhere about 170 B. C. See notes on i. 6, viii. 1-10.

and they who joined them ; i. e. וְהַנְּלִיִּים עִמָּהֶם. These words denote the Levites ; for our author carefully distinguishes the Priests and the Levites, xv. 5, 6. The word הַנְּלִיִּים 'who joined' seems to be a play on הַלְוִיִּים 'the Levites' in v. 7. I have restored the words in brackets.

2. The Zadokites are the spiritual successors of the 'penitents', but they were not to be known by this name apparently till 'the end of the days'—long after 176 B. C. in the time of the Teacher of Righteousness. See *Introd.* § 10. iv.

called by the name. קְרִיאַי הַשֵּׁם. Cf. ii. 9 'called by name'.

that are holding office (i. e. הַעֲמִידִים). We have elsewhere in our text מַעֲמִיד = 'office'.

in the end of the days, i. e. בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים. Cf. Gen. xlix. 1 ; Dan. xii. 13.

3. This verse appears to refer to some record or apocalypse no longer existing in the text.

statement of their names (פְּרִוֶּשׁ שְׁמוֹתֵיהֶם). See ii. 10 b. On this meaning of פְּרִוֶּשׁ see ii. 8.

the period of their office (קִיָּץ מַעֲמָדָם). Cf. ii. 8, where the corresponding phrase is 'years of (their) office'.

4. **The first saints,** i. e. הַקְּדוֹשִׁים הָרִאשׁוֹנִים. This seems the simplest restoration. Lagrange reads הַקְּדוֹשִׁים and renders : 'they sanctified the years when God pardoned them', and takes the words as referring to the first period of the sect—the reign of the Saints. Schechter emends הַקְּדוֹשִׁים שְׁוִיִּים into הַרְאִשׁוֹנִים.

justified, &c. Contrast i. 14.

5-6. They were to act according to a certain interpretation of the law to a certain time limit. God will forgive the followers of Zadok as He forgave the forefathers.

5. **must do,** i. e. לַעֲשׂוֹת.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 6. 6-11

- In order to pardon their sins,
So shall God make atonement for them.
- 7 And on the consummation of the period [of the number] of these years
They shall no more join themselves to the house of Judah,
But shall every one stand up against his net.
- 8 The wall shall have been built,
The boundary been far removed.
- 9 And during all these years Belial shall be let loose against Israel, as God spake through Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amos, saying: 'Fear and the pit and the snare are upon thee, O inhabitant
10 of the land.' This means the three nets of Belial, concerning which Levi the son of Jacob spake,
11 by which he caught Israel and directed their faces to three kinds of †righteousness†. The first is fornication, the second is the wealth ‹of wickedness›, the third is the pollution of the Sanctuary.

6. In order to pardon, &c. Cf. v. 5 note.

7. When the limit of time referred to in v. 5 was reached, they should break off relations with Judah and withstand its overtures. I have bracketed 'of the number' as an explanatory gloss on 'of the period' (הקץ). See v. 5 c.

They shall no more join themselves (אין עוד להשתפח). Cf. Isa. xiv. 1.

8. The wall shall have been built, The boundary been far removed (i.e. נבנתה הגדר רחוק החוק). These words are derived from Mic. vii. 11 'In one day thy walls shall be built, in that day thy boundary shall be far removed' (יום לבנות גדרריך יום ההוא ירחק חק). I have here, as in Micah, rendered חוק by 'boundary', but it may mean 'statute' or 'decree'. If the above rendering is right, then the sense is that the community will at the end of these years of trouble be securely established and its boundaries extended afar.

9. during all these years. The words refer apparently to the time of the Antichrist.

Belial shall be let loose. Cf. Jubilees i. 20 'Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be lifted up upon Thy people ... and let not the spirit of Beliar rule over them ... to ensnare them from all the paths of righteousness': xv. 33: T. Reub. ii. 2 (β). This name for Satan has disappeared from Talmudic literature.

Fear and the pit, &c. Quoted from Isa. xxiv. 17.

10. This means. Literally, 'its explanation is'.

the three nets of Belial. According to our author (v. 11) these three are: fornication, wealth, and pollution of the Sanctuary. This enumeration is not found elsewhere, so far as I know, but a list of three deadly sins is found several times in Jewish literature. In Jubilees vii. 20 they are fornication, uncleanness and iniquity. 'Owing to these three things came the flood upon the earth' (vii. 21). These words of Jubilees may have been in the mind of St. Paul when he wrote: 'No fornicator, nor unclean person, nor covetous man ... hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and God ... for because of these things cometh the wrath of God upon the sons of disobedience' (Eph. v. 5-6). According to the Ber. rabba 31, the three causes of the flood were idolatry, incest and murder.

Levi the son of Jacob spake. The words attributed to Levi are not found in the Test. Levi. In ix. 9, however, of that Testament the priests are charged with fornication and pollution of the holy place—two of the deadly sins mentioned here. Further, in v. 16 of the Aramaic and Greek Fragments of an original source of this Testament Isaac warns Levi and his sons against fornication and uncleanness (see my edition of the *Test. Twelve Patr.*, p. 229). Finally, in Test. Lev. xiv. 5-6, the priests are accused of stealing the sacrifices, of covetousness, fornication, and profaning the priesthood and polluting the sacrifices, xvi. 1. Cf. also T. Reub. iv. 7, 11, vi. 3; T. Sim. v. 3; T. Jos. vii. 1; Jub. vii. 21, xx. 3, 5, 6, xxiii. 14, xxv. 7, xxxiii. 20, l. 5.

by which he caught Israel and directed their faces (אשר הוא תפש בהם בישראל ויתנם פניהם). The agent is here Belial. The phraseology, on the other hand, is in part borrowed, as Schechter observes, from Ezek. xiv. 4, 5, where it is said that God 'catches' Israel. This change of agent is typical in later Judaism. The Hebrew of Ezekiel is: ומכשול עונו ישים נכח פניו ... למען תפש את בית ישראל.

†righteousness†. The text undoubtedly reads צדק here, but it seems to me to be a slip of a scribe for עולה. Hence read 'wickedness'.

11. The first sin, i.e. fornication, is dealt with in vii. 1-7; in vii. 8-17 the third—the pollution of the Sanctuary. The second is referred to in viii. 12; ix. 14.

wealth (הון). In Test. Lev. xiv. 6 the Sadducean priests are charged with 'covetousness,' i.e. πλεονεξία, which in the LXX is the rendering for בצע. If the text is original, our author, like a fanatic, makes, not the sinful desire, but the object of the desire a sinful thing in itself. In Jubilees xxiii. 21, where the writer is speaking of the Hellenizing priesthood in the time of the early Maccabees, he states that 'they will exalt themselves to deceit and wealth (i.e. wealth won by wrong) ... and they will defile the holy of holies ... with ... the corruption of their pollution'. Here unrighteous gain is said to be the object of the priesthood. And so it appears to be in our text. For in viii. 12 we have 'the polluted wealth of wickedness' (הון הרשעה הטמא) and in ix. 14 'the wealth of wickedness'; also in 1 Enoch ciii. 5 'your sinfully acquired wealth', lxiii. 10 'our unrighteous gains', and see Luke xvi. 9 μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας. Hence I have restored 'of wickedness' (הרשעה) to the text. Cf. Targ. on Isa. v. 23 מומן דשקר.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 6. 12—7. 9

12 He that cometh up from this shall be caught by that, and he that escapeth from this shall be caught by that.

VII. 1-7. *The Sin of Fornication. Divorce forbidden.*

7 1 The builders of the wall who walk after law—the law it is which talks, of which He said: Assuredly they shall talk—are caught [by two] by fornication in taking two wives during their life-
2, 3 time. But the fundamental principle of the creation is ‘Male and Female created He them.’ And
4 they who went into the Ark, ‘Two and two went into the Ark.’ And as to the prince it is written,
5 ‘He shall not multiply wives unto himself.’ But David read not in the Book of the Law that was sealed, which was in the Ark; for it was not opened in Israel from the day of the death of Eleazar and
6 Joshua, and the Elders who served Ashtarothe. And it was hidden (and was not) discovered until
7 Zadok arose. Now they glorified the deeds of David save only the blood of Uriah, and God
†abandoned them to him†.

VII. 8-18. *The Sin of polluting the Sanctuary.*

8 And they also pollute the Sanctuary since they separate not according to the Law, and lie with
9 her who sees the blood of her issue. And they take (to wife) each his **brother’s** daughter or his

the pollution of the Sanctuary. I have here, of course, followed Schechter’s emendation of טמא into טמאת. The profanation of the sanctuary by the priesthood is a very frequent accusation in the O.T. Cf. Zeph. iii. 4 ‘her priests have polluted the sanctuary’: also 1 Sam. ii. 12, 17, 22; Ezek. xxii. 26, xlv. 7, 8, &c.

12. He that cometh up from this shall be caught (יתפש) by that, &c. Our author returns to Isa. xxiv. 17 from which he had drawn the quotation in v. 9. The present words are not a quotation but are based on Isa. xxiv. 18 ‘He who fleeth (הִקָּם) from the noise of the fear shall fall into the pit; and he who cometh up (העולה) out of the midst of the pit shall be taken (יִלְכָּד) in the snare’. These words are reproduced in Jer. xlviii. 44. It will be observed that whereas the participle ‘he that cometh up’ (העולה) has a fitness in Isaiah as applying to ‘the pit’ it has lost this fitness in our context.

VII. 1. This verse seems to be directed against the Pharisees and their exposition of the Law. The text seems hopeless בוני החוץ אשר הלכו אחרי צו הצו הוא מטיף אשר אמר הטף יטיפון. בוני החוץ is to be emended into החיץ as in ix. 21, 26 (B). The phrase בוני החיץ ‘builders of the wall’, is borrowed from Ezek. xiii. 10. It recurs in ix. 21, 26. On the meaning of this phrase see note on ix. 21. Possibly צו is corrupt for שוא in both cases. If so, we might translate: ‘the builders of the wall who walk after vanity (cf. Hos. v. 11, LXX, Syr.)—the vanity it is which talks of which it is said: &c.’ Lévi retains the text and translates: ‘Les bâtisseurs de murailles, qui poursuivent çaw (les lois)—et çaw, c’est le bavardage à propos duquel il est dit: “ils ne font que bavarder”—ont été pris dans deux.’ [by two], i.e. בשתים a dittograph from the שתי following.

two wives during their lifetime. Schechter is of opinion that the text is ‘not only directed against polygamy but also against divorce which certain Jewish sects forbade’. This is probably right though the suffix, i.e. ‘their’, is masc.—בחייהם—and if taken strictly would refer to the men. But not infrequently in the O.T. the masc. suffix is used in reference to feminine nouns: cf. Ruth iv. 11 שתייהם referring to Rachel and Leah: see Gesenius *Gram.* § 135 o. But the reference to David in v. 7 would imply that we have here to do with polygamy only.

2. fundamental principle, i.e. יסוד.

Male and Female, &c. From Gen. i. 27. Cf. Matt. xix. 4; Mark x. 7. As Schechter points out, Aboth d’ R. Nathan, p. 5 a, uses the same argument against polygamy but does not give the verse.

4. The word for prince here is נשיא, which is used by Ezekiel. Lévi thinks that it is chosen instead of ‘king’ to belittle the Davidic dynasty.

He shall not multiply, &c. From Deut. xvii. 17.

5. The explanation of David’s polygamy.

Joshua. The text has here a dittograph ויהישע ויהישע.

served Ashtarothe. Judges ii. 13.

6. And it was hidden (and was not) discovered. Here I follow Schechter’s emendation of ויטמון נגלה into ויטמן (ולא) נגלה.

Zadok. Some ancient worthy, but who he was cannot be determined.

7. Our author clearly disapproves of the praise of David in 1 Kings xv. 5, which seems to have been in his thoughts.

glorified (or extolled), i.e. יעלו. Cf. Ps. cxxxvii. 6 for this use of the verb. It is a Talmudic use also. Schechter emends יעלו into יעלימו, i.e. ‘concealed’.

abandoned them to him. Does this mean: abandoned Israel to the sway and example of David?

8. separate. Here מבריל must of necessity be changed into מברלים.

blood of her issue (דם זובה). Cf. Lev. xv. 19. In the Pss. Sol. viii. 13 the Sadducean priests are charged with similarly profaning the altar and temple, ἐπάτουν τὸ θυσιαστήριον κυρίου ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας, καὶ ἐν ἀφέδρῳ αἵματος ἐμίανον τὰς θυσίας. But the charge here is brought against the Pharisees.

9. brother’s. For אחיהם read אחיהו. There is no need for the two changes made by Schechter.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 7. 10-19

- 10 sister's daughter. But Moses said 'Thou shalt not approach thy mother's sister: she is thy
11 mother's near kin'. So the law of intercourse for males is written, and the same law holds for
females; and let **not** the daughter of the brother uncover the nakedness of the brother of her
father: he is near of kin.
12 They also polluted their holy spirit and with a tongue of blasphemies they opened the mouth
13 against the statutes of the covenant of God, saying: They are not established. But abominations
they speak regarding them.
14 They are all 'kindlers of fire
And setters aflame of firebrands':
15 'The webs of spiders' are their weavings
And 'the eggs of cockatrices' are their eggs:
16 He who comes near them shall not be innocent:
He that chooseth them shall be held guilty [unless he was forced].
17 Aforetime God visited their works,
And His wrath was kindled because of their devices.
18 For 'it is a people of no understanding':
'They are a nation void of counsel,'
[Because there is no understanding in them].
19 For aforetime arose Moses and Aaron through the prince of the Lights. But Belial raised
Jochanneh and his brother with his evil device when **the former** delivered Israel.

10. **Thou shalt not . . . kin** (i.e. **אמך לא תקרב שאר אמך היא**). This is a free reproduction of
Lev. xviii. 13 **אמך הוא כי שאר אמך לא תנלה** cf. Jebam. 55 *ab*.

11. **intercourse**, i.e. **הערייה**—a Rabbinic term.

let not the daughter of the brother, &c. The text reads **ואם** 'and if' which I have emended into **ואל** 'and
let not'. This argument that, if a man must not marry his aunt, a woman must not marry her uncle is found
among the Caraites, but it is earlier. Similar reasoning is attributed to the Sadducees in Baba Bathra 115 *b*,
Megillat Taanith 5.

12. **their holy spirit**, i.e. **רוח קדשיהם**. Cf. viii. 2 note. Late Hebrew Test. Naph. x. 9 (in my edition of the
Test. Twelve Patr. p. 227), 'Blessed is he who does not defile the holy spirit of God which hath been put and
breathed into him, and blessed is he who returns it to its Creator as pure as it was on the day when He entrusted
it to him.' Schechter compares Wertheimer, ii. 14 **בהי מדרשות אשרי אדם שלא יטמא רוח אלהים שבקרבו**.

They are not established (**לא נכונים**). This passage is directed against the Pharisees, who by their casuistry
set at naught the Law.

14. **all kindlers of fire . . . firebrands** (**כלם קדחי אש ומבערי זיקות**). These words are drawn from Isa. l. 11
though with a change: **כלכם קדחי אש מאורי זיקות לבו . . . בזיקות בערתם**.

15. **The webs of spiders**. From Isa. lix. 4.

the eggs of cockatrices. From Isa. lix. 4.

16. **He that chooseth them**. The text reads the unintelligible **כהר ביתו יאשם**. Schechter emends the first
word into **בהרם**. Thus we have: 'like a thing accursed shall his house be guilty.' But the parallelism points in
a different direction. **יאשם** 'shall be held guilty' is right; for it corresponds to 'shall not be innocent' in the
previous line. We require now a parallel to 'he that cometh near them'—in other words, we expect a participle
behind **בהר**, i.e. **בְּהֵר**. **ביתו** is there corrupt for **בהם**. Thus we arrive at the above. Lévi suggests the change
of **כהר** into **מהר** = 'speedily', and renders 'bientôt sa maison est vouée à la destruction' and is herein
followed by Lagrange, but neither this clause nor yet the clause which follows admits readily of the meaning
they attach to them.

unless he was forced (**כי אם נלחין**). An obvious gloss. The words **כי אם** that follow are with Schechter
to be rejected as a dittograph. Lévi and Lagrange: 'assuredly it will be destroyed' (referring to the 'house').

18. The first line is verbally drawn from Isa. xxvii. 11. The second and third lines are from Deut. xxxii. 28,
but the last line, which I have bracketed as a gloss, diverges slightly, i.e. **בהם בניה** whereas Deut.
xxxii. 28 has **ואין בהם תבונה**.

19. This verse seems to have no connexion either with what precedes or what follows.

prince of the Lights, i.e. **שר האורים**. This may be the angel Uriel who, according to 1 Enoch, was set
over the lights of heaven. Schechter suggests that we should read **פנים** for **אורים**. We should then have 'the
prince of the Presence' who succoured Moses, against Mastema (i.e. Belial) Jub. xlviii. 2, 9.

Belial, i.e. Satan: cf. ix. 12.

Jochanneh and his brother. These are the two Egyptian magicians, Jannes and Jambres, mentioned in
2 Tim. iii. 8, who withstood Moses, Exod. vii. 11 sq. In Menachoth 85 *a* they are called **יוחני וממרא**. See
Encyc. Bib. ii. 2327 sqq.

when the former delivered Israel. The text reads **בהושע ישראל את הראשונה**. Schechter emends **את**

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 8. 1-8

VIII. *When the Land was laid desolate God would raise up wise men who would restudy the Law and go in Exile to Damascus, 1-5; and according to its Precepts the repentant ones should walk till the Teacher of Righteousness arose* (i.e. after 176 B.C.), 7-10.

- 8 1 And during the period of the destruction of the land there arose those who removed the landmark
2 and led Israel astray. And the land became desolate because they spake rebellion against the commandments of God through Moses [and also through His holy anointed one], and they prophesied a lie to turn away Israel from God.
- 3 But God remembered the covenant with the forefathers :
And He raised up from Aaron men of understanding,
And from Israel wise men :
- 4 And He made them to hearken,
And they digged the well.
- 5 'A well the princes digged,
The nobles of the people delved it
By the order of the Lawgiver.'
- 6 The well is the Law, and they who digged it are the penitents of Israel who went forth out of the land of Judah and sojourned in the land of Damascus, all of whom God called princes.
- 7, 8 For they sought Him and **His glory** was not turned back in the mouth of one (of them). And the Lawgiver is he who studies the Law, in regard to whom Isaiah said, 'He bringeth forth an instrument

into עַתָּה and renders 'when I. was delivered for the first time'. But this would require הָעֵת. I emend as follows : בְּהוֹשִׁיעַ אֶת יִשְׂרָאֵל הָרָשׁוֹנוֹת. On this order of object and subject, cf. Gen. iv. 15; Joshua xiv. 11; 2 Sam. xviii. 29; Isa. xx. 1, &c. The error arose through the transposition of the אֵת. 'The former' are of course 'Moses and Aaron'. Here Lévi and Lagrange render אֵת הָרָשׁוֹנָה 'pour la première fois'!

VIII. 1-10. The period here referred to seems to be the same as 'the period of wrath' in i. 5 when evil men arose who rebelled against the commandments of God (v. 2). But God raised up men of understanding, who studied the law (4-5) and went forth out of the land of Judah to Damascus (6). In this law and its precepts they should walk till the Teacher of righteousness arose (10). We have already seen (see i. 7 note) that this teacher was raised up 'in the period of the wrath' (i. 5), which began or prevailed about 196 B. C. In v. 10 this period is called 'the end of the days'.

1. **the period of the destruction of the land.** See i. 5 and preceding note.

who removed the landmark. Cf. i. 11 note; ix. 13, 49. These wicked leaders may be the Hellenizers if the date is early, or the Pharisees if it is late. Perhaps the same as 'the scornful man' spoken of in i. 10; for he 'talked to Israel lying words and made them go astray' (i. 10; cf. viii. 2, 1) so that they 'should remove the landmark' (i. 11: cf. viii. 1).

2. **the land became desolate,** i. e. through the Syrians.

spake rebellion. Cf. xiv. 5 (i.e. רִבְרוּ סִרָּה). From Deut. xiii. 6.

and also through His holy anointed one. If these words are genuine they may refer, as Lévi suggests, to Aaron. Moses and Aaron would in this case be conceived as the revealers of God's commands. But since the text reads וְגַם בְּמִשְׁיָחוֹ הַקֹּדֶשׁ it would be more natural to translate 'and also through His holy Messiah': cf. ix. 10 (B), 29, xv. 4, xviii. 8. See note on i. 7. There is a difficulty with regard to this phrase in ii. 10.

3. **remembered the covenant, &c.** Cf. i. 4 note.

Aaron . . . and Israel. Cf. ix. 10 (B); xv. 4; xviii. 8. Schechter may be right in deducing from this verse (viii. 3) the conclusion that the Zadokite Party 'insisted that the lay element should be represented in all important functions'.

made . . . to hearken. The text reads יִשְׁמְעוּם, which with Schechter I have emended into יִשְׁמִיעֵם. Bacher retains the text and translates 'assembled them' (cf. 1 Sam. xv. 4).

the well. Cf. v. 3. The well is the Law (v. 6).

5. From Num. xxi. 18.

the Lawgiver (i.e. הַמְּחַוֵּק). A very narrow definition is given to the Lawgiver in v. 8. He is 'a student of the Law'. It is quite in keeping with the absolute autocracy of the Law. The Lawgiver (viii. 8, 9) is in ix. 8 called 'the Star', whose duties are described in the same terms.

6. **the penitents of Israel . . . land of Judah.** Cf. vi. 1.

land of Damascus. Cf. v. 15; ix. 5, 28, 37.

7. **His glory.** The text reads הוֹשְׁבָה פִּאֲרָתָם (= 'their bough was . . . turned back') which I take to be corrupt for הוֹשְׁבָה תִּפְאֲרָתוֹ = 'His glory was . . . turned back'. This term is used frequently of God in the O.T.

8. **the Lawgiver,** i.e. הַמְּחַוֵּק. He appears to have been the founder of the Party at Damascus.

studies the Law, i.e. דֹּרֵשׁ הַתּוֹרָה.

He bringeth forth, &c. From Isa. liv. 16.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 8. 9-12

- 9 for his work.' And the nobles of the people are those who came to dig the well by the precepts in the which the Lawgiver ordained that they should walk throughout the full period of the **wickedness**.
 10 And save them they shall get nothing until there arises the Teacher of Righteousness in the end of the days.

VIII. 11-20. *Conditions under which they can act as Priests in the Sanctuary.*

- 11 And none who **have** entered into the covenant shall enter into the Sanctuary to kindle His altar but they shall shut the **doors** concerning whom God said,
 'O that there was one among you to shut the **doors**,
 So that ye might not vainly kindle the fire upon My altar,'
 12 Unless they observe to do according to the true meaning of the Law until the period of the wickedness, and to sever themselves from the children of the pit, and to hold aloof from the polluted wealth of wickedness under a vow and a curse, and **from** the wealth of the Sanctuary:

9. **in the which.** The text reads **במה . . . אשר** an obvious corruption for **בהם** "א. **period of the wickedness.** Cf. *v.* 12. In Ezek. xxi. 30 we have 'the time of the wickedness of the end' (עת עון קץ).

wickedness. The text reads **רשיע** which I have emended into **רשעה**. This phrase refers to the kingdom of wickedness (**מלכות הרשעה**) as opposed to the coming Messianic kingdom.

10. From the founding of the Party till the teacher of righteousness arose, i. e. after 196 B. C., no new teaching or light should be given. See note on viii. 1-10.

until there arises, &c. Cf. Ezra ii. 63; Neh. vii. 65 for a like idea.

the Teacher of Righteousness, i. e. **יורה הצדק**. See i. 7 note.

11-20. These verses form one sentence, in which the conditions are given, on the fulfilment of which the priests can administer their office in the Temple.

11. **And none who have entered into the covenant shall enter into the Sanctuary, i. e.** **וכל אשר הוכנאו** **וכל אשר הוכנאו**. I have here, as Schechter suggests, emended **הוכנאו** into **באו**. As regards the translation, there are two possible ways. I have, with Schechter, given the above rendering, but Lévi, citing Jer. xxxiv. 10 **לבילתי עבר בהם** . . . **לבילתי עברו** . . . **אשר באו בברית לשלח איש את עבדו** . . . **לבילתי עבר בהם** and 2 Chron. xv. 12, insists that we must connect the words as in these passages. If this is necessary the translation would run: 'And all those who had entered the covenant not to enter the Sanctuary to kindle His altar, and had shut the doors.' But, if we accept Lévi's rendering, the connexion and grammar of the entire passage are destroyed. In order to carry it out, Lévi is obliged to render **לא אם** as 'because . . . not' (!) in *v.* 12, and to make *vv.* 11-20 a *nominativus pendens*, which does not find a predicate to *v.* 21, and which, when it is resumed in *v.* 21, has quite changed its meaning! Lagrange accepts Lévi's suggestion but avoids rendering **לא אם** as Lévi has done. He rightly takes these words as meaning 'unless'. But the passage then becomes no more intelligible in his hands. *v.* 11 is a *nom. pendens* which is apparently explained in *v.* 12, which forms the beginning of a long protasis extending from *v.* 12 to *v.* 20, and then ends without an apodosis. He tries to get over these difficulties by suggesting that **לא אם** forms the beginning of an oath. But there is nothing in the text to suggest such an idea.

Hence I conclude that if the passage is to be construed intelligibly, it is to be taken as I have given it. The apodosis of the sentence comes first in *v.* 11, and the protasis follows in 12-20. For another long sentence where the protasis consists of four verses, see ix. 50-54. No priest of the Zadokite party is to take part in the Temple services (*v.* 11), unless he fulfils the conditions laid down in 12-20. In case the Zadokite priests fulfil these conditions, they are in *v.* 21 given the assurance of an everlasting covenant.

none . . . shall enter, i. e. **בל . . . לבילתי בוא**. This construction recurs in vi. 5, 7 (*l'is*), ix. 2, 12, x. 1, xx. 7.

none . . . shall enter into the Sanctuary to kindle His altar. These words refer to the Temple in Jerusalem: cf. *v.* 12 where the wealth of the Sanctuary is spoken of, and i. 3 note.

have entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.

doors. Text reads **דלתו** corrupt for **דלתים** as also in the quotation that follows.

O that . . . upon My altar. From Mal. i. 10, save that our text omits **נח** and by a slip puts **דלתו** for **דלתים**. That it is the Temple in Jerusalem that our text refers to follows inevitably from this quotation.

12. **observe to do.** Cf. Deut. xii. 1.

until the period of the wickedness, i. e. **לקץ הרשע**. Perhaps **קץ** should here have its ordinary meaning of 'end'. Cf. *v.* 9.

children of the pit, בני השחת. Cf. Jub. x. 3, xv. 26, where the phrase denotes those who refuse circumcision. In xvi. 7 it undoubtedly means the uncircumcised. In Ezek. xxx. 24, &c. 'Sheol' or 'the pit' (**בור** xxxii. 29 or xxviii. 8) is spoken of as the final habitation of the uncircumcised.

to hold aloof . . . under a vow and a curse, i. e. to take a vow to separate themselves and invoke a curse on themselves in case they failed.

to hold aloof, i. e. **להנזיר**. Cf. Num. vi. 2, 5, 12. The form **להנזיר** is found in viii. 18.

the polluted wealth of wickedness. See note on vi. 11.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 8. 13-20

- 13 And in respect to robbing the poor of His people,
So that widows may be their spoil,
And they may murder the fatherless:
- 14 And to make a difference between the clean and the unclean and to make men discern between
15 the holy and the profane: And to observe the Sabbath according to its true meaning and the
feasts and the day of the Fast according to the utterances of them who entered into the New
16 Covenant in the land of Damascus: To contribute their holy things according to the true inter-
17 pretation: To love every one his brother as himself, and to strengthen the hand of the poor
18 and the needy and the stranger, and to seek every one the peace of his brother: To hold aloof
from harlots according to the law: and that no man should commit a trespass against his next
19 of kin: To rebuke every one his brother according to the commandment, and not to bear a grudge
20 from day to day, and to separate from all the pollutions according to their judgements And no man

to hold aloof . . . from the wealth of the Sanctuary. Can this be a pregnant expression for 'to hold aloof . . . from robbing the wealth, &c.'? If so, we might compare Test. Lev. xiv. 5 'The offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, and from His portion ye shall steal choice portions'. The chief Pharisee of the time of Jannaeus, i.e. Simon ben Shetach, is said to have appropriated to his own use half the offerings of 300 Nazarites. See Schürer⁸, i. 279 sq. But the text may mean that the priests of the Party are not to avail themselves of the wealth of the Temple.

from the wealth, &c. Reading מוהן instead of בהון. In vi. 11 (see note) evilly-acquired wealth is spoken of. The same charge appears here to be brought against the wealth of the Sanctuary. If this is so, the Sanctuary in question cannot be the sanctuary of the Party; for they would not in any case admit that its (small) wealth was of this nature. Hence the text can only refer to the Temple in Jerusalem.

13. in respect to robbing . . . the fatherless. This verse is a quotation from Isa. x. 2 ולגזול משפט עניי but our author omits משפט and changes יבזו into ירצחו, which, as Lévi observes, is drawn from Ps. xciv. 6 ויתומים ירצחו.

in respect to robbing. The text reads לגזול and I have translated accordingly, but this may be corrupt for מגזול = 'from robbing'.

14. This verse is a quotation from Ezek. xxii. 26, save that our author has transposed the two verbs and read: ולהבדיל בין הטמא לטהור ולהודיע בין הקודש לחול. In connecting הבדיל with the first clause he may have been influenced by Lev. xi. 47 which does so.

15. the day of the Fast, i.e. the Day of Atonement.

utterances. The text reads מצא which I take to be corrupt for מוצאי. But Schechter is possibly right in emending it into מצות = 'command'.

the New Covenant. Cf. ix. 28, 37. See note on ii. 1. The phrase appears to be derived from Jer. xxxi. 31. It was called 'new' because it was a covenant based on repentance, ix. 15 (B) (ברית תשובה). This involved a spiritual transformation, and corresponds to the words in Jer. xxxi. 33 'I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their hearts will I write it'.

the land of Damascus. See viii. 6 note.

16. contribute, i.e. להרים.

their holy things (הקדשים). These words may refer to the tithes of the oxen and the sheep. These are mentioned in Lev. xxvii. 32 and 2 Chron. xxxi. 6 only, but were unknown to Nehemiah (x. 37-39, xii. 44-47, &c.). The literal tithing of the oxen and sheep is maintained in Jub. xxxii. 15 (see my note *in loc.*), but Rabbinic tradition sought to make it out as merely a tithe of the yearly increase.

17. To love . . . as himself, i.e. לאהוב איש את אחיהו כמוהו. In Lev. xix. 18 we have 'neighbour' instead of 'brother'. The question arises here, who is 'the brother'? In Judaism it was always limited to fellow countrymen, and the context here favours this idea. See the *Test. Twelve Patr.* for the noblest pre-Christian enforcement of this duty: T. Sim. iv. 7; T. Iss. v. 2, vii. 6; T. Gad iv. 2, vi. 1, 3, vii. 7; T. Benj. ii. 3, iii. 3, 4.

to strengthen . . . needy (להחזיק ביד עני ואביון). From Ezek. xvi. 49.

seek . . . the peace (לדרוש . . . את שלום). Cf. Deut. xxiii. 6, 7; Jer. xxix. 7.

18. I have transposed the two clauses of this verse.

harlots. For זונות we should perhaps read זנות 'fornication' with Schechter. Cf. iii. 2, vii. 2.

his next of kin (i.e. שאר בשרו). Cf. ix. 17; Lev. xviii. 6, xxv. 49.

19. rebuke . . . his brother (להוכיח . . . את אחיהו). The commandment is in Lev. xix. 17 תכיה את אמתך. Cf. x. 2, 5 of our text.

not to bear a grudge. Cf. ix. 16, x. 1 note.

to separate from all the pollutions. Cf. Ezra vi. 21.

20. no man shall make abominable his holy spirit, i.e. לא ישקן איש את רוח קדשיו. This is clearly a reproduction of Lev. xx. 25 with a change of phrase: לא תשקצו את נפשתיכם 'Ye shall not make your souls abominable'. See our text xiv. 12. Thus the 'spirit' (רוח=πνευμα) is for our author identical with the soul (נפש=ψυχή) alike in essence and function as in 1 Enoch xxii. 3, 5 &c. See my *Eschatology*, 195, sq. See vii. 12 note.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 8. 20—9. 3

shall make abominable (with these) his holy spirit, according as God separated (these) from them.
 21 As for all those who walk in these things in the perfection of holiness according to all the ordinances, the covenant of God

Text A.

standeth fast unto them to preserve them to a thousand generations.

Text B.

standeth fast unto them to preserve them for thousands of generations. As it is written, 'Who keepeth covenant and mercy with them that love Him and keep His commandments to a thousand generations.'

IX. 1. *The Law as to binding and loosing.*

9 1 And if they settle in camps according to the order of the land and take wives and beget children, they shall walk according to the Law, and according to the judgements of the ordinances according to the order of the Law as He spake, 'between a man and his wife, and between a father and his son'.

And if they settle in camps according to the statutes of the land which were from of old and take wives according to the custom of the Law and beget children, they shall walk according to the Law and according to the judgements of the ordinances according to the order of the Law as He spake, 'between a man and his wife, and between a father and his son.'

IX. 2-3. *Threatened Judgement on those who rejected the Statutes.*

2 But as for all them that reject . . . when God will bring a visitation upon the land they shall be requited with the recompense of the wicked; when there shall come to pass the word which is written in the words of Isaiah the son of Amos the prophet, who said: 'He will bring upon thee and upon thy people and upon thy father's house days that have (not) come from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah.'

But as for all them that reject the commandments and the statutes they shall be requited with the recompense of the wicked; when God will bring a visitation upon the land, when there shall come to pass the word which is written by the hand of Zechariah the prophet: 'O sword, awake against My shepherd and against the man that is My fellow, saith God; smite the shepherd and the sheep shall be scattered, and I will turn Mine hand against the little ones.'

separated (these) from them (להם) . . . להם, i. e. separated the unclean things from them. From Lev. xx. 25.
 21. As for all those who walk in these things . . . the covenant of God standeth fast unto them. These clauses recur in xvi. 12.

perfection of holiness or 'holy perfection' (תמים קדש). Cf. ix. 30, 33.
 ordinances. The text reads יסורי or יסורי (= 'disciplinings'), which must be emended as in ix. 1 (A? and B) into יסורים. Cf. xi. 2.

the covenant . . . standeth fast unto them. Cf. xvi. 12. From Ps. lxxxix. 28 בריתי נאמנת לו. I have changed נאמנות into נאמנת as in the Psalms.

21. B. Who keepeth covenant . . . generations. From Deut. vii. 9. The מצותי and לאהב are to be read as מצותי and לאהבי.

IX. 1. camps. According to Lévi the name of the Jewish quarter even at the present day in Persia is 'camp', referring to Elkan Adler פרים, p. 3.

order (or 'regulation' or 'arrangement'), i. e. סרך a Rabbinic word. It recurs in x. 1, xv. 1, 4, xvi. 1, xvii. 1. Observe that in B we have חוקי, but later in this verse it is found both in A and B. סרך is found in vv. 29, 30 of the Aramaic Fragments of an original source of the *Test. Twelve Patr.* In the Greek, which is here happily preserved, *τάξις* appears as the equivalent of סרך. Both the Aramaic and Greek Fragments go back to a Hebrew original. See my *Greek Versions of the Test. Twelve Patr.*, p. 250. Cf. סרכין = 'administrators' in Dan. vi. 3, 4, &c.

ordinances, i. e. יסורים in B and A (?), which latter could also be read יסורים.
 between a man and his wife . . . son. From Num. xxx. 16 save that for 'son' (בנו) the O.T. reads 'daughter' (בתו). We have here a summary reference to the law of binding and loosing, which is more fully treated in xx. 2-12.

2. will bring a visitation. This is the visitation through the Messiah: cf. vv. 9-10, 12-13.
 they shall be requited with the recompense of the wicked. I am doubtful as to the rendering here. The text reads להשיב גמול רשעים עליהם. This use of the infinitive is frequent in our text. For the phrase cf. Joel iii. 4, 7.

3. The great difference of the two recensions here is to be observed.
 3. A. This verse is quoted from Isa. vii. 17. It recurs in part in xvi. 11—a fact which may support the A recension. For יבוא we must read יבא, and לא must be restored before באו as in xvi. 11 and in the O.T.

that have (not) come . . . Ephraim. These words recur in xvi. 11.
 3. B. This verse is quoted from Zech. xiii. 7. Our author has changed יי צבאות into אל.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 9. 4-10

A

IX. 4-9. *Foundation of the Zadokite Party and its Expectations: the Law, the Prophets, and the Messiah.*

4 When the two houses of Israel separated, [Ephraim departed from Judah, and] all who proved
faithless were delivered to the sword, and those who held fast escaped into the land of the North.
5 As He said, 'And I will cause to go into captivity Siccuth your King and Chiun your images,
6 (the star of your god which ye made for yourselves) **beyond** Damascus.' The books of the
Law are the tabernacle of the King, as He said, 'And I will raise up the tabernacle of David that is
7 fallen.' The King is the congregation and Chiun the images are the books of the Prophets, whose
8 words Israel has despised. And the Star is he who studied the Law, who came to Damascus, as it
is written, 'There shall come forth a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel.' The
9 sceptre is the prince of all the congregation.

IX. 10-20. *The Messiah will destroy those who were faithless to the New Covenant: their moral Derelictions through Hellenizing Influences.*

A

10 And when he arises 'he shall destroy all the
sons of (battle) din'. . . These **shall** escape during
the period of the [first] visitation, but those who
proved faithless **shall be** delivered to the sword.

B

And 'they that give heed unto Him are the 10
poor of the flock'. These shall escape during the
period of the visitation, but the rest shall be handed
over to the sword when the Messiah comes from

4. [Ephraim . . . and]. Bracketed as a dittograph from the preceding sentence. So Landauer.
all who proved faithless. Cf. v. 10.
those who held fast. See v. 1 note.
land of the North, i.e. Damascus.

5-9. The extraordinary piece of exegesis which we find in these verses has for its object the removal from the Messianic hopes of the expectation of a Messiah descended from David. No kingly but a priestly Messiah is to be looked for.

5. This verse is quoted from Amos v. 26-27, but with a few changes. Two are accidental and owing to copyists. The first of these is the omission of the clause 'the star of your God which ye made for yourselves'. The second is the corruption of ל מהלאה = 'beyond' into מאהלי 'from the tents of'. The entire context of our author requires the former. The words 'beyond Damascus' denote the destination of the captivity—called 'the land of Damascus' in viii. 6, ix. 28, 38. If our author deliberately changed ל מהלאה into מאהלי he would not have done so unless it was of importance to him. That it was not is patent from the fact that no allusion to 'tents' occurs in what follows.

There is, however, one deliberate change of the text of Amos, namely, the substitution of והגלית 'and I will cause . . . to go into captivity' from v. 27 for ונשארתם 'and ye shall carry' in v. 26.

6. tabernacle. Here סכות 'Siccuth' or 'Saccuth' is read as סכת = 'tabernacle'.

And I will raise up . . . fallen. From Amos ix. 11, save that for אקים our text reads והקימותי.

7. whose words Israel has despised. Cf. Test. Lev. xvi. 2 'Ye shall set at naught the words of the prophets'. The meaning may be, as Lévi suggests, that Israel had treated the books of the Prophets as worthless idols.

8. The Star does not symbolize the Messiah, but the religious leader of the party of penitents that went to the land of Damascus. Hence there is no connexion between the idea in our text and in Test. Lev. xviii. 3; Test. Jud. xxiv. 1, where the Star does symbolize the Messiah, and where both passages are based on Num. xxiv. 17. Since the Star is said to 'study the Law' (דרש התורה) and likewise to have gone forth at the head of the penitents to Damascus, he is the same as the Lawgiver in viii. 5, 8, 9.

There shall come forth a star, &c. Quoted from Num. xxiv. 17.

9. The sceptre appears to denote the Messiah: cf. v. 10 (B). He is a militant Messiah. This reference to the Messiah is proleptic.

10. he shall destroy all the sons of (battle) din. Quoted from Num. xxiv. 17. I have here given one of the most likely renderings of ישת.

The two recensions must be used here to supplement each other. A is wanting in a clause at the beginning, which B preserves.

10 A. shall escape: reading ימלטו for מלטו, as in 10 B.

the period of the [first] visitation. I have bracketed 'first' (הראשון) which should, if correct, be הראשונה (הראשונה) as an interpolation. It is not the first but the second or final visitation that is referred to, as is clear from B.

those who proved faithless. Cf. v. 4. Here B has הנשארים 'the rest'.

shall be delivered. Here I emend הסנירו into יסגרו (cf. ימסרו in B). The Hophal הסנירו is found in this sense in v. 11 (B).

10 B. they that give heed . . . flock. This is a quotation from Zech. xi. 11, save that our author has changed איתי = 'Me' into איתו = 'Him'.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 9. 11-17

A	B
11 [Lost.]	Aaron and Israel: Just as it was during the period 11 of the first visitation, concerning which He spake through Ezekiel 'to set a mark upon the foreheads of them that sigh and cry', but the rest were delivered to 'the sword that avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant'. And this also 12 shall be the judgement of all them that have entered into His covenant, who will not hold fast to these statutes: they shall be visited for destruction through the hand of Belial. This is the day on which God shall visit (as He hath spoken):
12 And this also shall be the judgement of all them who have entered into His covenant, who will not hold fast to these (statutes): they shall be visited for destruction through the hand	of the first visitation, concerning which He spake through Ezekiel 'to set a mark upon the foreheads of them that sigh and cry', but the rest were delivered to 'the sword that avengeth with the vengeance of the covenant'. And this also 12 shall be the judgement of all them that have entered into His covenant, who will not hold fast to these statutes: they shall be visited for destruction through the hand of Belial. This is the day 13 on which God shall visit, as He hath spoken:
13 of Belial. This is the day on which God shall visit (as He hath spoken):	
'The princes of Judah were (like them that removed the landmark):	'The princes of Judah were like them that remove the landmark:
Upon them will I pour out (My) wrath (like water).'	Upon them will I pour out (My) wrath like water.'
14 For they are too sick to be healed,	
And they have been at the head of all the rebels.	
15 Because they have not turned from the way of traitors,	Because they entered into the covenant of 15 repentance
But have wallowed in the ways of harlots,	And yet have not turned from the way of traitors:
And in the wealth of wickedness and (in) revenge.	But have dealt wantonly in the ways of fornication, In the wealth of wickedness and in revenge.
16 And every man beareth a grudge against his brother,	And every man beareth a grudge against his 16 brother,
And every man hateth his neighbour.	And every man hateth his neighbour.
17 And they committed trespass every man against his next of kin,	And they committed trespass every man against 17 his next of kin,
And drew near to unchastity:	And drew near to unchastity:
from Aaron and Israel. I have here preferred מ before both these words in accordance with ix. 29. See note on i. 7.	
11. spake. By a slip a scribe inserts 'Ezekiel' as the subject of 'spake'.	
set a mark . . . cry (i.e. מַצְחֹת נִאֲנָחִים וְנִאֲנָקִים (להתחית תני על מצחות). From Ezek. ix. 4 מַצְחֹת וְנִאֲנָקִים. From Ezek. ix. 4 מַצְחֹת וְנִאֲנָקִים.	
that avengeth . . . covenant. Cf. i. 12 d.	
12. entered into His covenant. See ii. 1 note.	
will not hold fast. Cf. v. 1 note.	
they shall be visited, i.e. לִפְקֹד. This idiomatic construction with the infinitive is frequent in our text. See note on viii. 11.	
through the hand of Belial. Belial in later pre-Christian Judaism is simply another name for Satan. One of the three functions assigned to satanic spirits in 1 Enoch is that of the punishment of sinners.	
13. God shall visit. See v. 2 note.	
The princes of Judah, &c. From Hos. v. 10. The text of A is defective and corrupt. For עליהם אשפך it reads אשר תשפוך עליהם העברה. B agrees exactly with the Massoretic Hebrew, save that it reads עברתי for עברה. For the meaning of 'princes of Judah' in our text see viii. 6.	
14. In A only and very corrupt. The text runs כי יחלו למרפא וידקמום כל מורדים, where I propose to read וידקמום and emend the vox nulla into יקדמו. But the text remains a problem. Lévi suggests מ וינקם 'and He will take vengeance on all the rebels'.	
15-19. Breaches by the Princes of Judah of the moral conditions laid down in viii. 11 a-19 c. Thus contrast ix. 15 a with viii. 11 a: ix. 15 c with viii. 18 a: ix. 15 d with viii. 12 c: ix. 16 a with viii. 19 b: ix. 16 b with viii. 17 a: ix. 17 a with viii. 18 b: ix. 17 b with viii. 19 c: ix. 18 b with viii. 19 c.	
15 B. entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.	
covenant of repentance, i.e. ברית תשובה. This is the covenant mentioned in Jer. xxxi. 30, 32.	
15 A. wallowed, i.e. יתגוללו (A). But B reads יתעללו. Either verb does very well. But v. 4 (A) supports the former.	
harlots, i.e. זונות (A). B reads זנות which punctuated זנית = 'fornication', and punctuated זנות = 'harlots'. Since we have abstract expressions following, probably we should read 'fornication' here.	
wealth of wickedness. See note on this phrase in vi. 11.	
16. beareth a grudge. Lev. xix. 18. See x. 1 note.	
hateth his neighbour. Lev. xix. 17.	
17. committed trespass. So with Schechter I emend יתעלמו (A, B) into ימעלו as in viii. 18, where this	

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 9. 17-21

A	B
And exalted themselves with a view to wealth and unjust gain, And every man did that which was right in his own eyes.	And they made themselves strong with a view to wealth and unjust gain, And every man did that which was right in his own eyes.
18 And they chose every man the stubbornness of his heart, And they separated not from the people.	And they chose every man the stubbornness of 18 his heart, And they separated not from the people and their sins.
19 And they cast off restraint with a high hand To walk in the way of the wicked, concerning whom God said : 'Their wine is the poison of dragons And the cruel venom of asps.'	And they cast off restraint with a high hand 19 To walk in the ways of the wicked ; concerning whom God said : 'Their wine is the poison of dragons And the cruel venom of asps.'
20 The dragons are the kings of the Gentiles and their wine is their ways, and the venom of asps is the head of the kings of Javan, who came to execute vengeance upon them.	The dragons are the kings of the Gentiles 20 and their wine is their ways, and the venom of asps is the head of the kings of Javan, who came to execute vengeance upon them.

IX. 21-23. *Neither to these things nor to Moses did the Builders of the Wall give heed.*

21 But despite all these things they who builded the wall and daubed it with untempered mortar	But despite all these things they who builded 21 the wall and daubed it with untempered mortar
--	--

line recurs. But we might retain יתעלמו and change מישאר into משאר and derive the text from Isa. lviii. 7 and translate 'hid themselves every man from his own flesh'.

exalted themselves with a view to wealth and unjust gain. The text reads יִתְנַבְּרוּ לְהֹן וּלְבָצֵעַ where I have emended יתנבְּרוּ into יתנבְּהוּ or ינבְּהוּ (cf. B יתנבְּרוּ) on the strength of Jub. xxiii. 21, 'They will all exalt themselves with a view to deceit and wealth.' Here the Ethiopic word for 'deceit' is a rendering of πλεονεξία, which in turn is a rendering of בָּצַע in Judges v. 19: or of ἀδικία, which is similarly a rendering of the same Hebrew word in Prov. xxviii. 16: cf. Ps. ix. 24. בָּצַע is also rendered by ἀνομία. Thus our text is clearly dependent on Jub. xxiii. 19, which latter would be better rendered 'they will all exalt themselves with a view to unjust gain and wealth'. In B the verb is יתנבְּרוּ, 'made themselves strong', which may be right, though it is not the word implied by Jub. xxiii. 21. Its appearance here may be due to v. 54 c in our text, where it occurs in a good sense.

every man did that which was right, &c. See iv. 5 c. Here B reads אִישׁ אֶת הַיָּשָׁר an obvious transposition of אִישׁ אֶת הַיָּשָׁר.

18. **chose . . . the stubbornness, &c.** See iii. 4 note. Possibly we should render here 'chose in the stubbornness', but the translation adopted is more likely.

separated not (לֹא נָדָרוּ). This separatist character relates the party so far to the Pharisees. See v. 24.

19-20. The degradation of Israel through Hellenizing influences and their punishment at the hand of Javan, i. e. the Greek rulers of Egypt and Syria.

19. **cast off restraint, i. e.** יִפְרְעוּ. Cf. 2 Chron. xxviii. 19.

Their wine . . . asps. Quoted from Deut. xxxii. 33

חַמַּת חַנִּינִים יֵינָם
וְרֹאשׁ פִּתְנִים אֲכֹר

20. This verse refers to the invasions of Palestine by the successors of Alexander in Egypt and Syria. This equation of Greece and Syria points to the early date of our author.

head, i. e. רֹאשׁ. Our author, as Lagrange recognizes, plays here on the two different meanings of רֹאשׁ.

Javan. Cf. Daniel viii. 21, x. 20, xi. 2.

21. **builded the wall.** Cf. 26; vii. 1.

the wall (ἡ τοῦ μεσότητος ἑσθλῆς Eph. ii. 14). What is meant by 'the wall'? Does it mean 'the fence' (i. e. סֵיף) which the Pharisees, especially the legalistic side, raised about the Law. In Pirke Aboth i. 1 we have the command: עָשׂוּ סֵיף לְתוֹרָה 'make a fence to the Torah'. As Taylor (*Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*², p. 134) writes: 'in theory and practice the law required a fence, as a written Torah needs a margin to safeguard the edges of the text.'

But could the Zadokite party object *absolutely* to 'the fence', seeing they adopted it in principle in reference to the Sabbath, xiii. 1, where it is required that in order to avoid profaning it some of the time preceding it should be kept holy? Besides, this party must have adopted, and in fact did adopt, as we know from this work, a number of the traditional halacha. Hence we conclude that it is not to the principle of 'the fence' in itself, but to its abnormal growth in the form of oral tradition, that they objected. That there were

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 9. 22–25

A

22 perceived not— For one who was †perturbed† of spirit and talked lies talked to them— that the wrath of God was kindled against all His congregation :
23 Nor that Moses said, 'Not for thy righteousness or for the uprightness of thine heart dost thou go in to inherit these nations, but because He loved thy fathers and because He would keep the oath.'

B

perceived not— For one who †walked in wind 22 and weighed storms†, and talked **lies to man** (talked)— that the wrath of God was kindled against all His congregation :
Nor that Moses said to Israel, 'Not for thy 23 righteousness nor for the uprightness of thine heart dost thou go in to inherit these nations, but because He loved thy fathers and because He would keep the oath.'

IX. 24–27. *The Penitents like the Forefathers were loved of God for their Faithfulness to the Covenant, but as He judged the Builders of the Wall, so shall those faithless to the New Covenant be judged.*

24 And such is the case of the penitents of Israel (who) turned aside from the way of the people.
25 Owing to the love of God for the forefathers who stirred up (the people to follow) after Him, He loved them that came after them ; for theirs is

Such is the case of the penitents of Israel (who) 24 turned aside from the way of the people. Owing 25 to the love of God for the forefathers who admonished the people (to follow) after God, He loved them that came after them, for theirs

ample grounds for their opposition we learn from the words of Shammai, who lived in the first century B.C. This Rabbi said: 'We have two Torah, the written Torah (תורה שבכתב) and the oral Torah (תורה שבעל פה).' According to the Jer. Peah ii. 6 the latter are the 'more precious', while Rabbi Jochanan in Jer. Berakoth i. 7 declares that 'the words of the Sopherim are . . . more beloved than words of Torah' (see Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 14). In Berakh. 8 a, 13, B. Mez. 33 a, Chag 10 a the comparative values of the Torah and the Mishna and Talmud are dealt with, much to the disadvantage of the Torah. In the Aboda Zara 35 a R. Dimi explained Canticles i. 2 as meaning: 'the words of thy loved ones (i.e. the scholars) are better than the wine of the Law' (רברי דודיק יותר מיינה של תורה). In the late work Aboth R. N., Book i, p. 3, the consciousness of this evil is present to the writer, since it is urged that the fence (גדר) was not to be made excessive lest it should overpower the root or plant it was intended to protect (ייתר מן העיקר).

Another fact, i.e. our author's use of חֵיץ instead of סֵיף, may point in the same direction. The latter means a fence round something and סֵיף is 'to fence about', but the former is a partition-wall. Now it is quite possible that our author may have deliberately used חֵיץ instead of סֵיף. Thus by naming the fence חֵיץ the Zadokites implied that the Pharisees did not by this means so much protect the Law against profanation from without as create division among the ranks of the faithful within. We might compare St. Paul's designation of 'circumcision' (περιτομή) as mere 'mutilation' (καταστροφή) in Phil. iii. 2. It is worth noting in this connexion that whereas our author brands the abnormal growth of the oral law with the name 'partition-wall', St. Paul, in Eph. ii. 14, brands the entire Law—written and oral—with the same designation.

daubed it with untempered mortar (טחי תפל). From Ezek. xiii. 10, 11, 14, 15, xxii. 28.

22. Owing to a false prophet the builders of the party-wall did not perceive that God's wrath was stirred up against all the congregation. For the phrase, 'wrath of God,' &c., cf. i. 17.

†perturbed† of spirit, i.e. מבוהל רוח (A). B reads חולך רוח, and adds וישקל סופות (*sic*). See Appendix on p. 834 for restored text and rendering.

talked lies (מטיף כזב). So A. In i. 10 we have הטיף מאמרי כזב and in ix. 40 איש הכזב. The text, therefore, is probably sound. B reads מטיף אדם לכזב, where apparently we have a transposition of the preposition as in v. 17 above, and also of the nouns. That is, we should read מטיף כזב לאדם. Hence my rendering. It is hard to say whether the להם or the לאדם is the original. See App. on p. 834.

the wrath of God was kindled. See note on i. 17.

23. Nor that Moses said (ויאשר אמר משה). These words are the object of לא הבינו in v. 21. See last lines of Appendix on p. 834.

Not for thy righteousness . . . to inherit these nations. Quoted from Deut. ix. 5, save that our author has changed 'their land' into 'these nations' (הגוים האלה).

but because . . . the oath. From Deut. vii. 8, save that our author has replaced the sacred name יי by the pronoun and changed 'you' into 'your fathers'.

24. See v. 18 b.

the case, i.e. המשפט. God loves 'the penitents of Israel' as He loved the forefathers because they kept the covenant. The 'builders of the wall' had forsaken the covenant by introducing illegitimate changes of the Law. penitents of Israel. See vi. 1 note.

25. stirred up. A reads העירו (i.e. העעירו) and B העירו. The latter reading also gives a good sense 'admonished' or 'exhorted solemnly'. After the verb A is defective and B corrupt. Where A gives merely העירו B reads אל אחרי על העם אחרי אל. B supplies part of the missing text but the Hebrew is impossible.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 9. 26-31

A

26 the covenant of the fathers. But since He hated the builders of the wall His wrath was kindled.
27 And such (will be) the case of all who reject the commandments of God, and forsake them and turn away in the stubbornness of their heart.

B

is the covenant of the fathers. But God hates 26 and abhors the builders of the wall and His wrath was kindled against them and against all who follow after them. And such (will be) the 27 case of all who reject the commandments of God, and forsake them and turn away in the stubbornness of their heart.

IX. 28-39. *Excommunication of those who fall away from the New Covenant.*

28 This is the word which Jeremiah spake to Baruch the son of Neriah, and Elisha to his servant Gehazi. All the men who entered into the New Covenant in the land of Damascus. "

So are all the men who entered into the New 28 Covenant in the land of Damascus and yet turned backward and acted treacherously and departed from the spring of living waters.

B

29 They shall not be reckoned in the assembly of the people, and in its register they shall not be written, from the day when there was gathered in the Unique Teacher until there shall arise the 30 Messiah from Aaron and from Israel. And such is the case for all that enter into the congregation 31 of the men of the perfection of holiness. And as for him who abhors doing precepts of upright men [he is the man who is melted in the furnace], when his deeds become known he shall be expelled from the congregation, as though his lot had not fallen among them that are taught of God.

First of all על cannot stand. Next we might emend העם into בעם and add להלך from a comparison of the last clause in the next verse in B. There God's wrath is kindled against 'all *who follow after them*' (i.e. the builders of the party-wall). In contrast to these the people are exhorted to follow after God in the present verse.

theirs is the covenant of the fathers. Cf. Rom. ix. 3-4 'Israelites whose . . . are the covenants'.

26. God's wrath against and judgement (cf. v. 27) on the builders of the party-wall.

since He hated. We must here change בשונאי into בשונאו.

the builders of the wall. See vii. 1 note.

His wrath was kindled, &c. See i. 17 note.

27-28. As was the judgement on those who built the party-wall, so shall be the judgement on those who fall away from the New Covenant.

27. in the stubbornness, &c. See iii. 4 note.

28 a (A). I do not know what our author refers to.

B. the New Covenant. See viii. 15.

in the land of Damascus. Cf. viii. 6, 15, ix. 5, 38.

B. The spring of living waters, i.e. the Law. See v. 3 a, viii. 6-8.

29. They shall not be reckoned . . . written. Quoted from Ezek. xiii. 9 but with some slight changes.

לא יִשְׁבּוּ בסוד עם ובכתבו לא יִכְתְּבוּ.

the Unique Teacher. Cf. ix. 39, where again the death of this teacher is referred to. See i. 7 note.

the Messiah from Aaron and from Israel. See i. 7 note.

30. congregation, i.e. עדת.

the men of the perfection of holiness, i.e. אנשי תמים הקדש. So also in v. 33.

perfection of holiness. See v. 33, viii. 21.

31. And as for him who abhors. The text reads ויקין, which I have emended into והקין. We have here a *nominativus pendens*.

precepts of upright men, i.e. פקודי ישרים. This is probably a corruption of פקודים ישרים 'upright precepts'.

he is the man . . . furnace, i.e. הוא האיש הנתך בתוך כור. These words are in substance an interpolation from Ezek. xxii. 20. They are wholly foreign to the text. There is no question here of divine and final punishments, but of ecclesiastical.

when . . . become known. The text reads בהופע, which = 'when . . . shine forth', as in v. 49. But this meaning is impossible here and in v. 33. The word is apparently a corruption of בהורע = 'when . . . become known'. Schechter proposes בהורע = 'deteriorate'. But this is not the point here. The man abhors in thought the precepts, but it is not till his actions become known that judgement can be taken. The clause recurs in v. 33.

as though . . . not, i.e. כמו שלא. This is the only instance where we have ש for אשר in our text.

taught of God. In Isa. liv. 13 we have the phrase למורי.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 9. 32-43

B

32 According to his trespass they shall record him as a perverted man until he come back to stand in
33 the office of the men of the perfection of holiness. And when his deeds **become known**, in accordance with the midrash of the Law in which walk the men of the perfection of holiness, no man shall consent (to be) with him in wealth and labour; for all the saints of the Most High have
34 cursed him. And such shall be the case of every one who rejects the first and the last, who have
35 placed idols upon their hearts and walked in the stubbornness of their hearts. They have no share
36 in the House of the Law. With a judgement like unto that of their neighbours who turned away
37 with the scornful men, they shall be judged. For they spake error against the statutes of righteousness, and rejected the covenant and the pledge of faith, which they had affirmed in the land
38 of Damascus; and this is the New Covenant. And there shall not be unto them nor unto their
39 families a share in the House of the Law. And from the day when there was gathered in the Unique Teacher until all the men of war were consumed who walked with the man of lies about forty years,
40 [And during this period there shall be kindled the wrath of God against Israel as He said, 'there
41 is no king and no prince' and no judge, and none that rebuketh in righteousness,] Those who
42 repented of transgression (in Jacob) observed the covenant of God. Then they spake each man
43 with his neighbour (to strengthen one) another: 'Let our steps hold fast to the way of God.' And God hearkened to their words and heard, and a book of remembrance was written (before Him) for them that feared God (and) that thought upon His name until salvation and righteousness be revealed

32. record him as a perverted man, i.e. יוכירוהו אנש כענת. The text reads אנשי, which is obviously a slip. Schechter, however, retains it and inserting עם after the verb renders 'record him (with) the men of perversion'. How he can explain this Hebrew construction in אנשי מעות I cannot see.

33. become known. Emended as in v. 31.

midrash, i.e. מדרש. With the expression cf. 2 Chron. xiii. 22 'Midrash of the prophet Iddo', xxiv. 27 'midrash of the Book of Kings'. Midrash in our text means 'right interpretation' probably.

men of the perfection of holiness. See viii. 21 note.

consent, i.e. יאות. I supply להיות.

34. rejects. See v. 27.

the first and the last, i.e. בראשונים ובאחרונים. These appear to be the first recipients of the two covenants—the Law and the New Covenant.

placed idols, &c. In a symbolic sense. Cf. Ezek. xiv. 3, 1 Enoch xcvi. 7.

stubbornness of their hearts. See iii. 4 note.

35. the House of the Law, i.e. בית התורה. This clause, which recurs in v. 38, appears to be a designation of the Party. The Zadokites are *par excellence* the representatives of the Law. Bacher thinks it designates a school or a place for teaching the Law.

36. the scornful men. Cf. i. 10.

37. spake error (דברו תועה). The phrase is found in Isa. xxxii. 6.

in the land of Damascus. See viii. 6 note.

the New Covenant. See ii. 1 note.

39. when there was gathered in the Unique Teacher. Cf. ix. 29.

the Unique Teacher, i.e. יוריה היחיד. See i. 7 note.

man of lies. See i. 10 note.

40. I have bracketed this verse as an interpolation. Verse 39 is only the protasis of a sentence: the apodosis is to be found in v. 41.

the wrath of God, &c. See i. 17 note.

there is no king and no prince (אין מלך ואין שר). From Hos. iii. 4.

no judge . . . in righteousness, i.e. אין שופט ואין מוכיח בצדק—a reminiscence, as Lévi observes, of Isa. xi. 4

ושפט בצדק דלים והוכיח

41. Those who repented of transgression, i.e. שבי פשע. The phrase is from Isa. lix. 20. If we retain v. 40, we should translate 'But those who', &c.

in Jacob. So Schechter supplies the lacuna.

42. Then they spake . . . neighbour (או נדברו איש אל רעהו). From Mal. iii. 16. The letters with dots underneath are uncertain.

(to strengthen one) another. So Lévi restores the text, which reads as follows: ל(החזיק) אִישׁ אֶל אֶחָיו. Schechter's transcription of the facsimile here is inaccurate.

our steps hold fast (אֵל יִתְמַךְ צַעְדֵּנוּ בְּדֶרֶךְ אֵל). For the phrase see Prov. v. 5. I have taken צֵעֲדָם 'their steps' as corrupt for צַעְדֵּנוּ 'our steps'.

43. And God hearkened . . . name. From Mal. iii. 16. The words 'before Him' are obliterated in the MS., but there is room for לפני in the facsimile but not in Schechter's transcript.

be revealed. The MS. reads יגלה and not יעלה as Schechter deciphers.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 9. 44-53

B

44 for <them that fear God. Then shall ye return and discern> between the righteous and wicked,
45 between him that serveth God and him that serveth Him not. And He showeth mercy <unto
thousands> of them that **love Him and** keep <His commandments> for a thousand generations.
46, 47 †From the house of Peleg† that have gone out from the holy city. And they trusted in God
throughout the period that Israel trespassed and polluted the Sanctuary and returned again to
48 molten images. The people with **few** words shall **all** be judged, each according to his spirit in
49 the counsel of holiness. And as for all those who have broken down the landmark of the Law
amongst those who entered into the covenant, when there shall shine forth the glory of God to
Israel, they shall be cut off from the midst of the camp, and with all those who do wickedly of Judah
in the days of its testing.

IX. 50-54. *The faithful shall confess their sins and be forgiven and blessed.*

50 But all they who hold fast by these judgements in going out and coming in according to the Law,
and listen to the voice of the Teacher and confess before God <saying>
51 'We have done wickedly, we and our fathers,
Because **we** have walked contrary to the statutes of the covenant,
And true is thy judgement against us:'
52 And (who) lift not the hand against His holy statutes, His righteous judgement, and the testimony
53 of His truth; and are chastised by the first judgements with which the children of men were judged:
and give ear to the voice of the Unique Teacher of Righteousness: and reject not the statutes
of righteousness when they hear them:

44. From Mal. iii. 18. The words in brackets are obliterated, but **בין וראיתם וראיתם** may be regarded as having stood in the original.

45. **ועשה חסד** **לאהביו ולשמרין** [ו] **לאלף דור** <מצותיו> **לאלף דור**. This verse is a combination of Exod. xx. 6 and Deut. vii. 9. The words 'Showeth mercy unto thousands' are from the former and the rest of the verse from the latter. Cf. Dan. ix. 4. After **חסד** there is a space for six letters, i.e. for **לאלפים** = 'unto thousands'.

His commandments. Omitted by the scribe by mistake.

46. Two words have been hopelessly obliterated at the beginning of this verse, which is as a whole unintelligible.

47. The Hebrew of this difficult verse is apparently to be read as follows: **וישענו על אל בקן מעל ישראל** **וטמאו את המקדש וישבו ער אל נסך**. If the above rendering is right, the period may be that of Antiochus IV and of the Hellenizing priests before him. Lagrange has seen that **נִסְכָּךְ** is the reading, not **נִסְכִּיךָ**.

48. **with few words . . . all.** The text reads **לם** **בדברים מעט** . . . I restore the last two words as **מעטים כלם**.

49. **the landmark.** The text refers, apparently, to those who had adopted the views of the Pharisees. Cf. i. 11 note.

entered into the covenant. See ii. 1 note.

who do wickedly of Judah, i.e. **מרשיעי יהודה**. This phrase might also be rendered 'who dealt wickedly by Judah'. Cf. Dan. xi. 32.

50-53. These four verses form the protasis of the sentence: the apodosis begins with v. 54.

51. **Because we have walked.** The text reads **בלכתם** (= 'because they have walked'), but this is clearly corrupt for **בלכתנו**, since the verse refers to the first person.

53. **the first judgements.** Temporal judgements.

with which the children of men. The text reads **אשר . . . בני אנשי היחיד**, where **אנשי היחיד** may be corrupt for **אנשים בהם**. The **בהם** goes, of course, with the **אשר**. The corruption could easily arise from the presence of **מורה צדק** in the next clause. But rather **היחיד** has been wrongly transposed from the following clause, where, as in ix. 29, 39, we should read, not 'the Teacher of Righteousness', but 'the Unique Teacher of Righteousness'. In that case **אשר** can be taken as 'as to which', or we may emend **בני** into **בהם**, but the latter is unnecessary.

Unique. This epithet has been restored from the preceding clause, into which it was wrongly transposed. See the preceding note.

reject. The facsimile reads, so far as I can make it out, **אֵל ישיבו את** not **אֵל ישיבו** as Schechter deciphers it. Hence my rendering. The other construction would be difficult to explain.

the statutes of righteousness, i.e. as set forth by the Unique Teacher.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 9. 54—10. 6

- 54 They shall rejoice and be glad,
And their heart shall **exult**,
And they shall make themselves strong against all the children of the world,

And God will pardon them
And they shall see His salvation;
For they trust in His holy name.

A

X. 1-6. *A man is not to avenge himself or bear a Grudge.*

- 10 1 Every man who puts under the ban a man [amongst men] according to the ordinances of the Gentiles is to be put to death:
2 And as for that which He hath said: 'Thou shalt not take vengeance nor bear a grudge against the children of thy people,' every man of those who have entered into the covenant, who brings a charge against his neighbour whom he had not **rebuked** before witnesses, and yet brings it in his fierce wrath or recounts (it) to his elders in order to bring him into contempt,
3 is taking vengeance and bearing a grudge. But naught is written save that, 'He taketh vengeance
4 on His adversaries, and He beareth a grudge against His enemies.' If he held his peace with regard to him from day to day, but in his fierce wrath spake against him in a matter of death, he hath testified against himself because he did not give effect to the commandment of God, Who said to him,
5, 6 'Thou shalt surely rebuke thy neighbour and not bear sin because of him.' As regards the oath, touching that which He said 'Thou shalt not avenge thee with thine own hand', the man who makes (another man) swear in the open field—that is, not in the presence of the judges, or owing to their commands—hath avenged himself with his own hand.

54. **exult**, i.e. the text reads ויעלו which Schechter has rightly emended into ויעלו.
make themselves strong. This verb has already occurred in ix. 17 (B).
God will pardon them. See v. 5*a* note.

X. 1. **Every man**, &c. (כל אדם אשר יחרים אדם מאדם . . . להמית הוא). The construction להמית 'is to be put to death' is found several times in our text. See note on viii. 11. I have bracketed מאדם, i.e. 'amongst men'. But cf. Lev. xxvii. 29 מות יומת . . . מן האדם. כל חרם אשר יחרם מן האדם. This suggests that for יחרים אדם we should read יחרם and translate 'No man who is put under the ban by man', &c.

Schechter thinks that the text contains 'a prohibition against acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Gentiles (ערכאות של גוים), which is also forbidden by Rabbinic law'. But this is very doubtful.

2. **Thou shalt not . . . of thy people**. From Lev. xix. 18. See viii. 19, ix. 16 of our text.
entered into the covenant. Here מביא is to be read instead of מביא. See note on ii. 1.

neighbour. The text reads רעווי corrupt for רעווי.
whom he had not rebuked. The text reads אשר לא בהוכח, where the last word is corrupt for הוכח. Or possibly for הוכח or נוכח = 'which was not proved'. The text would then refer to slanders.

brings it, i.e. הביאו. Schechter supposes this to be a corruption for הכהו 'smites him'. But this brings in an idea alien to the context, which deals with a charge brought hastily in anger and unsustained by evidence.

3. From Nahum i. 2, save that the divine name יי is omitted. The implication here is that no consideration is due to an enemy.

4. If a man knew of his neighbour committing a capital offence and yet did not mention it till overtaken by a burst of passion, he should be accounted guilty.

If he held his peace . . . from day to day, i.e. מיום ליום. The diction here is from Num. xxx. 15.

testified against himself, i.e. ענה בו. Cf. 1 Sam. xii. 3 for this construction: there is no need to emend ענה into ענו with Schechter.

5. **Thou shalt surely . . . because of him**. From Lev. xix. 17, save that our author has changed עמיתך into רעוי.

6. **Thou shalt not avenge thee with thine own hand**, i.e. תושיעך ירך לך. The phrase is borrowed from 1 Sam. xxv. 26, 31. This verse in Samuel does not give a command, but this is a small matter in Jewish exegesis.
in the open field (על פני השדה). Cf. Lev. xiv. 7.

in the presence of. The text reads לפני corruptly for לפני.

owing to their commands. The text reads מאמרם, which can be punctuated as מאמרם = 'owing to their having (so) commanded', or 'owing to their command', but hardly as מאמרם 'their word' (Schechter); for this would give no sense here.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 10. 7-11

X. 7-9. *The law as to lost property.*

7 And as for anything that is lost, should it not be known who has stolen it from the property of the
camp in which the thing has been stolen, its owner shall **proclaim** (it) by the oath of cursing, and
8 whoso hears, if he knows and declares it not, shall be held guilty. As for any restitution made by
him who returns that which has [not] an owner, **he who returns (it)** shall confess to the priest, and
9 (that which was lost) shall be **given back** to him, besides the ram of the guilt-offering **to the priest**.
And so everything (that was) lost (and) found and has no owner shall **be given** to the priests; for
he who found it knows not its law. If its owner is not found they shall take charge (of it).

X. 10-17. *The Number of Witnesses necessary in the case of Capital and other Offences. The Character of the Witnesses.*

10 If a man in any matter trespasses against the Law and his neighbour and none but he sees
it, if it be a matter of death, he shall make it known to the Censor in the presence of the
accused in discharging the duty of reproof: and the Censor shall write it down with his own
11 hand: If he do it again before **another**, he shall return and make it known to the Censor.

7-9. These verses refer to lost property. *vv.* 7-8 refer to lost property, the owner of which is known:
v. 9 to lost property, the owner of which is unknown. This is clearly the meaning, though the text is corrupt
and needs to be emended.

7. According to Deut. xxii. 1-3 restoration of a lost article was to be made to its owner, if a 'brother' or
'neighbour'. According to the *Baba Kamma* 113*b* (where there is a long discussion on this and kindred
questions) such restoration was not to be made to a Gentile. According to the Rabbis there was in Jerusalem
a 'stone of decision' (אבן מועין?) to which the losers and finders of property came, and had its ownership settled
(*Baba Mez.* 28*b*).

And as for anything that is lost, i.e. וכל האובד. According to later Hebrew this could be translated
'and as for any one who loses (anything)'. But the context is in favour of the classical meaning of אבד here.
The question first and foremost is that of lost property, not of the losers of it. The latter question necessarily
follows. When property is lost, the loser is either known or unknown.

from the property of the camp, i.e. ממאד המחנה. This extraordinary use of this word recurs in xiv. 10.
Else I would propose מאדם = 'of the people of the camp'. Lévi feels dissatisfied and suggests מתוך 'from
the midst of the camp'.

proclaim, i.e. ישמיע emended from ישיבע by Schechter. If we retain the text, render 'shall adjure (the
people concerned) by the oath of cursing'.

8. **restitution made by him who returns**, i.e. אשם משיב. I have here emended מושב into משיב, just as
a few words later המושב must be changed into המשיב. The phrase להשיב האשם 'to return the compensation'
is found in Num. v. 7, 8.

which has [not] an owner. The negative is here an intrusion. The Hebrew is אשר אין בעלים. The
אין was inserted by an unintelligent scribe, in the place of a lost לו or לה. Schechter, Lévi, and Lagrange have
failed to observe this intrusion and therefore to see the meaning of the text.

<that which was lost> . . . to the priest. The MS. reads והיה לו לבר מאיל האשם הכל, which Schechter
accepts and translates 'and it shall all belong to him besides the ram of the guilt-offering'. But this is
manifestly wrong. The priest in neither case became the owner of the lost property. Where the owner was
unknown they were to take charge of it till he was discovered: where the owner was known it was, of course, to
be restored to him. The priest's share in such a case was the ram of the guilt-offering. Now in the text it is
clear, first of all, that הכל is corrupt for לכהן. Thus we get 'besides the ram of the guilt-offering to the priest'.
The preceding words then must refer to the owner of the lost property, but the restoration of the original is
doubtful. Possibly we might retain the text והיה לו and translate 'and it (i.e. the lost property) shall become
his', i.e. that of the man who lost it. But the property could not well *become* his, since it was his already.
Accordingly in my translation I have supposed that האובד has fallen out before לבר and emended והיה into
ונתן or ושוב. It is also possible that the text ran ונתן לאובד לבר 'and it shall be given back to him that lost
it', &c. Lévi emends הכל into הכפורים and Lagrange excises it. But the emendation I have suggested appears
to satisfy every requirement.

9. **shall be given**. The text reads והיתה 'shall belong', which I have emended into ונתנה.

10-12. Three witnesses required in the case of a capital offence.

10. **the Censor** (המבקר). This official corresponded to the ἐπιμελητής of the Essenes and to the ἐπίσκοπος
of the Early Christians. See note on xvi. 1.

in the presence of the accused in discharging the duty of reproof, i.e. לעיני בהוכיח. But the words
may be corrupt for לעיני הנוכח 'in the presence of the impeached'.

11. **If he do it**. The text reads ער עשותו, which I have emended into אם יעשהו as at the beginning of
the next verse.

another. The text reads אחד, which I have emended into אחר. Cf. *v.* 12.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 10. 12—11. 3

- 12, 13 If he shall be caught again before **another**, his judgement shall be executed. And if they are two and they witness against him (each) on a different thing the man shall be only excluded from the Purity, provided that they are trustworthy, and that on the day on which they have seen the man they make it known to the Censor. And according to the statute (they shall) accept two trustworthy witnesses, and **not** one to exclude the Purity†. And there shall arise no **witness** before the judges to cause a man to be put to death at his mouth, whose days have not been fulfilled so as to pass over unto those that are numbered (and who is not) a man who fears God. None shall be believed as a witness against his neighbour who transgresses a word of the commandment with a high hand until they are cleansed through repentance.

XI. *Regulations as to the Judges of the Zadokite Party.*

- 11 1, 2 And this is the order in reference to the judges of the congregation. (They shall amount) to ten men selected from the congregation according to the time (defined); four of the tribe of Levi and Aaron, and six of Israel learned in the Book of †the Hagu† and in the Ordinances of the Covenant, 3 from five and twenty years old even unto sixty years old. But none shall be appointed when he is

13. If only two witnesses appear and their testimony relates to different charges, the man is to undergo a form of excommunication. Yet see *v.* 15.

14. <they shall> accept. Only the letters בלו or בלו survive. But probably Schechter is right in restoring יקבלו.

and not one. So Lagrange well emends the text ואל אחד into ואל אחד. Cf. Deut. xix. 15.

15. The meaning of this verse is somewhat doubtful. If it refers to a witness it means that a certain age and character were required in a witness.

there shall arise no witness (אל יקום ער). The words are from Deut. xix. 15. For ער the text corruptly reads עור. But it is possible that עור should be retained, and the verse understood of the qualification of a judge. 'None, moreover, shall become (יקומו) which is possibly the real reading of the MS.) judges to put a man to death at his word whose . . . and who do not fear (ולא יראים) instead of (ירא) God.' The other rendering is more probable.

at his mouth (על פיהו). Cf. Deut. xvii. 6.

to pass over unto those that are numbered (לעבור על הפקודים). The phrase is from Exod. xxx. 13, 14. It seems here to denote the age at which a man attained his political majority—in other words, was reckoned in the census of the males of the nation.

<and who is not> (ולא). Supplied with Schechter.

16. with a high hand (ביר רמה). Num. xv. 30.

XI. 1. order. See ix. 1.

2. according to the time (defined), i.e. לפי העת. This may mean the period of office or the date of election. Or, again, the phrase might be translated 'according to the circumstances' (Lévi), the number 'ten' not being always necessary.

tribe of Levi and Aaron. Cf. Ps. cxxxv. 19 sq. for a like terminology.

the Book of †the Hagu†, i.e. ספר ההגו. Cf. xv. 5, xvii. 5. I have, with some hesitation, marked this phrase as corrupt. It was possibly a secret book of halachic decisions or, at all events, a book the knowledge of which was necessary for the rulers of the Party. Nothing is known of Hagu. It is possible that we have in ההגו a corruption of הגי, i.e. Haggai. Now we know that a number of halachoth are attributed in the Talmud to Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi as the last three prophets, Naz. 53 a, Chull. 137 a, just as certain legal decisions were assigned to Moses; nay, more, we know that at times the name of Haggai alone was put forward as the source of certain traditions, Kidd. 43 a, and that it was claimed by teachers of later generations that they sat in his actual chair, Jeb. 16 a. Certain decisions are traced to him: that it was permissible to bring sacrifices independently of the existence or presence of the Temple, Mid. iii. 1; Zeb. 62 a (?) (מקריבין אף על פי), Jer. Naz. ii. 7: that the month Adar should be intercalated, Rosh ha-Shanah 19 b. Besides these several others are attributed to him. See *Jew. Encyc.* vi. 146.

It is possible, therefore, that a book may have circulated under Haggai's name, which contained traditional lore, seeing that in after times many traditions were said to be derived from Haggai. If there was such a book it is not improbable that it is that referred to in our text. That the book in our text was not the prophetic book of Haggai is clear; for the books of the prophets are freely quoted, whereas the knowledge of this book is committed to the leaders of the Party, and it is probably, therefore, a secret book containing traditional decisions: cf. xvii. 5.

Lévi suggests that the book in question was a treatise commencing with the word הגי 'mediate'.

Ordinances (or 'Foundations'), i.e. יסודי. Cf. viii. 21.

from five and twenty years old, &c. This was the age at which the Levites began to serve: cf. Num. viii. 24.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 11. 4—13. 7

4 sixty years old and upward to judge the congregation. For through the trespasses of man his days were minished, and when the wrath of God was kindled against the inhabitants of the earth, He commanded their intelligence to depart from them before they completed their days.

XII. *Levitical Law as to Bathing.*

- 12** 1 As to being cleansed in water. No man shall wash in water (that is) filthy or insufficient for a
2 man's **bath**. None shall cleanse himself in the waters of a vessel. And every pool in a rock in
which there is not sufficient (water) for a **bath**, which an unclean person has touched, its waters shall
be unclean like the waters of the vessel.

XIII. 1—11. *Laws regarding the Sabbath.*

- 13** 1 As to the Sabbath, to observe it according to its law, no man shall do work on the sixth day from
the time when the sun's orb in its fullness is still without the gate, for it is He who has said, 'Observe
the Sabbath day to keep it holy.'
2, 3 And on the Sabbath day no man shall utter a word of folly and vanity. No man shall lend aught
4, 5 to his neighbour. None shall dispute on matters of wealth and gain. None shall speak on matters
6 of work and labour to be done on the following morning. No man shall walk in the field to do the
7 work of his business. On the Sabbath none shall walk outside his city more than †a thousand†

4. trespasses, i.e. מעל.

his days. ימיו is to be read instead of ימו.

his days were minished. Cf. Jub. xxiii. 9 'After the Flood (the days of the forefathers) began to grow less . . . by reason of the wickedness of their ways'.

commanded their intelligence to depart from them, &c. אמר לסור את דעתם עד לא ישלימו את ימיהם. Cf. Jub. xxiii. 11. 'Their knowledge will forsake them by reason of their old age' (?) or 'their godlessness').

XII. 1. **insufficient for a man's bath.** The text reads מעוטם מרי דמרעילא איש. I have emended the impossible מרעיל into מרחץ. Schechter emends into מטביל, and translates מרי מטביל איש 'not sufficient for the immersion of a man'. But is this rendering possible?

waters. MS. reads במה corrupt for במי.

2. **every pool . . . in which there is not sufficient water.** According to Yoma 31 a the cubical contents of such a pool should be one cubit wide, three cubits long, and one cubit deep—the size of an average human body—שכל גופו עולה בהן. Cf. Lev. xv. 13. See also Erub. 4 b, Pes. 109 a, Suk. 6 a.

for a bath. The text reads מרעיל, which I have emended into מרחץ.

like. ב of the MS. is to be changed into ב.

XIII. 1. This verse deals with the time before and after the Sabbath that should be observed as the Sabbath. Technically it was called the הוספה 'addition'. This view is practically enforced in Shabb. 150 a, where it is forbidden to carry on work to the very beginning of the Sabbath or renew it at its very close. In Yoma 81 a the addition before and after the Day of Atonement is treated of. The object is given in the words מיסיפין מחול על הקדש.

sun's orb, i.e. גלגל השמש. In Talmud חמה. Cf. 1 Enoch lxxviii. 4 (= κύκλος τοῦ ἡλίου), which postulates this very phrase.

in its fullness . . . gate. That is, the gate where it sets. On the various gates where the sun sets, see 1 Enoch lxxii. The text reads מרחוק מן השער מלואו. And the literal translation is: 'is distant from the gate as to its fullness.' This means just before the sun touches the horizon.

Observe the Sabbath . . . holy. From Deut. v. 12.

2. **a word of folly and vanity**, i.e. דבר נבל ורק, where רק, as Lévi has pointed out, is corrupt for ריק. Schechter compares דברי חול, i.e. matters of a secular nature, and refers to Shabb. 150 a. The source of the regulation is found in Isa. lviii. 13 'Call the Sabbath a delight . . . not speaking (thine own) words'. Perhaps we should, with Bacher, read דבר וריק as in Isa. xxx. 7.

3. **No man shall lend aught to his neighbour.** אל ישה ברעהו כל. The phraseology is from Deut. xv. 2, but not the sense. According to Shabbath 148 a a man might ask wine or oil from his neighbour on the Sabbath, provided he did not say 'lend them to me'. Lévi rightly observes that this prescript is not in place here, and proposes ישה instead of ישה = 'let no man complain aught of his neighbour'. It is strange that both Schechter and he mistranslate ישה as 'exact a debt'.

5. **on the following morning**, i.e. למשכום. This use of the words is Mishnaic: it occurs in Bikk. iii. 2.

6. **to do.** לעשות. Perhaps we might render 'to prepare' or 'to provide for'. Cf. Oxf. Heb. Lex. 794 b.

of his business. The text reads חפצי, which with Lagrange (cf. xiii. 11) I have changed into חפצו.

7. †a thousand†. Here אלף is corrupt for אלפים. Cf. v. 14. 2,000 cubits was the limit of a Sabbath day's journey: cf. Erubin iv. 3, v. 7. See Jub. l. 8 note.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 13. 8–24

8 cubits. No man shall eat on the Sabbath day aught save that which is prepared or perishing (in the
9, 10 field). Nor shall one eat or drink unless in the camp. (If he was) on the way and went down to
11 wash he may drink where he stands, but he shall not draw into any vessel. No man shall send the
son of a stranger to do his business on the Sabbath day.

XIII. 12. *Laws as to unclean Garments.*

12 No man shall put on garments that are filthy or were brought by a Gentile unless they were washed
in water or rubbed with frankincense.

XIII. 13–27. *Laws regarding the Sabbath.*

13, 14 No man shall **fast** of his own will on the Sabbath. No man shall walk after the animal to pasture
15 it outside his city more than two thousand cubits. None shall lift his hand to smite it with (his) fist.
16 If it be stubborn he shall not remove it out of his house. No man shall carry anything from the
house to the outside or from the outside into the house, and if he be in the vestibule he shall not
17 **carry** anything out of it or **bring** in anything into it. None shall **open** the cover of a vessel that
18 is pasted on the Sabbath. No man shall carry on him spices to go out or come in on the Sabbath.
19, 20 None shall lift up in his **dwelling** house rock or earth. Let not the nursing father take the sucking
21 child to go out or to come in on the Sabbath. No man shall provoke his manservant or his maid-
22 servant or his hireling on the Sabbath. No man shall help an animal in its delivery on the Sabbath
23, 24 day. And if it falls into a pit or ditch, he shall not raise it on the Sabbath. No man shall

8. **save that which is prepared.** See Jub. ii. 29, l. 9 note; Beza i. 2.

(**in the field**) (i. e. בשרה). Only two out of the four letters are to be made out.

10. (**If he was**). We must with Lévi understand אה היה. What follows is at the beginning of a new page
in the MS. and there may be a gap here.

he shall not draw into any vessel. The same command is given in Jub. l. 8.

11. Cf. Shabbath 150 a, where a man is not allowed to commission his neighbour to do what he might not do
himself on the Sabbath. Here of course it is a non-Jew that is referred to.

12. **Gentile.** The text reads גו, which Schechter emends into גוי.

13. **fast.** The text reads יתערב, to which Leszynsky proposes to attach the meaning 'to set an 'erub'.
I propose יתענה 'shall afflict himself by fasting', 'shall fast'. It was forbidden to go without food till noon on
the Sabbath, Jer. Taan. iii. 11; Judith viii. 6. In Jub. l. 12 fasting is strictly forbidden on the Sabbath and feasting
enjoined, l. 9–10. It was the duty of every good Israelite to take three or four meals on the Sabbath, Shabb. 117 b,
and these of the best food procurable, *op. cit.* 118 b. Lévi, Bacher, and Kohler propose יתערב.

14. See *v.* 7.

16. Cf. Jub. ii. 29.

No man shall carry anything, &c. This law is derived from Jer. xvii. 21, 22, 24, 27. Cf. Neh. xiii. 19.
It is enforced in Jub. ii. 29, l. 8. It is also a Rabbinic law: cf. Shabbath vii. 2.

carry . . . bring. Read יוציא and יביא instead of יוצא and יבא respectively. The natural difficulties brought
about by this law were got over by the Pharisees by the principle of 'Erub or the merging of several private
precincts into one in order to transfer food or vessels to any distance desirable beyond the 2,000 paces, which
was called the Sabbath limit (תחום השבת). This regulation is worked out in the Mishnah Tractate Erubin.

the vestibule (or 'entrance'), i. e. מוֹבֵה, which may be corrupt for the Hebrew מבוֹה or the late Hebrew מבוֹי.

17. **open.** For פתח we must read יפתח.

18. This law is found in Shabbath vi. 3 (? 3).

19. **his dwelling house.** The MS. reads בית מושבת. The second word is corrupt for מושבו. The phrase is
found in Lev. xxv. 29. Schechter emends מושבת into ביום שבת. If this were the idea then it would be best to
restore בשבת as in the next verse.

20. **the nursing father . . . child,** i. e. ישא האומן את הנוק. From Num. xi. 12. According to Shabbath xviii. 2,
a woman might lead a child out on the Sabbath only on the condition that the child makes certain movements
with its feet.

21. **his hireling.** We must change שוכרי into שכירו.

22. This regulation is found in Shabbath xviii. 3 in reference to a feast day—ביום טוב—אין מילדין את הבהמה ביום טוב—but it is added that notwithstanding 'they give help' (אבל מסעדין), and then the various kinds of help are
enumerated.

23. This regulation has a close parallel in Shabb. 128 b, where Rabba Jehuda in the name of Rab says
that if an animal falls into a well it is lawful to provide it with food if possible; but, if not, mattresses and
cushions are to be placed under it that it might get out by its own exertions. The implication here is that
it might not be raised by human agency from the pit as in our text. Yet other views are advanced. Cf. Beza
iii. 4, where it is said that, 'if a firstling fall into a pit . . . a wise man will descend and . . . raise it up.'

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 13. 25—14. 5

25 rest in a place near to the Gentiles on the Sabbath. No man shall suffer himself to be polluted [the
26 Sabbath] for the sake of wealth or gain on the Sabbath. And if any person falls into a place of
27 water or into a place of . . . he shall not bring him up by a ladder or a cord or instrument. No man
shall offer anything on the altar on the Sabbath, save the burnt-offering of the Sabbath, for so it is
written †‘Excepting your Sabbaths’.

XIV. 1–4. *Levitical Laws as to Uncleaness.*

14 1 No man shall send to the altar burnt-offering or meat-offering or frankincense or wood through
the hand of a man (that is) unclean through any of the uncleannesses allowing him to defile the
altar, for it is written: ‘The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination, but the prayer of the righteous
2 is like an offering of delight.’ And none of those who enter into the house of worship shall enter
3 when he is unclean even though washed. And when the trumpets of the Congregation sound, it shall
be (done) before or after, and they shall not put an end to the whole service: (the Sabbath) is holy.
4 No man shall lie with a woman in the city of the Sanctuary to defile the city of the Sanctuary by
their impurity.

XIV. 5. *Law as to Necromancy.*

5 Any man who is ruled by the spirits of Belial and speaks rebellion shall be judged by the judge-
ment of the necromancer and wizard.

Cf. Yoma viii. 6, 7, where it is said that the question of life takes precedence of other questions. The teaching
in our text conflicts strongly with Luke xiv. 5.

24. **rest.** יִשְׁבֹּת must be changed into יִשְׁבֹּת. Schechter notes that a similar law prevailed among the
Samaritans and Karaites, comparing Wreschner, p. 14 sq.

25. **suffer himself to be polluted,** i. e. יָחַל—that is, ritually by contact with the dead (Lev. xxi. 4). In
Lev. xxi. 1–4 the exceptions are enumerated in which a man might submit to such defilement. What our text
seems to demand is that even in these cases defilement should not be incurred on the Sabbath.

[the Sabbath]. A scribe’s slip. Schechter would emend יָחַל into יִחַל in order to explain this phrase.
But the sense would then be unsatisfactory.

26. If the text is complete as it stands, then its teaching is in conflict with Yoma 84 b, where it is distinctly
taught that life should be saved on the Sabbath תִּנּוּ רַבָּנִן מִפְּקָדִין פְּקוּדָה נֶפֶשׁ בַּשַּׁבָּת. The following instances are
given: if a child fall into the sea, it may be saved by means of a net; if into a pit, by a ladder. Apparently the
person might be saved if he could be saved without resort to the means just mentioned.

27. This verse is corrupt.

†**Excepting your Sabbaths**†. Cf. Lev. xxiii. 38. The meaning here given to מַלְבֵּד is found in the LXX
and Vulg. Our author attaches quite a different meaning to Lev. xxiii. 38 in his interpretation of it.

XIV. 1. **allowing him,** i. e. לְהַרְשׁוֹתוֹ. Lévi compares Sir. iii. 21 הוֹרִישִׁית.

The sacrifice . . . but the prayer. These words are from Prov. xv. 8. The words ‘of the righteous . . .
of delight’ (צִדִּיק) אֵם כִּמְנוּחַת רִצּוֹן) are a partial paraphrase of the words that follow in Prov. xv. 8 ‘of the upright
is His delight’.

2. **the house of worship,** i. e. אֵל בֵּית הַשְׁתַּחֲוֹת. Though this phrase is, so far as is known, never applied to
a Jewish place of worship, there is no inherent reason why it should not. In Shek. vi. 1 it is stated that thirteen
bows or prostrations were made (generally) in the Temple בְּמִקְדָּשׁ הָיוּ עֲשֶׂה הַשְׁתַּחֲוִיּוֹת and fourteen by the
houses of Gamaliel and Hananiah. Cf. Isa. lxvi. 15. Lévi defends it as applied to the Temple, but sug-
gests that possibly the text may be corrupt for אֵל בֵּית אֵל לְהַשְׁתַּחֲוֹת ‘into the house of God to worship’.
Bacher takes it as referring to a synagogue. We might compare Zech. xiv. 16, where it is said that all that
remain of the Gentiles shall go up to Jerusalem to worship (לְהַשְׁתַּחֲוֹת).

though washed (כִּבּוּשׁ). Cf. 2 Chron. xxiii. 19. Schechter inserts בְּלִי before this word and so obtains
‘without washing’. Cf. Lev. xv. 10. Probably the latter is right.

3. **Congregation,** i. e. קָהָל, as in v. 6.

4. This verse is not directed against lawful cohabitation, but against carnal union that was accompanied by
some ceremonial impurity; for the word for ‘impurity’ here is נִדָּה. This impurity was due to the menstruation
of the woman. In the Pss. Sol. viii. 13 the Sadducean priests are charged with approaching the altar when
stained with this defilement. See note on vii. 8. There is no ground for proposing the violent emendation of
it into בְּיוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת. We might compare Isa. xlviii. 2, lii. 1 עִיר הַקֹּדֶשׁ.

5. Cf. Lev. xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 11.

ruled by the spirits of Belial. For the idea and expression cf. Jub. i. 20, x. 3.

speaks rebellion, i. e. דִּבֶּר סָרָה, from Deut. xiii. 6. Cf. our text, viii. 2.

necromancer and wizard, i. e. הַאֹבֵב וְהַיִּדְעוֹנִי.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 14. 6-15

XIV. 6. *Law as to the Sabbath.*

6 And he whom he leads astray into profaning the Sabbath and the Feasts shall not be put to death ;
but it shall be the duty of the sons of man to watch him ; and should he be healed of it, they shall
watch him seven years and then he shall come into the Congregation.

XIV. 7-11. *Laws as to Intercourse with the Gentiles.*

7 None shall stretch out his hand to shed the blood of any man from among the Gentiles for the
8 sake of wealth or gain. Nor shall he take aught of their wealth lest they blaspheme, unless by
9 the counsel of the Community of Israel. No man shall sell an animal or bird that is clean to the
10 Gentiles, lest they sacrifice them. Nor shall he sell them aught from his threshing-floor or his
11 winepress for all his property. Nor shall he sell them his manservant or maidservant who entered
with him into the covenant of Abraham.

XIV. 12-16. *Laws as to unclean Foods and Causes of Uncleaness.*

12 No man shall make himself abominable with any living creature or creeping thing, by eating of
13 them : or of the defilements of bees or of any living creature that moveth in the waters. Nor shall
14 fish be eaten unless they were split alive and their blood was shed. But all the locusts after their
15 kind shall come into fire or into water whilst they are still living, for this is the manner of their
creation. And all wood and stones and dust which are polluted by the uncleanness of man are

6. he whom he (i.e. Belial) leads astray into profaning, i.e. כל אשר יתעה לחלל. We have here the case of all but involuntary sins through demonic influence. With the text cf. Isa. xxix. 24 חעי רוח ; xxviii. 7. We may also translate : 'he who goes astray so as to profane.'

it shall be the duty of the sons of man to watch him, i.e. על בני האדם משמרו. For the construction cf. 1 Chron. ix. 27, where we have משמרת.

8. Community, i.e. חבור. Cf. the phrase on the coins of the Maccabees חבר היהודים.

9. The Jews were forbidden to sell large cattle or calves, provided they were 'undamaged' (שלמים), to the Gentiles, Abod. Zarah i. 6, on the ground that they might be made to work on the Sabbath, *op. cit.* 15 a. It was forbidden to sell hens to Gentiles when it was suspected that they were required for idolatrous worship, 14 ab.

10. for all his property, i.e. בכל מאדו. That is, when the Gentile would give all that he had for it. See note on x. 7.

11. The Gentile who had become a Jew could not be sold to a Gentile.

12. No man shall make himself abominable with any... creeping thing. From Lev. xi. 43. See our text, viii. 20.

by eating of them (לאכל מהם). Cf. Lev. xi. 42.

or of the defilements of bees. The text reads מענלי הדבורים. Since ער follows, it would seem that we have here the idiom ער...מן, i.e. 'both...and', or in this context 'or...or'. Besides, מענלי is meaningless. Nor is ענלי better. Accordingly, I have emended מענלי into מנעלי or rather מנאלי. Hence the above rendering. Schechter simply takes "מענלי הר" in the sense of "כוורות הר" 'beehives'. But there seems to be no ground for this identification, and even if it were just, it would be of no service; for one does not eat a beehive. Schechter himself suggests here that as the bee was an unclean insect, Bechoroth 7 b, the text may refer 'to particles of the bees which are mixed up with the honey', and that 'though Rabbinic Judaism had no scruples in this respect and allowed the honey as it came from the beehives (see Shulchan Aruch, Joreh Deah, § 81)... the Karaites... insisted on a preparation of the honey (through filtering)'. This suggestion supports the above emendation.

or of any living... waters. From Lev. xi. 46 with the change of הרמשת into תרמוש.

13. Schechter thinks that this regulation is 'directed against the Rabbinic opinion permitting the eating of the blood of the fish. See Sifra 39 a, and Kerithoth 20 b.' The Samaritans 'forbade the eating of fish that died in the water or were found dead on the shore'. Lévi points out that in the Pirke R. Eliezer ix the blood of fish must be shed.

14. In the Pirke R. Eliezer ix (Lévi) it is said that locusts are not created from water. Schechter compares Chullin 27 b and deduces from it the conclusion that the mode of killing should be connected with the element out of which the animal was created.

15-16. Our text declares unconditionally that the wood, stones, dust, nails, and pegs in a house are made unclean by the uncleanness of the man. Schechter says that this regulation is in contradiction to the Rabbinic law. But this is only partially true. For according to Kelim xii. 7, unfinished wooden vessels, unless the wood was box, were capable of pollution, and likewise tent-pegs (יתדות המשוחות), *op. cit.* xiv. 3. According to Kelim vi. 1, if three stones were secured together with lime to support a pot on the floor, they were subject to pollution. Similarly with regard to two stones. But if one stone was secured with lime and the other not, it was not subject to pollution. As to whether a nail (מסמר) under certain conditions, Kelim xii. 5, was capable of pollution or not, Rabbi Aqiba and the wise were at variance. But all were agreed that, if a nail was driven in with a view to fastening an object, it was capable of pollution. In short, in place of all this hair-splitting and

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 14. 16—16. 1

16 **polluted like them.** According to their uncleanness shall be unclean he who toucheth them. And every instrument, nail, or peg in the wall which is with the dead in the house shall be unclean, **like** the uncleanness of an instrument of work.

XV. 1-3. *Summary Reference to Laws of Uncleanness.*

15 1 The regulation of the dwellers in the cities of Israel, according to these judgements, that a difference may be made between the unclean and the clean, and to make known (the difference) between the 2 holy and the common. And these statutes are to give instruction so that the whole nation may 3 walk in them according to the Law always. And according to this law shall walk the seed of Israel, and they shall not be cursed.

XV. 4-6. *The Ruler to be a Priest or a Levite.*

4 And this is the regulation of the dwellers (according to which they should) act during the period of the wickedness until there arises the Messiah (from) Aaron and Israel, up to ten men at least, 5 to thousands and hundreds and fifties and tens. And when there arise ten, the man who is a priest learned in the Book of †the Hagu† shall not depart. According to his word shall they all be ruled. 6 And if he is not expert in all these, but a man of the Levites is expert in these, the lot shall be that all those that enter into the camp shall go out and come in according to his word.

XV. 7-8. *Law as to Leprosy.*

7 And if there be a judgement regarding the law of leprosy which is in a man, then the priest shall 8 come and stand in the camp, and the Censor shall instruct him in the true meaning of the law. And (even) if he is lacking in understanding he shall shut him up; for unto them (i.e. the priests) is the judgement.

XVI. *The Duties of the Censor.*

16 1 And this is the regulation of the Censor of the camp. He shall instruct the many in the works of

endless casuistry, our text simply declares that the uncleanness of a man affects the uncleanness of the objects he touches or is near. It is not certain, however, whether our text implies direct or indirect contact. It is probably the latter. If so, its teaching would agree with that of the Sadducees (as against the Pharisees), who extended the power of pollution from direct to indirect contact, Yad. iv. 7.

15. **are polluted like them.** The text reads **לְנֹאֲלֵי שְׁמוֹ בָהֶם**, which Schechter has emended into **יִנְאֲלֵי כְמוֹתָם**.

16. **like.** For **ב** we must read **כ**.

XV. i. This verse is of the nature of a title and a fresh statement.

regulation. See note on ix. 1.

dwellers in the cities, i.e. **מִיֹּשְׁבֵי עִירֵי**. I have here taken the first word in a collective sense: cf. 2 Sam.

ix. 12; 1 Kings x. 5, &c. But see *v.* 4, xvi. 9.

according to. **כִּי** is to be supplied after **עַל** with Schechter.

that a difference . . . between the unclean and the clean. Quoted from Lev. xi. 47.

between the holy and the common. From Lev. x. 10.

2. **to give instruction.** **לְמַשְׁכִּיל** is to be emended into **לְהַשְׁכִּיל** with Schechter.

always, i.e. **עַתָּה וְעַתָּה**. So Schechter restores the text.

4. **dwellers** (**מִיֹּשְׁבֵי**) or 'settlement' as Schechter renders it. Cf. xv. 1, xvi. 9.

(according to which . . .) act. According to Schechter the text runs: . . . **תְּהִלָּה . . .**, which may, with Lévi and Lagrange, be restored **אֲשֶׁר יִתְהַלֵּל (כֹּה בֹן)**.

the period of the wickedness. See i. 5 note.

the Messiah. See on i. 7.

up to . . . thousands. For **עַד** Lagrange suggests **מִן** and **עַד** in place of **ל** before **אֲלֵפִים**, and so arrives at the rendering, 'from ten at least to a thousand'.

5. **Book of †the Hagu†.** See xi. 2 note.

According to his word shall they all be ruled, i.e. **עַל פִּיהוּ יִשְׁקוּ כֹּלָם**. This doubtful Hebrew is modelled on the equally doubtful Hebrew in Gen. xli. 40.

6. **shall go out and come in according to his word.** From Num. xxvii. 21.

8. The priest was to act in any case.

A similar law, Schechter points out, is to be found in Neg. iii. 1.

lacking in understanding, i.e. **פְּתִי**.

XVI. 1. **the Censor**, i.e. **הַמְבַקֵּר**. See x. 10. In Judaism there were officials who went under this name. Their duty was to examine the bodies of the animals brought for sacrifice in order to guard against blemishes. See Keth. 106 *a*; Jer. Bez. ii. 61 *c*.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 16. 1—17. 5

God, and shall make them understand His wondrous mighty acts, and shall narrate before them the things of the world **since its creation**. And he shall have mercy upon them as a father upon his children, and shall for(give) all **that have incurred guilt**. As a shepherd with his flock he shall loose all the bonds of their knots . . . oppressed and crushed in his congregation. And every one who joins his congregation, he shall reckon him according to his works, his understanding, his might, his strength, and his wealth. And they shall record him in his place in accordance with his **position** in a lot of the (camp). No man of the children of the camp shall have power to bring a man into the congregation (without) the word of the Censor of the camp. Nor shall any man of them who have entered into the covenant of God do business (with) the children of **the pit** (un)less hand to hand. No man shall do (a thing as buy)ing and sell(ing) un(less he has spoken) to the Censor of the camp, and he shall do (it in the ca)mp and not . . . and so to him who casts forth . . . they, and he who is not connected with . . . And this is the settlement of the camps. All . . . shall not succeed to settle in the land. . . . that have not come from the day that Ephraim departed from Judah. And as for all who walk in these the covenant of God standeth fast unto them to save them from all the snares of the pit, for suddenly. . . .

XVII. 1-5. *The four Orders of the Community.*

17 1, 2 And the regulation of the dwellers of all the camps is : They shall be numbered all by their names, 3 the Priests first, the Levites second, the children of Israel third, and the proselyte fourth. And they shall be recorded by their names one after another, the Priests first, the Levites second, the 4 children of Israel third, and the proselyte fourth. And so they shall be seated and so they shall 5 ask with regard to every matter. And the Priest who numbers the many (shall be) from thirty years old even unto sixty years old, learned in the Book (of the Hagu and) in all the judgements of the Law to direct them according to their judgements.

His wondrous mighty acts, i.e. גבורות פלא. The text reads the second word as פלאי. On the phrase cf. v. 5. things, i.e. נהיות. Cf. ii. 7.

since its creation. The text reads בפרתיה 'in detail', which I have emended into מבריותו.

2. **forgive**. The text is imperfect, i.e. . . . ויש, which I complete as יסלח, i.e. יסלח: cf. ii. 3, where the noun (סליחות) derived from this verb occurs. See also v. 3. This forms a good parallel to 'have mercy' (ירחם) in the preceding clause.

all that have incurred guilt, i.e. כל המחויבים. So I emend מרחובם. Perhaps the original was simply כל חובם 'all their guilt'.

3. **As a shepherd does his flock**. From Isa. xl. 11.

loose . . . their knots (יתר כל חרצובות קשריהם). Cf. 1 Enoch v. 10; Dan. v. 12 משרא קטרין. Also Isa. lviii. 6 (Lévi) חרצובות רשע הטר.

oppressed and crushed. Deut. xxviii. 33. These words are in the masc. sing.

5. **position**. The text reads כפי יהותו which I take to be a corruption of כפי היותו, which I find Lévi has already proposed.

of the (camp), i.e. ה(מחנה). So also Lévi.

6. **shall have power**, i.e. ימשול.

without. There is a gap here. Supply בלא.

7. **entered into the covenant of God**. See ii. 1 note.

Nor . . . do business, i.e. the Rabbinic phrase אל ישא ואל יתן. Cf. Shabb. 31 a, B. Mezia 48 a.

children of the pit. So Laszynsky emends בני השחר 'sons of the morning' into בני השחת. Cf. viii. 12. Schechter proposes בני הנכר as in xiii. 11.

8. **a thing as buying or selling**. So Schechter restores the text דבר למקח ולמכר.

him who casts forth, i.e. מַנְיֵשׁ, which could mean also 'common land' if differently pointed.

9. **settlement**. See xv. 4 note.

11. This fragment of Isa. vii. 17 has already been quoted in ix. 3 and with the same divergence from the Massoretic text, i.e. למיום for מיום.

12. **And as for all . . . standeth fast unto them**. These words have already occurred in viii. 21.

suddenly. The following letters ונענו are legible, which Lévi would complete as ונענו 'shall be wounded'.

XVII. 5. **the many**. The Hebrew reads אש before these words corruptly for את.

from thirty years . . . sixty years old. These words could be connected with 'the many', i.e. the congregation as a whole, but the next verse is in favour of making them refer to the priest.

learned in the Book (of the Hagu). See note on xi. 2.

learned, i.e. מבוגר as in xi. 2.

to direct them, &c. לדברם כמשפטם.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 17. 6—19. 1

XVII. 6–8. *Duties of the Censor.*

6 And the Censor who is over all the camps shall be from thirty years old even unto fifty years
7 old, a **master** in every counsel of men, and in every tongue . . . According to his word shall come
8 in those who enter the congregation every man in his due order. And as regards any matter on
which it shall be incumbent for any man to speak, he shall speak to the Censor in regard to any
suit or cause.

XVIII. 1–5. *Almsgiving.*

18 1, 2 And this is the regulation for the many in order to provide for all their needs. The wages of
two days every month is the rule. And they shall give it into the hands of the Censor and the
3 judges. From it they shall give . . . and (from) it they shall strengthen the hand of the poor and
4 the needy. And to the aged man who . . . to the vagrant and him (who) was taken captive of
5 a strange people. And to the virgin who has (no dot) (and to him whom) no man careth for: every
6, 7 work . . . and not . . . And this is the explanation of the settlement . . . And this is the
8 explanation of the judgements which . . . (The Messiah from) Aaron and Israel. And He will
9 pardon our sins . . . in money and he shall know . . . punishment six days and who shall
10 speak . . . against Mos(es) . . .

XIX. *Laws as to Oaths.*

19 1 . . . (Shall not swe)ar either by Aleph Lamed or by Aleph Daleth, but by the oath (written) in

6. **from thirty years old**, &c. The Levites were to enter on office the thirtieth year according to Num. iv. 3, 23, 30; 1 Chron. xxiii. 3: the twenty-fifth according to Num. viii. 23–26: the twentieth according to Ezra iii. 8; 1 Chron. xxiii. 24, 27; 2 Chron. xxxi. 17.

a **master in every counsel**, i.e. בעל בכל סוד. Here I have changed the MS. reading בעל בעול into בעל. Lagrange has here anticipated me. Lévi emends into בחון 'expert'.

7. Cf. xvi. 4, 6.

in his due order, i.e. בְּתָרוֹ. Cf. Esther ii. 12 for the idiom.

8. **suit or cause**. 2 Sam. xv. 4.

XVIII. 1. the regulation for the many. סֵדֶר הָרַבִּים.

to provide for, &c., i.e. לְהַכִּין כָּל הַפְּצִיחָם.

2. **two days**, i.e. שְׁנֵי יָמִים. This is one possible way of reading the MS. according to Schechter. The other, he says, is חֲרוּמָתָן הָם. But this, though he translates it, is not possible in itself, nor does it, even if corrected, give any fitting sense.

the rule, i.e. הַמִּשְׁפָּט.

3. **give** . . . The MS. is torn and faded here. Schechter thinks that עם . . . בעד can be made out, and suggests בעד עניים 'for the poor'. But as the phrase עֲנִי וְאֶבְיֹן occurs immediately after, this is unlikely. Possibly the original was בעד לויים 'on behalf of the Levites'. But the matter is wholly uncertain.

and from it. The text reads מִנִּי ו .

strengthen the hand of the poor and the needy, i.e. מַמְנֵן יְחֻזִּיקוּ בִיד עֲנִי וְאֶבְיֹן. From Ezek. xvi. 49.

4. **the vagrant**, i.e. אֲשֶׁר יָנוּעַ. But the reading is doubtful.

to him who. Text reads , , לֹא, i.e. לֹא־שָׁר.

5. **and to him whom**. וְלֹא־שָׁר is to be read here; for after the preceding words there is room for four letters. For the clause, see Jer. xxx. 17.

7. (The Messiah from). See note on i. 7.

8. **And He will make atonement**. Since in the other four passages where atonement is mentioned God is the agent, we conclude that it is so here. See v. 5 note.

9. **money**, i.e. כֶּסֶף. Cf. Aboth ii. 12 כֶּסֶף עֲלֶיךָ כֶּסֶף for the earliest use of this term.

10. **Mos(es)**. Doubtful. The next line, which is the last of the page in the MS., is lost.

XIX. It is quite uncertain whether this chapter, which begins with the top of the next page, follows immediately on what precedes. One or more folios may be lost.

1. **swear**. There is room for יִשָּׁבַע at the beginning of the line, but only ע remains.

by Aleph Lamed or by Aleph Daleth, i.e. וְגַם בְּאֵלֶּף וְגַם בְּאֵלֶּף דַּלֶּת. That is, the first two letters respectively of the divine names, אֱלֹהִים (Elohim) and אֲדֹנָי (Adonai). The divine names were used freely in oaths by the Jews. In Shebuoth iv. 13 it is said that if a man adjure another by the divine names, Aleph Daleth, Jod-He Shaddai, &c., he is under obligation; but not if he adjures by the terms 'by heaven and earth'.

משביע אני עליהם . . . הרי אלו חביבין: בשמים ובארץ הרי אלו פטורין: באלף דלת ביד הי בשדי . . . בכלן חיב. They were allowed to swear by the Temple, Jerusalem, or their own heads. See Lightfoot on Matt. v. 33–36. The Samaritans, according to Jer. Sanh. 28 b (Schechter), were accustomed to use the sacred name of Yahweh in their oaths.

but by the oath. This restrictive clause shows that no form of the divine name was to be used in taking

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 19. 2—20. 1

2, 3 the curses of the covenant. But the Law of Moses he shall not mention, for . . . And if he swears
4 and transgresses he profanes the Name. And if by the curses of the covenant . . . the Judges.
5 And if he transgress he shall be held guilty: but if he confess and make restitution he shall
6 not bear (the penalty) of death. And whosoever in all Israel shall enter into the covenant by a statute
7 for ever, together with their children who are (not of an age) to pass over into the number of those
8 who are enrolled by the oath of the covenant, shall confirm it on their behalf. And this is also
9 the law throughout the entire period of the wickedness for every one who returns from his corrupt
10 way. On the day when he speaks with the Censor of the many they shall enrol him by the oath
11 of the covenant that Moses established with Israel—the covenant to re(turn to the Law of
12 M)oses . . . with all (his) heart . . . (and with all his) soul: as regards that which there is found
13 to be done †by them† . . . And no man shall make known to him the laws until he stand before the
14 Censor (who) shall **search out** concerning him when he examines him. And when he imposes it
upon him to return to the Law of Moses with all his heart and all his soul . . . of him if . . .
And every thing that was revealed of the Law with regard to a suit . . . in him . . . the Censor
him and shall command him . . . until . . . killed him . . . and the madman and all . . . (*loss of*
five lines) covenant with you and with the whole of Israel. Therefore the man shall impose it
upon himself to return to the Law of Moses; for in it everything is accurately treated.

XX. 1. *Reference to the Book of Jubilees.*

20 1 And as for the exact statement of their periods to put Israel in remembrance in regard to all
these, behold, it is treated accurately in the Book of the Divisions of the Seasons according to
their Jubilees and their Weeks.

an oath. Only the oath of the covenant was allowed. In 2 Enoch xlix. 1–2 swearing by heaven or earth or any
other 'created thing' was forbidden. The Essenes forbade all swearing: cf. Jos. *B. I.* ii. 8. 6; Philo ii. 458.

written. So Lévi supplies the lacuna.

2. This seems to mean that a man is not to swear by the Law.
for. There is a loss of ten to twelve letters here.

3. ואם ישבע ועבר וחלל את השם. This verse is a paraphrase of Lev. xix. 12. A false oath is a profanation
of the divine name.

4. covenant. Schechter proposes to fill up the lacuna by יובא לפני 'shall be brought before'.

5. he shall be held guilty. Cf. the concluding words of Lev. v. 2, 3, 4.
confess. Cf. Lev. v. 5.

the penalty. I restore the lost word by עניש. Cf. Prov. xix. 19.

6. This verse is difficult. The rendering I have given is purely tentative. The text seems to be corrupt.

The lacuna is possibly to be supplied as follows: אשר (לא).

together with their children, i.e. את בניהם. We have only הבא before = 'he who enters', but this is taken
as the plural.

pass over into the number of those who are enrolled, i.e. לעבור על הפקודים. This phrase is from Exod.

xxx. 13 or 14. With these words we should perhaps connect 'by the oath of the covenant' as in v. 8.

shall confirm it. The text reads יקמו, which is to be emended to יקמו 'shall confirm'.

7. period of the wickedness. See i. 5 note.

8. enrol. See note on v. 6.

—the covenant. The text is grammatically impossible.

9. to return to the Law of Moses. The text is to be restored as in v. 11 ל(תורת מ)שה.

10. search out. The MS. is torn in the middle of the word, which, according to Schechter, looks like יחפוד,
and which he emends into יחפוש. So I have rendered. It is worth noting that the two verbs חפש and דרש
are combined in Lam. iii. 40.

11. imposes it upon him, i.e. יקים אותו עליו. Cf. Esther ix. 21, 31. It could also be reflexive: i.e. 'imposes
it upon himself'. Cf. Esther ix. 27, 31.

to return to the Law of Moses. Cf. v. 14, xx. 2.

12. a suit. Cf. xvii. 8. Of the next two lines only odd words survive, and the remaining eight (?) lines
are wholly lost.

14. impose it upon himself. Here I emend יקום into יקים and נפשך into נפשו. See v. 11 note.

to return to the Law, &c. See v. 11.

accurately treated. i.e. מדויק. A Talmudic term.

XX. the exact statement of their periods. This phrase has already occurred in ii. 8.

to put Israel in remembrance in regard to all these. The text reads מכל אלה which I have
emended into להזכיר יש" בכל אלה.

the Book of the Divisions of the Seasons according to their Jubilees and their Weeks. This
appears to be the Book of Jubilees, though, among the many titles under which this book was known, this title
nowhere appears. (See my edition, p. xiv sq.) It recalls the Prologue to this book, which runs: 'This is the

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK 20. 2-12

XX. 2-12. *Laws as to Oaths and Vows.*

2 And on the day on which the man imposes it upon himself to return to the law of Moses the
3 angel of Mastema will depart from him if he make good his word. Therefore Abraham was
4 circumcised on the day of his knowing it. As to what he said, 'That which is gone forth from
5 thy lips thou shalt keep' to make it good—No binding oath, which a man imposes upon himself
with a view to perform a commandment of the law, shall he **cancel** even at the risk of death.
6 Nothing which a man (imposes) upon himself with a view to (frustrate the la)w shall he make
7 good even at the risk of death. (As for) the oath of the woman, whose oath Mos(es sa)id should
8 be disallowed, no man shall disallow an oath which no man knew. It is to be confirmed. And
whether it be to disallow or to transgress the covenant, he shall disallow it and not confirm it.
9 And so is also the law for her father. As to the law of the of(fer)ings no man shall vow anything
10 for the altar under compulsion. Nor shall the (pr)iests take anything from the Israelites . . .
11 (Nor) shall a man dedicate the food . . . this is what he said, 'They hunt every man his brother
12 with a net.' Nor shall de(vote) . . . of all . . . his possession . . . holy . . . shall be punished
he . . . who takes a vow . . . to the judge . . .

history of the division of the days . . . of the events of the years, of their weeks, of their jubilees.' Here, as in
our text, 'the weeks' are 'weeks of years'.

2. **imposes it upon**, &c. See xix. 11, 14. The text reads יקום here, which may be right, i.e. 'stand upon
himself to return to'. But it may be best to read יקים.

angel of Mastema. Cf. Jubilees x. 8, xi. 5, 11, xviii. 9, &c.

4. **That which is gone forth**, &c. Quoted from Deut. xxiii. 24.

5. **binding oath**, i.e. שבועת אסר. This phrase is from Num. xxx. 13.

cancel. The text יפרהו 'redeem' is emended into יפרהו as Schechter suggests.

risk of death, i.e. מוחיר מות.

6. **imposeth**, i.e. יקים of which only the מ survives.

to frustrate the law, i.e. להפר התוֹרָה.

7. (As for). We may supply על here as in v. 9 and xiii. 1.

Moses said, i.e. אמר משה.

should be disallowed. Cf. Num. xxx. 6-9.

which no man knew, i.e. אשר לא ידע(נה) אדם.

It is to be confirmed. i.e. להקים הוא. Cf. viii. 12 on this construction.

8. The same rule holds with regard to the law and the covenant.

9. **offerings**, i.e. הנדבֿות.

under compulsion. Cf. 2 Cor. ix. 7 'Not grudgingly nor of necessity'.

10. **the priests**, i.e. הכהנים.

11. **They hunt every . . . net**. The text reads הרם . . . דו. איש את ע. דו. which is to be restored in accordance
with Micah vii. 2 אחיהו יצודו הרם. איש את.

12. The fragments here translated are all that survive of eight (?) lines of the MS.

APPENDIX ON IX. 22 a.

This clause is clearly derived from Mic. ii. 11 והיה מטיף העם הזה . . . לזו איש הלך רוח ושקר כזב. Our
author says that the Pharisees heed neither the facts of the present as to God's wrath against the nation nor the
words of Moses in the past owing to a false prophet. The clause referring to this false prophet is corrupt both
in A and B, but by a comparison of the two we can in some measure recover the original. A and B are as
follows—the words dependent on Micah, whether corrupt or not, being underlined—

A מבוהל רוח ומטיף כזב הטיף להם
B הולך רוח ושקל [מופת סופות] ומטיף אדם לכזב

Here מבוהל in A is a wrong emendation of הולך which B has preserved. Next, שקל in B is corrupt for שקר
as in Mic. ii. 11. But the corruption שקל led to the addition of סופות in order to give some meaning to שקל.
שקל is a dittograph of סופות. Again, כזב as object of מטיף in A seems right and not לכזב. Further, אדם
cannot be right, whereas להם can stand. Hence we would restore as follows:

הולך רוח ושקר ומטיף כזב הטיף להם

and translate: 'For one who walked in the spirit of falsehood and talked lies talked to them.'

Of course, it would be possible to translate בכל אלה, which I have rendered 'despite all these things', as
meaning 'all these things', and render thus: 'But all these things they . . . perceived not . . . (i.e.) that the
wrath of God . . . Nor that Moses said . . .'

INDEX TO VOLS. I AND II

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED IN THE INDEX

THE references are to chapter and verse in the case of references to the Text, to the chapter and verse under which the note is given in the case of references to the notes, and to sections in the case of references to the Introductions to the various books.

§ prefixed to a number indicates that the reference is to a section in the Introduction to the Book in question.
† prefixed to a word or name indicates a corrupt reading.

		VOL.	PAGES
A. & E.	Books of Adam and Eve	II	123-154
Add. Esth.	Additions to Esther	I	665-684
Ah.	Aḥikar	II	715-784
Apoc. Mos.	Apocalypse of Moses (text given in Books of Adam and Eve)	II	138-154
Arist.	Letter of Aristeeas	II	83-122
Ass. Mos.	Assumption of Moses	II	407-424
Azar.	Prayer of Azariah and Song of the Three Children	I	625-637
1 Bar.	First Book of Baruch, Apocryphal Baruch	I	569-595
2 Bar.	Second Book of Baruch, Apocalypse (Syriac) of Baruch	II	470-526
3 Bar.	Third Book of Baruch	II	527-541
Bel	Bel and the Dragon	I	652-664
1 En.	First Book of Enoch, Ethiopian Enoch	II	163-281
2 En.	Second Book of Enoch, Slavonic Enoch	II	425-469
Ep. Jer.	Epistle of Jeremy	I	596-611
1 Esd.	First Book of Esdras	I	1-58
4 Ez.	Fourth Book of Ezra	II	542-624
Jub.	Book of Jubilees	II	1-82
Judith	Judith	I	242-267
1 Macc.	First Book of Maccabees	I	59-124
2 Macc.	Second " "	I	125-154
3 Macc.	Third " "	I	155-173
4 Macc.	Fourth " "	II	653-685
Mart. Is.	Martyrdom of Isaiiah	II	155-162
P. A.	Pirkē Aboth, or Sayings of the Fathers	II	686-714
P. Man.	Prayer of Manasses	I	612-624
Ps. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon	II	625-652
S. A. & E.	Slavonic Vita Adae et Evae. See A. & E.	II	134-136
Sib.	Sibylline Oracles (Jewish)	II	368-406
Sir.	Sirach or Ecclesiasticus	I	268-517
Sus.	Susanna	I	638-651
Test.	Testaments	II	282-360
T. A.	Testament of Asher	II	342-345
T. B.	" " Benjamin	II	354-360
T. D.	" " Dan	II	332-335
T. G.	" " Gad	II	339-342
T. Iss.	" " Issachar	II	325-328
T. Jos.	" " Joseph	II	346-354
T. Jud.	" " Judah	II	315-325
T. L.	" " Levi	II	304-315
T. N.	" " Naphtali	II	335-339
T. R.	" " Reuben	II	296-300
T. S.	" " Simeon	II	300-303
T. Z.	" " Zebulun	II	328-332
Test. App. I	First Appendix to the Testaments, i. e. Late Hebrew Testament of Naphtali, containing Fragments of the Original Testament	II	361-363
Test. App. II	Second Appendix to the Testaments, i. e. Aramaic and Greek Fragments of an Original Source of the Testament of Levi and the Book of Jubilees	II	364-367
Tob.	Tobit	I	174-241
Wisd.	Book of Wisdom	I	518-568
Zad.	Zadokite Fragments	II	785-834

INDEX

Aaron, 1Esd. 8² Sir. 45^{6-22,25}
Wisd. 18²¹ 1En. 80^{18,31,37} 2Bar.
59¹ 4Macc. 7¹² P.A. 1¹² Zad.
8³; glory of, Sir. 45²⁰; seed
of, 1Macc. 7¹⁴; son of, 4Macc.
7¹²; sons of, 1Esd. 1^{13,14} 5⁵
Tob. 17⁽⁶⁾ Sir. 50^{13,16}.
— and Israel, judges from, Zad.
11^{1,2}; Messiah from, 9¹⁰ (B)
2⁹(B) 15⁴ 18⁸; religious re-
vival from, 15⁸ 8³. *See* Mes-
siah, Zadokite Party.
— Levi and, Zad. 11²; cf. 15⁶.
See Levi.
— Moses and, arose through
Prince of Lights, Zad. 7¹⁹.
Ab, the month, Ah. 3^{9,11} (Syr.).
Abadias, 1Esd. 8³⁵.
Abal, Bel. 2.
Abba Shaul, P.A. 2¹¹.
Abdera, Arist. 31.
Abel, Jub. 4^{1,2,4,7,31} A. & E.
22^{3,4,5} 23^{1,2} 48^{4,6} Apoc. Mos.
1⁸ 2² 3^{1,3} 40³ 43¹ 1En. 22^{6,7}
85^{3,4,6} T. Iss. 5⁴ T.B. 7⁴ 4Macc.
18¹¹.
Abel-Maul, T.L. 2^{3,6}(β).
Abelsjail, 1En. 13⁹.
Abestan, wife of Ahikar, Ah.
4^{6,8,12,16} 6^{3,6} (Arm.). *See* Esh-
faghi.
Abhorred. *See* Nations.
Abietes, Arist. 50.
Abikam, feigned name of Ahi-
kar, Ah. 6^{9,10} (Arm.) 6^{9,10,11,12,13}
(Syr.) 61^{2,14,15-24} (Arab.).
Abila, T.L. 6¹.
Abimelech, Jub. 24^{8,13,17,26}.
Abimelech, 3Bar. *Prolog.* 2.
Abiram, 4Macc. 2¹⁷. *See* Dathan.
Abisue, 1Esd. 8².
Abodes, God's four on earth,
= Garden of East; Mount of
East; Mount Sinai; Mount
Zion, Jub. 4²⁶.
Abomination, Sir. 13²⁰ 15¹⁸ 19²³,
of desolation set up on the
altar, 1Macc. 15⁴⁴*n.*; pulled
down, 6⁷.
Abominations, Sir. 27³⁰ 49² P.
Man. 10.
Abracus, Arist. 48.
Abraham, 1Macc. 2⁵² 12²¹
2Macc. 1² Tob. 4¹² 14⁷ Judith
8²³ Sir. 44¹⁹⁻²¹ 51¹² x Wisd.
10⁵ 1Bar. 2³⁴ Azar. 12, Add.
Esth. C^{8,30} Jub. 17 61^{18,19} 15^{7,11},
15,17,18,22-24,26,30 16^{1,2,7,10,13-15},
80 17^{1,2,4-6,8,15-17} 18^{1,10,12-14,17}
19^{1,3,8,10,11,15,16} 20¹ 21¹ 22^{1,4,5},
16,23,26 23^{2-7,9,10} 24^{1,2,10,18,22,23}
25^{5,7,17} 26²⁴ 27^{11,22} 29^{4,16,17,19}
31^{5,7,25,32} 32^{22,23} 33²¹ 35¹⁴ 36¹⁻³,
6,12,20 39⁶ 41²⁸ 44⁵ 45^{3,15} 48⁸
1En. 80¹⁰ 93⁵ T.L. 6⁹ 81⁵ 91¹²
15⁴ 18^{6,14} 19⁵ T.Jud. 17^{5(a)} 25¹
T.D. 7² T.N. 1¹⁰ T.A. 7⁷ T.
Jos. 6⁷ T.B. 1² 10^{4,6} Test.
App. 18^{3,6} 9⁶ 10² II 11, 17, 22,

57 Ass. Mos. 3⁹ 2Bar. 4⁴ 57¹
4Ez. 6⁸ 7¹⁰⁶ Ps.Sol. 9¹⁷ 18⁴
4Macc. 7¹⁹ 9²¹ 13¹⁷ 14²⁰ 15²⁸
16^{20,25} 17⁶ 18^{1,21,23} P.A. 3¹⁶
5^{3,4,9,22} 6¹¹ Zad. 4^{2,3} 20³; be-
loved of God, Azar. 12; burns
idols, Jub. 12¹²; chose not his
own will, Zad. 4²; chose the
Lord for his God, and kept
holy Hebrew language, Test.
App. I 8^{3,6}; circumcised on
day he knew the Law, Zad.
20³; death of, Jub. 23¹⁻⁸;
delivered the commandment
to Isaac and Jacob, Zad. 4³;
dying commands of, Jub. 21ⁿ.
T.L. 9¹² Test. *App.* II. 16,
17; faithful in temptation,
1Macc. 2⁵²; great exploits of,
Jub. 11¹⁹⁻²³; house of, Jub.
22²⁴; judgement of, Jub. 41²⁸;
last words to, and blessing of,
Jacob, Jub. 22¹⁰⁻³⁰; learns
Hebrew, Jub. 12²⁵⁻²⁷; loves
Jacob more than Esau, Jub.
19¹⁵⁻³⁰; = plant of righteous
judgement, 1En. 93⁵; prayers
of, Jub. 11¹⁷ 12¹⁹⁻²¹ 22⁶⁻⁹;
recorded friend (of God), Zad.
4²; resisted the evil inclination,
Zad. 4²⁻³; seed of, Ps. Sol. 9¹⁷
18⁴; Shield of, i.e. God, Sir.
51^{12x}; sons of, 4Macc. 61^{7,22}
18²³; Spartans of stock of,
1Macc. 12²¹; tower of, Jub.
29^{16,17,19} 36²⁰; trials of, Jub.
17^{17,18}—ten, 19⁸ P.A. 5⁴; =
white bull, 1En. 89¹⁰; words
of, Jub. 25⁶ 39⁶. *See* Abram.
Abraham, an elder, Arist. 49.
Abram, Terah's uncle, Jub. 11¹⁴.
Abram = Abraham, Terah's son,
Jub. 11^{15,18-20,23,24} 12^{1,9,12,15,16}
13^{1,11,13-15,19,21,23-26,28,29} 14^{1,12},
18,18,20-24 15^{1,3,7}; name changed
to Abraham, 15⁷.
Absalom. *See* Jonathan.
— *See* Mattathias.
— envoy of Maccabaeans,
2Macc. 11¹⁷ cf. 1Macc. 13¹¹.
'Absolution' pronounced by
priest, Sir. 50²¹*n.*
Abstinence from wine and flesh,
T.Jud. 15⁴ T. Iss. 7³.
Abtalion, P.A. 1^{10,11}.
Abu Samik, the executioner,
Ah. 4⁹ 5⁸⁻¹⁰ 7^{24,25} (Arab.). *See*
Ibn Samik, Nabusemakh, &c.
Abubus. *See* Ptolemy, son of A.
Abusmaq, the executioner, Ah.
4^{8,9,11,12} 5^{8,9,10} 7⁷ (Arm.).
See Nabusemakh, Nabu-
miskun.
Abydos, Sib. 5⁸⁶.
Abyrus, river, 3Bar. 4⁷.
Abyss, the, Sir. 24⁵*n.* 2En. 28³
2Bar. 59⁵.
— or depths, dried by the look
of God, 4Ez. 8²³*n.*

Abyss, in 1En.—217; of com-
plete condemnation, 1En. 54³;
of fire, 1En. 10¹³ 18¹¹ 21⁷ 54⁵
90²⁸⁻²⁶; of the earth, 1En. 88³;
a great, = place of destruction
for the earth, 1En. 83^{4,7};
a narrow, deep, horrible, and
dark, 88¹; in the midst of the
earth, 90²⁶, cf. 26¹; place of
punishment, *see* Gehenna.
Abysses, 1En. 77³ T.L. 3⁹; of
the earth, 1En. 89⁷; of the
ocean, 60⁷; of the sea, 60⁹.
See also Chasm, Deep, Depth,
Ravine, Valley.
Accaba, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
Accepting person, Sir. 4²⁷.
Accos. *See* Eupolemus.
Accursed, the, 1En. 22¹¹ 27².
See Valley.
Accusation, false, Sir. 26⁶.
Achar, 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁷.
Achbor, Jub. 38^{22,23}.
Acheron, 1En. 17⁶*n.* Sib. 5⁴⁸⁵.
Acherusian lake, Apoc. Mos.
37³.
Achilles, Sib. 3⁴²⁷.
Achior, leader of Ammonites,
Judith 5^{5,22} 61^{2,3,5,10,13,16,20} 11⁹
14^{5,6,10}.
Achipha, 1Esd. 5³¹.
Achish, king of Persia, Ah. 3⁷
(Arab.). *See* Akhi, Shah.
†Achior, T.Jud. 3^{3,4}(β).
Achuzan, 2En. 64² 68⁵.
Acting presumptuously. *See*
Presumptuously.
Acub, 1Esd. 5³¹.
Acud, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
Ada, Reuben's wife, Jub. 34²⁰.
Adaeus, Arist. 47.
Adam, Tob. 8⁶ Sir. 33¹⁰ Wisd.
71 10¹ Jub. 23 31^{-3,6,8,9,15,21,25},
27,30,32 47^{10,29} (death) 16⁸
19^{24,27} 22¹³ A. & E. 2² 31⁻³ 4²
5¹ 6¹ 7^{1,2} 8¹ 9² 10³ 12^{1,2} 13^{1,2}
14³ 17^{1,3} 18¹ 19³ 20^{1,3} 21² 22¹,
24⁵ 23^{2,3} 24^{1,2} 25¹ 30^{1,4} 31²
32¹ 35^{1,3} 36¹ 40^{1,2} 41³ 42^{2,6} 43¹
44¹ 45^{1,2} 46² 48^{1,4,5,6} 49¹ S.A.
& E. 28^{1,2} 32^{1,2} 33^{1,3} 34²⁻⁴
35^{1,2} 36^{1,3,4} 37¹ 39¹ 40¹ Apoc.
Mos. 11^{1,2} 21^{2,4} 32³ 41² 51⁴ 63³
71 81 91⁻³ 13^{2,3} 15³ 21^{1,3} 22²
23^{1,4} 24¹ 27^{2,4} 28¹⁻³ 29^{2,4,5} 31¹,
3 32⁴ 33³ 34² 35⁴ 36¹ 37^{2,3} 39¹
1En. 32⁶ 37¹ 85⁶⁻⁷ Sib. 3²⁴
5²²⁸⁻²⁴⁶*n.* 2En. 30¹⁰⁻¹³ 31^{1,3,6}
33¹⁰ 41¹ 58¹⁻³ 2Bar. § 10, 4³ 17²
18² 23⁴ 48⁴² 54^{15,19} 56⁶ 3Bar.
4^{8,16} 9⁷ 4Ez. 3^{10,21,26} 4³⁰ 65^{4,56}
71^{1,70,116,118}; = angel, a second,
2En. 30¹¹*n.*; animals subjected
to, 2En. 58³; buried by angels,
A. & E. 48⁴⁻⁶; created alone,
Wisd. 10⁴*n.*, of earth, Sir. 33¹⁰;
creation of, 2En. 30¹⁰⁻¹²; fall
of, Jub. 3²¹ Sib. 5²²⁸⁻²⁴⁶*n.*; four
letters of, 2En. 30¹³ Sib. 3²⁴;

God came to earth for his sake
at creation, 2En. 58^{1,2,3}; hand-
writing of, 33¹⁰; in Eden, 31¹
—five and a half hours in Para-
dise, 32¹; lord on earth, 31³;
named from the four quarters
of the world, 30¹³*n.*; pre-emi-
nence of, Sir. 49¹⁰*n.*; Satan's
designs against, 2En. 31⁶;
source of death, physical, 2Bar.
23⁴*n.*; premature, 54¹⁶*n.* 56⁶;
spiritual, 48⁴²*n.*; transgression
of, brought death, physical and
psychical declension, spiritual
evil, 2Bar. § 10, 4Ez. § 10 (1).
Adam of own soul, each is,
2Bar. 54¹⁹.
Adam, Apocalypse of. *See*
Adam, Testament of.
Adam, Second, the, doctrine of,
Sir. 49¹⁶*n.*
Adam, Testament or Apoca-
lypse of, A. & E. § 4.
Adam and Eve, in place of
punishment, 2En. 41¹; penance
of, A. & E. 11⁻¹¹³.
Adam and Eve, Books of, ac-
count, § 1; author, a few of
Diaspora, § 7; bibliography,
§ 10; composite text, § 6; date
of original text, § 5, of ver-
sions, § 5^a; influence on later
literature, § 8; MSS., § 3; re-
lation of to 2Enoch, 2En.
§ 4; theology of Apoc. Mosis,
A. & E. § 9; titles, § 2; Ver-
sions, ancient, § 4.
Adam and Eve, Conflict of, A. &
E. §§ 4, 8; Life of, Slavonic,
A. & E. § 4²².
Adam, city, Jub. 13²³.
Adar, month, 1Esd. 7⁶ 1Macc.
7^{43,49}; twelfth month, 2Macc.
15³⁶; Add. Esth. B⁶ E²⁰ F¹⁰.
Adar-Sheni, intercalary month,
1Macc. 9³*n.*
Adasa, 1Macc. 7^{40,45}.
Adataneses, city, Jub. 7^{15,17}.
Adath, son of Barad, Jub. 38^{19,20}.
Adath, Jub. 38²³.
Addi, 1Esd. 9³¹.
†Addition, a feast, Jub. 32^{27,29}.
Addo, i.e. Iddo, 1Esd. 6¹.
Addus, 1Esd. 5³⁴.
Adiaphotos = Cain, Apoc. Mos.
1³.
Adibaa, Jub. 34²⁰.
Adida, city, 1Macc. 12⁸⁸ 13¹³.
Adin, 1Esd. 8³².
Adinu, 1Esd. 5¹⁴.
Adnarel, 1En. 82¹⁴.
Adoil, 2En. 25^{1,2} (A) Idoil (B).
Adonikam, 1Esd. 5¹⁴ 8⁸⁹.
Adora, 1Macc. 13²⁰. *See* Adu-
ram.
Adoran the Aramaean, Jub. 38³.
See Aduram.
Adu, 2Bar. 5⁵.
Aduel, Tob. 1¹.

INDEX

Adullam, own, 2Macc. 12³⁸
T.Jud. 8².
Adullamite, Jub. 41¹⁴.
Adultery, Sir. 23²⁵; danger of, 9⁹; death penalty for, Sus. 22; procedure in case of, 32, 34 *n.*
Aduram, place = Adora, Jub. 38⁸.
Aduram, of Aram, Jub. 37⁹.
See Adoran.
Adversity, Sir. 12⁸ 20⁹ 40²⁴; advantageous, 20⁹.
Advocate for Israel = Moses, Ass. Mos. 11¹⁷.
Aedias, 1Esd. 9²⁷.
Aeneas, descendants of, Sib. 34¹².
Aeon, the mighty, a Stoic conception, Sib. 3⁵².
Aesop, Ah. §§ 2, 3. *See* vol. II, 780 sqq.
Aesora, Judith 4⁴.
Aetolia, Sib. 34³⁶.
Aferag = Phrygia (?), Jub. 8²⁷.
Afflicted, the, Sir. 4^{3,4,8}.
Affliction, day of, Sir. 31⁵ 61⁰; time of, 21¹ 22²³. *See* Day.
Afra = Africa, Jub. 81⁵.
Agagite, Add. Esth. A17ⁿ.
Agar, sons of, 1Bar. 3²⁸.
Agathocles section of Polybius' history, 3Macc. § 5, 15²⁵⁻³³.
Age, coming, 4Ez. 7⁴⁷ 81⁵², delight to few but torment to many, 7⁴⁷, hope of, in divine compassion ultimately, 71³²⁻¹⁴⁰, not yet awake, 7⁸¹, solution of all difficulties, 4²²⁻⁸² *n.*, symbolized by Jacob, 6⁸; consummated, 1En. 16¹, *see* Consummation; first, 4Ez. 67; passing, 6²⁰; present, 71¹² 81², hastening to its end, 4²⁶, hopeless, 4²⁷, symbolized by Esau, 6⁹; world-age, divided into twelve parts, 14¹¹.
Aged, the, Sir. 8⁶ *n.* 25⁶ 32 (G 35)³, cf. 6⁸⁴; advice to learn from, 8⁹; respect for, 8⁹; wisdom of, 25³⁻⁶.
Ages, two, 4Ez. 7⁵⁰.
Aggaba, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
Aggaeus, i.e. Haggai, 1Esd. 61⁷⁸.
Agia, 1Esd. 5³⁴.
Agrippa, farm of, 3Bar. *Proh.* 2 *n.*
Aguaron = Gomorrha, Mart. Is. 21¹⁶ *n.* *Read* Samaria.
Ahab, Mart. Is. 21^{2,13,15}.
Ahaziah, son of Ahab, Mart. Is. 21¹³⁻¹⁶.
Ahikar, Tob. 121²² 210 111¹⁸ 141¹⁰ § 8 iii; dependence of Tobit upon, § 8 iii; parallels of, with Sirach, Sir. § 7 (b); references to in Tobit, originality of, Tob. § 9.
Ahikar, story of, account of, Ah. § 1; antiquity of, § 2; materials for critical determination of text, § 4; (a) Aramaic papyrus, Story of Sudhana Avadana; (b-g) Versions, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Greek, Slavonic, Syriac; quotations and references, § 3; (a) Democritus; (b) Tobit parallels; (c) Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs; (d) O.T.; (e) N.T.; (f) Koran.
Ahitob, 1Esd. 8².

Ahitophel, P.A. 6⁸.
Ahitub, Judith 8¹.
Ahuzzath, Jub. 24²⁶.
Ai, Jub. 13^{9,15}.
Air, Satanail's place in, 2En. 29⁹.
Akabia ben Mahalalel, P.A. 31.
Akac, 1En. 69¹⁵.
Akatan, 1Esd. 8³⁸.
Akhi, king of Persia and Elam, Ah. 37 (Syr.). *See* Achish, Shah.
Akiba, Rabbi, 1Bar. § 9 ii P.A. 31¹⁸⁻²⁰.
Akkos, 1Esd. 5³⁸.
Akrabbatine, 1Macc. 5³.
Akrabbim, †forest of, Jub. 29¹⁴.
Alagar Zagar = Salmanassar, Mart. Is. 3².
Alcimus, 1Macc. 7^{5,9,12,20,21,23,25} 91⁵⁴⁻⁵⁷; desires to be high priest, 7⁶ *n.*; gets high-priesthood, 7⁵⁻⁹ 2Macc. 14^{3,13,26}; dies, 1Macc. 9⁶⁶; pulls down wall of sanctuary's inner court, 9⁶⁴.
Alema, 1Macc. 5²⁶.
Alexander and Aristobulus, sons of Herod, Zad. §§ 1, 6, 12. *See* Messiah.
Alexander Balas, Sib. 388⁸-400 *n.*; 'a side-shoot', 387; Alexander Epiphanes, i.e. Balas, 1 Macc. 10¹ *n.* 4, 15, 18, 23, 47, 48, 49, 51, 59, 68, 88 111^{2,3,8,9,12,14,16,18,17,39}; killed, 111¹⁷.
Alexander the Great, 1Macc. 11¹⁷ 6² 1En. 89⁵⁹ *n.* 90¹ *n.* Sib. 487⁻⁹⁶ 54⁻⁷; divides his empire, 1 Macc. 1⁶.
Alexander Jannaeus, 1En. 38⁸ *n.* 103^{14,15} *n.* T.L. 14⁶ *n.*; dispute of, with Pharisees, Sus. § 7.
Alexandra, 1En. § 7.
Alexandria, 3Macc. 31 Arist. 22, 109, 173 Sib. 5⁸⁸; Jewish community at, Arist. 308, 310; Jews at, rulers of, of Sadducean type, Wisd. 14ⁿ. *See* Temple.
Alexandrian citizenship, 3Macc. 280 321.
Alexandrine Canon included Sirach, Sir. § 8; doctrine absent from Add. Esth. § 7; ideas in 2 Enoch § 3; literature, 3Macc. § 7; theology, 4Ez. 71¹⁰²⁻¹¹⁶ *n.*; views of immortality, Wisd. § 9 4Macc. § 9. *See* Immortality.
All Flesh. *See* Flesh.
All-king, i.e. God, Sir. 50¹⁵.
Allar, 1Esd. 5³⁸.
Allegorizing tendency, Arist. 150 *n.*; in Wisdom, Wisd. § 9.
Allon, 1Esd. 5⁸⁴.
Alms, Tob. § 10 B (2), 1^{9,16} 214 47⁵⁹, 16 12⁹ *sg.* 141¹⁰ Sir. § 4, 3⁸⁰ 44 71¹⁰ *n.* 127 29⁶ P.A. 12 Zad. 181⁻⁸.
Almsgiving, atones for sin, Sir. 380 Tob. 12⁸, *see* Atonement; a duty, Sir. 44; = bestowal of kindnesses, P.A. 12; = righteousness, Sir. 71¹⁰ *n.*; to evil not meritorious, 127. *See* Giving, Pharisees, Poor.
Alphabet, Jewish, Arist. 11, cf. 3, 30. *See* Characters.
Alphas, 3Bar. 47.
Altar rebuilt, 1Esd. 54⁸; of burnt offering, polluted, 1Macc. 1⁶⁴;

pulled down, 4^{45,46}; new built, 447. *See* Altar of sacrifice.
Altar of incense, 2Bar. 67; preserved and hidden by Jeremiah, 2Macc. 2⁶.
— of sacrifice, new, and fresh fire, for rededicated Temple, 2Macc. 10⁸.
Amada = Imlah, Mart. Is. 212 *n.*
Amalek, T.S. 6⁸.
Amana, mountains of, Jub. 821 94.
†Amanisakir. *See* Maanisakir.
Amarias, 1Esd. 8².
Amaseqa, Jub. 38²⁰.
Ambram, T.L. 122⁴. *See* Amram.
Ambri, children of, 1Macc. 9³⁹ *n.* 37.
Amen, liturgical use of, P.Man. 15 *n.* Tob. 8⁸ Judith 13²⁰.
Amilabes = Abel, Apoc. Mos. 18 22.
Amman, Ass. Mos. 14.
Ammidioi, 1Esd. 5²⁰.
Ammon, Judith 112 52⁵ 65 717¹⁸ Jub. 38⁶; children of, 1Macc. 5⁶ Jub. 291⁰ 371⁰.
Ammon. *See* Zeus.
Ammonite(s), 2Macc. 42⁶ 57 Judith 14⁵; = 'foxes' in 1En. 8942⁵⁵.
Amnon, P.A. 51⁹.
Amorite kings, defeat of, Jub. 342⁻⁹ T.Jud. 3-7.
Amorites, Judith 51⁵ Jub. 141⁸ 2911 342⁵ T.Jud. 72 122 Ass. Mos. 111⁶.
Amos, Tob. 2⁶.
Amram, Jub. 461⁰ 47⁹ Test. *App.* II 74-76, *see* Ambram; stays in Palestine, Jub. 461⁰.
Amraphel, Jub. 13²².
Amulets, 2Macc. 124⁰.
Anael, Tob. 121.
Anan, 1Esd. 53⁰.
Ananel, 1En. 67.
Ananias, son of Bebai, 1Esd. 92⁹.
Ananias, son of Emmer, 1Esd. 921.
Ananias, 1Esd. 94³.
Ananias, 1Esd. 94⁸.
Ananias, Tob. 513(12), 14(13).
Ananias, Judith 81.
Ananias, an elder, Arist. 48.
Ananias, Mart. Is. 2⁹.
Ananias, Azar. 66 4Macc. 13⁹ 1621 1812. *See* Children, Three.
Anathema, 1En. 95⁴.
Anathoth, 1Esd. 51⁸. *See* John of A.
Andreas, Arist. 12, 18, 40, 43, 123, 173.
Andronicus, deputy of Antiochus Epiphanes, 2Macc. 481; murderer of Onias, 484; death, 488.
Andronicus, governor at Gerizim, 2Macc. 52³.
Aner, Jub. 132⁰.
Angel, Tob. 54, 17, 22 64, *sgg.* 121⁵, *see* Raphael; brings seven tablets from heaven in Levi's vision, Jub. 3221; destroying, Wisd. 182⁶; fiery, smites congregation, 4Macc. 711; good, to save Israel, prayer for, answered, 2Macc. 11⁶, cf. 1029, 30 1523 4Macc. 410; of Abraham, T. Jos. 67; of death, 2Bar.

2123 *n.*; of God, A. & E. 311 362 Apoc. Mos. 318 T.R. 31¹⁸ 53 T.S. 28 T.L. 2⁶ T.Jud. 103 15⁵ 21⁵ T.Iss. 21 T.D. 54; of God, with Israel, Ep. Jer. 7; of God, once referred to in Add. Esth. D18; of humanity, Apoc. Mos. 323; of the Lord cast fire on false witnesses, Sus. § 9, 60-62, brings Habakkuk miraculously to feed Daniel, Bel 36-39; of Mastema, Zad. 202, cf. Jub. 492; of night, T.Jud. 310; of peace, T.D. 66 T.A. 68 T.B. 61, meets soul of righteous at death, T.B. 61 *n.*; of the powers, 3Bar. 18 *n.*; of the presence, the, Jub. § 15, 127, 29 *n.* 21, cf. T.Jud. 252, 1En. 402 (probably Michael, Israel's guardian angel, 1En. 205 2En. 226); who intercedeth for Israel and the righteous, T.L. 567 T.D. 62. *See* Archangels.
Angelic mediation, Tob. § 10.
Angelic patrons of nations (except Israel), Sir. 171 *n.* *See* Angels, guardian.
Angelology of Jubilees, parallels of, with N.T., Jub. § 15.
Angels, Sir. 167 (*see* Princes) 4Macc. 410; anguish of, over fall of Zion, 2Bar. 672; armies of, 2Bar. 4810 511 *n.* 5910; created on first day, Jub. 22 2Bar. 216 *n.*; Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophanim, created from fire on second, 2En. 2913 *n.*; fall of, Sir. 167 1En. 61-6 *n.* 158 694⁵ 861³ 1061³ 2En. 1837 2Bar. 5611-13 *n.*, *see* Demonology; fallen, ask Enoch to intercede, 2En. 71-5; food of, Wisd. 1620 A. & E. 4; frighten Apollonius, 4Macc. 410; guardian, Jub. 3517 A. & E. 33; guardian, of the nations, seventy, Test. *App.* I. 84-6; help Eve, A. & E. 21; = hosts of heaven, P.Man. 15; intercession of, for Adam, A. & E. 9 Apoc. Mos. 352; mediation of, Tob. § 10 3Bar. § 10, 2—three classes of mediating angels, § 10, 2; only reference to in 3Macc., 618 *n.*; orders of, ten, 2En. 2013 *n.*; powers of, A. & E. 488; symbolized by shepherds, 1En. 8959-9025, stars, 861³ 881, white men, 872, cf. 9021, 22; titles of—children or sons of heaven; children of (the) heaven, 1En. 62 148; elect and holy children... from the high heaven, 394; sons of heaven, 138; holy ones (or 'the holy'), 98 122 1423 395 472 572 604 618, 10, 12 6512 6913 718 815 1061⁹; holy ones of heaven, 98, cf. 572, 6112; holy angels, 201-8 215, 9 223 246 272 326 718 932; host of heaven, host of the heavens, powers of the heavens, *see* Heaven, Heavens; sons of God, 1En. 6110 1046, cf. 19 601 694⁵, of the God of heaven, 1066; holy sons of God, 711; spiritual ones of the heaven, 1En. 157; spirits of the heaven,

INDEX

15¹⁰—of the glory of the presence, T.L. 18⁶, *see* Angels of the presence; of God, Sir. 1²² *crit. note*, marry daughters of men, Jub. 5¹, punishment of them and their children, 5⁵⁻⁹, final judgement, 5¹⁰⁻¹²; of the moon, 3Bar. 9⁹; of natural phenomena, Jub. 2² 4Ez. 8²¹*n.*, do not observe Sabbath, Jub. 2¹⁸; of the presence, Jub. § 15 1²⁷, (one writes history for Moses), who went before the camp of Israel, 1²⁹, spoke to Moses, 2¹, observe Sabbath, 2¹⁸, *see* 3¹⁴ T.L. 3^{5(β)}, 7¹; of punishment, 1En. 40⁷*n.* 53³ 56¹ 62¹¹ 63¹ 2En. 10⁹*n.*; of sanctification, Jub. 2^{2,18}, observe Sabbath, 2¹⁸; of the spirit of the clouds and darkness, 2²; of the spirits of cold and heat, creatures in the heavens, 2²; of the spirit of fire, of the voices, of thunder and lightning, of the winds, of winter and the seasons, 2²; of sun, 2En. 11^{4,5} 3Bar. 6¹³ 8⁴; vision of, 3Macc. 6¹⁸.

Angels. *See* Gabriel, Michael, Phamael, Phanuel, Raguel, Raphael, Remiel, Sammael, Saragael, Sarasael, Uriel, Zotiel, Powers, Spirits, Virtues.

Anger, T.D. 2¹⁻⁴. *See* Wrath.

Anguish. *See* Day.

Animal worship, Wisd. 12²⁴ 15¹⁸.

Animals, treatment of, *see* Man, Strangling; in delivery on Sabbath, 13²²; fallen into pit on Sabbath, 13²⁸; kindness to, T.Z. 5¹; under man's dominion, 2En. 58⁸; will not perish till great judgement, when they will accuse their oppressors, 58⁶*n.*

Anna, Tob. 120 2^{1,11} 104 11⁶ 14¹²

Annas, 1Esd. 9³².

Annis, 1Esd. 5¹⁶.

Anniversary of martyrdoms, 4Macc. 1¹⁰ 14⁹.

Annus, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.

Annuus, 1Esd. 8⁴⁸.

[Anointed one, holy (= Aaron?), Zad. 8².]

Anointed One = Messiah. *See* Christ, Messiah.

Anoniram, T.Jud. 9⁸.

Anos, 1Esd. 9³⁴.

Anthropology of 2 Enoch, 2En. § 6.

Antichrist, Test. § 16, T.D. 5⁶*n.* *See* Beliar, Dan.

Antigone, city, Sib. 3³⁴⁷.

Antigones of Socho, P.A. 1³.

Antigonus, 1En. 100²*n.*

Antigonus Gonatas, naval victory over, Arist. § 1, 180.

Antilibanus, Judith 1⁷.

Antioch, 1Macc. 3³⁷*n.* 4³⁵ 6⁶³ 10⁶⁸ 11^{44,66} Sib. 3³⁴⁴ 4¹⁴⁰; citizenship of, 2Macc. 4⁹*n.*

Antiochenes, 2Macc. 4⁹.

Antiochis, mistress of Antiochus Epiphanes, 2Macc. 4³⁰.

Antiochus III, the Great, 1Macc. 1¹⁰ 8⁶ 3Macc. 1¹; victories of, Sir. 10⁶*n.*

Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, 1Macc. 110, 116, 20 3²⁷ 61, 116, 55 2Macc. 1¹⁴*n.* 2²⁰ 4^{7,21,37} 5^{1,5,17,21} 9¹⁻¹⁰ 13 Azar. 9^{n. 1En. 46⁶*n.* 100⁷*n.* Sib. 3³⁸⁸⁻⁴⁰⁰*n.* 4Macc. § 1, 4^{15,21} 5^{1,4,5,16} 10¹⁷ 17²³ 18⁶; attacks Egypt a second time, 2Macc. 5¹; conquers Egypt, 1Macc. 116-19; death of, 1Macc. 61-17 2Macc. 9²⁸ 10⁹; defeated at Persepolis, 2Macc. 9^{1,2}; desecrates Temple, 1Macc. 121-23 2Macc. 5^{15,21}; disease, loathsome of, 2Macc. 9⁵⁻¹⁸; largesses of, 1Macc. 3³⁰*n.*; letter to Jews, 2Macc. 9¹³⁻²⁷; not the foreign conqueror of Ps.Sol. § 5 (*see* Pompey); persecution of, = a second visitation, Ass. Mos. 8¹ 9⁷; promise to restore sacred vessels, 2Macc. 9¹⁶, and to become a Jew, 9¹⁷; repentance of, 2Macc. 9¹²⁻¹⁸; = a sinful shoot, 1Macc. 1¹⁰, cf. Sir. 40¹⁶; supplication of, 2Macc. 9¹⁵⁻²⁷.}

Antiochus V, Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, 1Macc. 3³⁸ 61^{5,17,55} 7² 2Macc. 2²⁰ 9^{25,29} 10^{10,13} 11^{28,28} 13^{1,3,4} 14²; accession, 1Macc. 61-17 2Macc. 9²⁸; death, 14².

Antiochus VI, son of Alexander Balas, 1Macc. 11^{39,54,57} 12⁸⁹ 13³¹; killed 13³¹*n.* (date?).

Antiochus VII, Sidetes, son of Demetrius I, 1Macc. 15¹*n.* 2¹⁰, 11, 13, 25 Bel § 5.

Antiochus. *See* Numenius.

Antipater, son of Jason, 1Macc. 12¹⁶ 14²².

Anti-Semitism, 3Macc. §§ 5, 6.

Anxieties of poverty and riches, Sir. 31¹⁻⁴.

Apame, 1Esd. 4²⁹.

Aphaerema, i.e. Ephraim or Ephron, 1Macc. 11⁵⁴*n.*

Apherra, 1Esd. 5³⁴.

Aphphus. *See* Jonathan.

Aphrodite, Sib. 3¹²².

Aphrodite, the planet, 2En. 30⁹*n.*

Apocalypse of Moses, older than Vita Adae et Evae, A. & E. §§ 6, 7, 9.

Apocalypse of Paul, Sir. 4¹⁰*n.*

Apocalypse of Peter, Sir. 4¹⁰*n.* 1En. 10(c).

Apocalyptic, a Party at one time among Rabbis favourable to, 4Ez. 14^{n. *See* Pharisaism, Reveal, Revelations.}

Apocalyptists, begin survey with creation, 4Ez. 3^{n.; calculations of, 4³⁶⁻³⁷; imply predestination, 4³⁶⁻³⁷*n.*}

Apocryph. *See* Jannes and Jambres.

Apocrypha, original connotation of, a secret revelation, Jub. 12⁶*n.* 4Ez. 12³⁷*n.* 14⁶, cf. 1En. 107³.

Apollonius, 'a chief collector of tribute' (= son of Menestheus?), 1Macc. 12^{n. 3^{10,12}; killed, 3¹².}

Apollonius, general of Demetrius II, 1Macc. 10^{69,74,75,77,79}.

Apollonius of Tarsus, 2Macc. 3^{6,7}; governor of Syria, 4Macc. 4^{2,4,8,10,11,13,14}.

Apollonius, son of Gennaesus, 2Macc. 12².

Apollonius, son of Menestheus, 2Macc. 4^{4,21}; Mysian commander, 5²⁴; massacres Jews, 5²⁴.

Apollophanes, 2Macc. 10³⁷.

Apostasy, 1Macc. 1⁵² 2¹³ 7²⁴ 9⁵⁸ Wisd. 2¹² 1En. 91⁷ Zad. 8² 9³⁶.

Apostate deeds, 1En. 93⁹; generation, 9³⁹; nation, Sir. 16⁸.

Apostates, 3Macc. 2³¹ 3²³ 7¹⁰ Azar. 9, 2Bar. 41⁸*n.*

Apostolical Constitutions, Sir. § 8; contain P. Man., P. Man. § 3.

Apparitions, 2Macc. § 3, 3^{24,37} 5^{2,9} 11⁸ 15^{11,37}.

Appearances often deceitful, Sir. 20⁹⁻¹⁷.

Appendices to Testament of Twelve Patriarchs. *See* Levi, Naphtali.

Appendix to Sirach, Sir. 51¹⁻³⁰; a Prayer, 51¹⁻¹²; a Poem, 51¹³⁻³⁰; a Thanksgiving, 51¹² i-xvi.

Appetites, 4Macc. 1³⁵ 3².

Apples of Sodom, Wisd. 10⁷.

Aquarius, Sib. 5³²⁷.

Aquilo, A. & E. 32².

Ara, city (of Chaldees), Jub. 11³. *See* Ur.

Arabia, 1Macc. 11¹⁶ Judith 2²⁵ Arist. 119.

Arabian Nights, Ah. § 1.

Arabian(s), 1Macc. 5³⁹ 11^{17,39} 12³¹ Sib. 3⁶¹⁷.

Arabs, Jub. 20¹³; defeat of, 2Macc. 12¹⁰⁻¹².

Aradus, 1Macc. 15²³.

Arakiba, 1En. 6⁷.

Aram, Jub. 7¹⁸ 9⁶ 34²⁰ 37^{6,9} 41¹.

Aramaean, Jub. 38³.

Aramaic original of 1En. 6-36, 1En. §§ 1, 9.

Aramaic version of Tobit, Tob. § 4 a.

Araqiel, 1En. 8³.

Arara, land of, Jub. 9⁵.

Ararat, Tob. 1²¹ Jub. 5²⁸ 7¹ 8²¹ 10^{15,19}.

Aravat, 2En. 20³.

Aravoth, the tenth (? seventh) heaven, 2En. 22^{n.}

Arbatta, place, 1Macc. 5²³.

Arbela, 1Macc. 9². *See also* Rabael, Robel.

Arbelite, P.A. 1^{6,7}. *See* Nittai.

Arbonai, river, Judith 2²⁴.

Archangel, A. & E. 25² Apoc. Mos. 3² 22¹ 38¹.

Archangels, 1En. 20, 40, 2En. 19³ 20¹ 21⁸ 22¹¹; as intercessors on behalf of mankind, T.L. 3^{9(a)}*n.* *See* Angels, Intercession, Mediation.

Archas, 2En. 26^{1,2} (A. 'Aruchas' B).

Ard, Jub. 44²⁵.

Ardat, field of, 4Ez. 9²⁶⁻²⁸*n.* 12⁴⁹⁻⁵¹*n.* 13⁵⁷*n.* 14³⁷*n.*

Areios, King of Sparta, 1Macc. 12⁷*n.* 20.

Areli, Jub. 44²⁰.

Ares, 1Esd. 5¹⁰.

Ares, Sib. 3⁴³⁷ 5³³⁴; the planet, 2En. 30³.

† Aresa, Jub. 34^{4,7} (= Asser, Tob. 12) (= Hazor, 1Macc. 11⁶⁷).

Aretan, T.Jud. 5¹.

Aretas, Arabian prince, 2Macc. 5⁸.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, 1Macc. 15²².

Aries, Sib. 5⁵²¹.

Arioch, king of Elymacans, plain of, Judith 1⁶.

Arioch, king of Sellasar, Jub. 13²².

Aristeas, Arist. 19, 40, 43.

Aristeas, Letter of, author, a Jew of Alexandria with Pharisaic tendencies, § 4; character, § 1; contents and purpose, § 2; date, § 3; editions, § 8; influence on later literature, § 9; MSS., § 7; relation of 3Macc. to, 3Macc. § 4; sources, Arist. § 5; theology and ethical teaching, § 6.

Aristobulus I, 1En. 38⁹*n.* 100²*n.*

Aristobulus II, Ps. Sol. § 6. *See* Alexander.

Aristobulus, King Ptolemy's teacher, 2Macc. 1¹⁰.

Ariukh. *See* Orioch.

Ark, the, in the Deluge, 4Macc. 15³¹ Wisd. 14⁶.

Ark, the, of covenant, preserved and hidden by Jeremiah, 2Macc. 2⁵, *see* 2Bar. 67^{n.; spoiled, 4Ez. 10²²*n.*}

Armaros, 1En. 67 8³ 69².

Armen, 1En. 69².

Armenia, Sib. 4¹¹⁴.

Armies ordained for day of judgement, T.L. 3³.

Arodi, Jub. 44²⁰.

Arom, 1Esd. 5¹⁶.

Arpachshad, Jub. 7¹⁸ 8¹ 9^{4,13} 10³⁵.

Arphaxad, Judith § 6, 12^{5,13,15}. *See* Arpachshad.

Arsaces, king of Persia, 1Macc. 14²*n.* 3 15²².

Arsamos, Arist. 49.

Arsamos, Arist. 50.

Arsinoe, 3Macc. 1¹⁴.

Arsinoe, wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Arist. 41.

Arsiphurith, 1Esd. 5¹⁶.

Artaqifa, 1En. 69².

Artaxerxes, 1Esd. 2^{16,17,30} 7⁴ 8^{1,6,8,9,19,28}; decree of, § 1 8⁸⁻²⁴.

Artaxerxes Ochus, Judith § 1.

Artaxerxes = Xerxes I, Add. Esth. A^{1,13} B¹ E¹; letter of, directing destruction of Jews, B¹⁻⁷; decree of, revoking previous edict, E¹⁻²⁴.

Artemis, Sib. 5²⁹³.

Artisan inferior to Scribe, Sir. 38²⁴⁻³⁰. *See* Craftsman.

Aruchas. *See* Archas.

Arzareth, 4Ez. 13⁴⁶*n.*

Asadias, 1Bar. 1¹.

Asael, 1En. 6⁷.

Asam, Jub. 38^{18,19}.

Asana, 1Esd. 5³¹.

Asaph, sons of, 1Esd. 1¹⁶ 5^{27,59}.

Asara, 1Esd. 5³¹.

Asbasareth, i.e. Esarhaddon, 1Esd. 5⁶⁹.

Asbeel, 1En. 69⁹.

Ascalon, Judith 2²⁸. *See* Askalon.

Ascension, Tob. 12²⁰*sq.*; of Baruch, 2Bar. 46⁷; of Isaiah, *see* Isaiah, Martyrdom of; of

INDEX

- Raphael, compared with Christ's, Tob. 12⁶⁻²²ⁿ.
- Asceticism, as preparation for visions, Mart. Is. 21ⁿ. 4Ez. 5¹⁴⁻¹⁸. *See* Chastity, Eating herbs, Fasting.
- Aseas, 1Esd. 6⁸².
- Asebebias, 1Esd. 8⁴⁷.
- Asebias, 1Esd. 8⁴⁸.
- Asenath, Jub. 34²⁰ 44²⁴ T.Jos. 20^{8(c)}.
- Aser. *See* Aresa.
- Asfael, 1En. 82²⁰.
- Ashbel, Jub. 44²⁵.
- Asher, Jub. 28²¹ 33²² 34²⁰ 38⁶ 44^{19,20} T.R. 1⁴ T.Jud. 25² T.A. 11².
- Ashdod, Arist. 117. *See* Azotus.
- Ashtaroth, Zad. 7⁵.
- Ashtaroth, city, Jub. 29¹⁰.
- Asia, 1Macc. 8⁶ 11¹³ⁿ. 12³⁹ 13³¹ 2Macc. 3⁸ Sib. 3^{168,342,350,351,353,384,397,381,388,391,450,599,611} 4^{1,71,76,79,145,148} 5^{99,118,287,292,448,449,461,465} 4Macc. 3²⁰.
- Asibias, 1Esd. 9²⁶.
- Asiel, Tob. 1⁴.
- Asipha, 1Esd. 5²⁰.
- Asitho. *See* Asteho.
- Askalon, 1Macc. 10⁸⁶ 11⁶⁰ 12³⁸ Judith 2²⁸ Arist. 115.
- Asmodeus, Tob. 3^{8,17}.
- Asmonean, 1Macc. 2ⁿ.
- Asom, 1Esd. 9³³.
- Asonja, 1En. 7⁸².
- Asores = Assyrians, Ah. 4² (Arm.).
- Asorestan = Assyria, Ah. 4¹² &c. (Arm.).
- Asphar, pool, 1Macc. 9³⁸.
- Aspharasus, 1Esd. 5⁸.
- Aspis, mountain, i. e. Sirion or Hermon, T.L. 6¹ⁿ.
- Ass, wild = Ishmael, 1En. 89¹¹.
- Assamias, 1Esd. 8⁵⁴.
- Assaphioth, 1Esd. 5³³.
- Assaracus, Sib. 5⁸.
- Assemblies of Jacob, Sir. 24²³.
- Assembly, the, Sir. 1⁸⁰ 4⁷ 7⁷ 15⁵ 21¹⁷ 23²⁴ 41¹⁸ 42¹¹ Zad. 9^{29(B)}; of the elders, Sir. 6³⁴ 7¹⁴; in the gate, Sir. 7⁷ 42¹¹; of the Most High, 24²; of the people, . . . of Israel, Ps.Sol. 10^{7,8} 17⁴⁸; of the wicked, Sir. 16⁶ 21⁹; precedence in, Sir. 38³³.
- Asser = Hazor, Tob. 1². *See* Aresa.
- Asses, = a species of giants, 1En. 86⁴; wild = Midianites, 1En. 89^{11,13,16}.
- Asshur, Judith 21⁴ 5¹ 7^{17,20,21} 8¹³ 12¹⁵ 14^{2,3,12,19} 15⁶ Jub. 7¹⁸ 9^{3,6} 10^{28,36}; land of, 82¹ 9³; mountains of, 82¹ 9^{5,6}.
- †Asshur, Jub. 13¹.
- Associate = *haber*, P.A. 1⁶ⁿ. 4^{15,23}. *See* Friend.
- Associating, danger of, with rich, Sir. 13²⁻⁸; with rulers, 13⁹⁻¹³; with one's opposites, 13¹⁵⁻²⁰; with women, *see* Women.
- Associating with wise, Sir. 9¹⁴; with ungodly, 81⁴⁻¹⁹ 11⁹ 12¹³ 13¹⁷.
- Assumption of Moses, 2Macc. § 6; relation to 2Bar., Ass. Mos. 3¹⁰⁻¹³ⁿ. *See* Moses, Assumption of.
- Assyria, Tob. 11⁰ 14^{4,15} Sir. 48²¹ Jub. 46⁸ Mart.Is. 3²; in Ahikar *passim*, usually as 'Assyria and Nineveh', cf. Tobit.
- Assyrian, Sib. 3^{160,303,809}.
- Assyrian court, 4Macc. 13⁹.
- Assyrians, 1Esd. 5⁶⁹ 3Macc. 6⁵ Tob. 12³ 14⁴ Judith 11^{7,11} 21⁴ 41⁸ 10¹¹ 1En. 89^{55,66} T.N. 5⁸ Sib. 3^{207,268} 4⁴⁹ 5³³⁶ 4Ez. 13⁴⁰; = tigers in 1En. 89^{55,66}.
- Astad, 1Esd. 5¹³.
- Astath, 1Esd. 8³⁸.
- Asteho, T.Jos. 7⁵.
- Astrology, Sib. 3²²⁷⁻²²⁸ 4Macc. 14⁸ⁿ.
- Astronomy, Wisd. 7¹⁸ P.A. 3²⁸.
- Astyages, Bel 1.
- Astypalaea, Sib. 3³⁴⁵.
- Asur, 1Esd. 5³¹.
- Asudi, Jub. 44²⁸.
- Atar, 1Esd. 5²⁸.
- Atel, Jub. 8²².
- Ater, 1Esd. 5¹⁵.
- Atergatis, temple of, 2Macc. 12²⁶.
- Ateta, 1Esd. 5²⁸.
- Athanasius, Sir. § 8.
- Athenagoras, 1En. § 10(c).
- Athenian, 2Macc. 6^{18,24}.
- Athenobius, 1Macc. 15^{28,32}.
- Athens, Jews to be equal to citizens of, 2Macc. 1¹⁵.
- Athletic contest, the martyrdom of the seven brothers compared to, 4Macc. § 7.
- Atthur = Assyria, Ah. *passim* (Syr.). *See* Nineveh.
- Atipha, 1Esd. 5³².
- Atonement, Sir. 3³ⁿ. 5⁵ⁿ; almsgiving atones for sin, 3³⁰ⁿ; by fasting, for sins of ignorance, Ps. Sol. 3⁹; false doctrine of, warning against, Sir. 7⁸⁻¹⁰; to man, 20²⁸ (gifts do not atone to God, they do to man); impossible for unforgiving, 28⁸; made by martyrs, 4Macc. 6²⁸ 9²⁴ 12¹⁸ 17^{20,59}; man makes by honouring his father, Sir. 3^{8,14}; no, Jub. 33¹⁷; through suffering, sickness, and death, Sir. 18²⁰ⁿ.
- Atonement, Day of, Jub. 5¹⁷⁻¹⁸; instituted on tidings of Joseph's loss, Jub. 34^{18,19}.
- Attalus, king of Pergamos, 1Macc. 15²²ⁿ.
- Attharates, i. e. the Tirshatha, 1Esd. 9⁴⁹.
- Attharias, i. e. the Tirshatha, 1Esd. 5⁴⁰. *See* Attharates.
- Attus, 1Esd. 8²⁹.
- Auaran. *See* Eleazar.
- Augia, 1Esd. 5³⁸.
- Augustine, Sir. § 8.
- Aulis, Sib. 3⁴⁸⁸.
- Auranus, 2Macc. 4⁴⁰ⁿ.
- Ausonians, Sib. 5²⁷.
- Auteas, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.
- Avaran. *See* Elcazar.
- Avith, city, Jub. 38¹⁹.
- Awan, Jub. 41⁹.
- Axis, Sib. 5²⁰⁷.
- Azael, 1Esd. 9¹⁴.
- Azaelus, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
- Azai, ben, P.A. 4^{2,3}.
- Azaraia, 1Esd. 8¹.
- Azariah, Prayer of, and Song of Three Children: account, § 1; bibliography, § 9; composition, § 6; date, § 6; influence on later literature, § 7; MSS., § 3; original language, Hebrew, § 5; theology, § 8; title, § 2; versions, § 4.
- Azariah, the writer of Prayer of Azariah, Azar. 2, 26, 66. *See* Hananiah.
- Azarias, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.
- Azarias, 1Esd. 9⁴³.
- Azarias, a Maccabean leader, 1Macc. 5^{18,56,60}.
- Azarias, Tob. 5¹³ 6^{7,14} 7^{1,10} 9².
- Azarias = Azariah, 4Macc. 13⁹ 16²¹ 18¹². *See* Children, Three.
- Azaru, 1Esd. 5¹⁵.
- Azazel, 1En. 6⁶ⁿ. 8^{1,2} 8⁹ (G.) 9⁶ 10^{4,8} 13¹ 54⁵ 55⁴ 69² 86¹ⁿ. 88¹ⁿ; all sin ascribed to, 10⁸; bound in desert of Dudael, 10⁴; hosts of, judged, 54⁵ 55⁴.
- †Azazel, 1En. 69².
- Azetas, 1Esd. 5¹⁴.
- Azotus, city, 1Macc. 4¹⁶ 5⁶⁸ 10^{77,78,88,84} 11⁴ 14²⁴ 16¹⁰ Judith 2²⁸; burned by Jonathan, 1Macc. 10⁸⁴. *See* Ashdod.
- †Azotus, mount, 1Macc. 9¹⁵.
- Azrial, Jub. 4²⁷.
- Azuchan. *See* Uchan.
- Azura, Jub. 4^{8,11}.
- Azurad, Jub. 8⁷.
- Baal, Mart. Is. 21².
- Baalsamus, 1Esd. 9⁴⁶.
- Baana, 1Esd. 5⁸.
- Babel, Wisd. 10⁵; Jub. 82¹ 10²⁵; confusion of tongues at, Jub. 10¹⁸⁻²⁷; builders of, in second heaven, 3Bar. 3⁵⁻⁸. *See* Overthrow.
- Babi, 1Esd. 8³⁷.
- Babylon, 1Esd. 14^{0,41,45,54,56} 21⁵ 44^{4,57,61} 57⁶ 16^{15,16,17,21,23,26} 58^{5,6,28}; 1Macc. 6⁴; Tob. 14⁴; 1Bar. 1² 4^{9,11,12} 22²⁴; Ep. Jer. 1, 2, 3, 4; Sus. 1, 5; Bel 2, 23, 28, 34, 35, 36; Add. Esth. A³: Jub. 10²⁶ 20¹²; Sib. 3^{104,160,301,303,307,384,809} 4⁹³ 5^{6,23,143,159,434}; 2Bar. 8⁵ 10² 77^{12,17,19} 79¹; 4Ez. 31^{2,31}; Zad. 1⁵; captivity of Jews in, for seventy generations, Ep. Jer. § 2; idolatry of, Ep. Jer. § 1; name of, intruded into text of Susanna, Sus. § 6; = Rome, Sib. 5¹⁴³ⁿ. 2Bar. 11¹.
- Babylonia, 1Esd. 4⁵³ 6¹⁸ 8¹³ 2Macc. 8²⁰ 3Macc. 6⁹.
- Babylonian Sibyl, Sib. 3¹⁶²⁻²⁰⁴ⁿ.
- Babylonians, Ep. Jer. 1, 2 Bel 3, 23; = lions in 1En. 89⁵⁵⁻⁶⁶.
- Bacchides, 1Macc. 7^{8,12,19,20} 9¹ 12^{14,20,26,29,32,34,43,47,49,57,58,63,68} 10¹² 2Macc. 8³⁰; and Alcimus sent against Jews, 1Macc. 7⁸⁻²⁰.
- Bacchurus, 1Esd. 9²⁴.
- Bacchus, worship of, 3Macc. 2²⁰ⁿ.
- Bactra, Sib. 4⁹⁵.
- Baeon, children of, 1Macc. 5⁴ⁿ.
- Baelunan, Jub. 38^{22,23}.
- Bag-Bag, ben, P.A. 5²⁵.
- Bago, 1Esd. 8⁴⁰.
- Bagoas, Judith 12^{11,13,15} 13^{1,3} 14¹⁴ Add. Esth. A¹⁷ⁿ.
- Bagoi, 1Esd. 5¹⁴.
- Baiterus, 1Esd. 5¹⁷.
- Balaam, P.A. 5^{9,22}.
- Balak, son of Beor, Jub. 38^{16,17}.
- Balamon, Judith 8³.
- Balchira, Mart. Is. 5^{2,3,5,8,12}. *See* Belchira.
- Baliayn, one of the king's sons who question Ahikar, Ah. 2¹⁰¹ (Arm.). *See* Houday.
- Balnuus, 1Esd. 9³¹.
- Baltasar, king of Babylon, son of Nebuchadnezzar, 1Bar. § 4 11ⁿ. 12.
- Ban, Zad. 10¹. *See* Devote.
- Ban, 1Esd. 5³⁷.
- Banaia, son of Nooma, 1Esd. 9⁸⁵.
- Baneas, an elder, Arist. 50.
- Bani, 1Esd. 5¹³.
- Banias, 1Esd. 8³⁶.
- Bannas, 1Esd. 5²⁶.
- Banneas, 1Esd. 9²⁶.
- Bannus, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
- Banquet. *See* Messianic.
- Banquet, behaviour at, Sir. 32 (35)¹⁻¹³; hall, P.A. 4²¹; master, rules for, Sir. 32¹⁻³; symbol of world to come, P.A. 3²⁰.
- Bar Cocheba, revolt of, 1Bar. § 9 ii.
- Barad, Jub. 38¹⁹.
- Baraka, Jub. 4¹⁶.
- Barakiel, Jub. 4¹⁵.
- Barakiil, Jub. 4²⁸.
- Baraqel, 1En. 6².
- Baraqijal, 1En. 6⁷ 8³.
- Barca, Sib. 5¹⁸⁷.
- Barchus, 1Esd. 5³².
- Baris, Sib. 4⁹⁹.
- Barnabas, Epistle of, relation of to 2Enoch, 2En. § 4.
- Barodis, 1Esd. 5³⁴.
- Barrenness, Wisd. 3¹³.
- Barsaba, T.Jud. 8².
- Bartacus, 1Esd. 4²⁹.
- Baruch, 1Bar. 1¹³ 2Bar. *passim* 3Bar. *Prol.* 1² 1^{1,7} 4^{1,9,16} 5¹ 7^{2,6} 8⁴ 9^{2,6} 10⁵ Zad. 9²⁸, *see* Pseudepigrapha; to be preserved till consummation, 2Bar. 13³ 25¹ 76²; to die natural death, 44² 78⁵ 84¹; various books of, 2Bar. § 2; relation of 2Baruch to 3Bar., 3Bar. § 4; of Rest of Words of Baruch (= 4Bar.), 3Bar. §§ 4, 8.
- Baruch, 1 Book of, account, § 1; author, § 7; bibliography, § 12; composite character, § 3; contents, § 2; critical investigation, § 4; date, § 7; documents—A & B, Hebrew original, § 5; C. Greek original (Hebrew, *Gen. Ed.*), § 6; their redaction, § 8; influence on Christian and Jewish literature, § 10; MSS., § 9; theology, § 11; versions, § 9.
- Baruch, 2 Book of, account, short, § 1; bibliography, § 12; books of Baruch, various, § 2; different elements in 2Bar., § 7; lost epistle to two and a half tribes, § 8; MSS., Syriac, § 3; relation to 4Ezra, § 9; to N.T., § 11; theology, § 10; Version, Syriac, date of, § 4; translated from Greek, Greek from Hebrew, §§ 5, 6.
- Baruch, 3 Book of, account, short, § 1; author, § 7; bibliography, § 11; composite nature

INDEX

of text, § 6; Christian redactor, § 8; date, § 9; MSS., § 3; relation to other Baruch literature, § 4; to other apocalyptic literature, § 5; theology, § 10; title, § 2.

Basaloth, 1Esd. 5³².

Bascama, place, 1Macc. 13²³.

Baseas, Arist. 47.

Bashan, Sir. 47³ Jub. 5²¹.

Bassai, 1Esd. 5¹⁶.

Basthai, 1Esd. 5³¹.

Batarel, 1En. 67.

Bath-qôl, the, 2Bar. 22¹ⁿ. P.A. 6²; to John Hyrcanus, T.L. 18⁶ T.Jud. 24².

Bathing, law of, Zad. 12^{1,2}.

Bathshua, T.Jud. 82^(β) 106^(β) 133^(β) 164^(β) 171^(β). *See* Betasuel.

Bealoth, Jub. 13¹⁰.

Beasts, wild = Gentiles, 1En. 85-90ⁿ.

Beautiful, three things, Sir. 25¹; wisdom of aged, 25³⁻⁶.

Beauty, God the author of, Wisd. 13³.

Bebai, 1Esd. 83⁷.

Bebai, sons of, 1Esd. 5¹³ 9²⁰.

Bebai, city, Judith 15⁴.

Becher, Jub. 44²⁵.

Bechileth, Judith 22¹.

Bedsuel, Jub. 41⁷. *See* Betasuel.

Beelesath, T.Jud. 37.

Beelsarus, 1Esd. 5⁸.

Beeltethmus, a Samaritan, 1Esd. 2^{16,25}.

Beersheba, Jub. 17⁹ 18¹⁷ 22². *See* Well of the Oath.

Beggar, his life no life, Sir. 40²⁸⁻³⁰.

Beginning, the, meaning of in Sirach, Sir. 14ⁿ.

Behaviour. *See* Banquet, Table.

Behemoth and Leviathan, 1En. 60^{7,8,24} 2Bar. 20⁴ⁿ. 4Ez. 64^{9,31}; reserved for Messianic banquet, 4Ez. 65².

Bel, Ep. Jer. 41 Bel 3-4, 6, 8-11, 14, 18, 21, 22, 28; the Assyrian god, Ah. 61⁶ (Syr.) Ah. 61^{6,23} (Arab.). *See* Belshim.

Bel and the Dragon, account, short, § 1; author, § 5; contents, § 2; date, § 5; integrity, § 6; MSS., § 3; original language, § 4; place of origin Alexandria, § 5; theology, § 7; title, § 1; versions, § 3.

Bela, Jub. 44²⁶.

Belachira, Mart. Is. 2⁵.

Belchira, Mart. Is. 2¹²ⁿ. 3^{1,8,12} 5⁴. *See* Balchira.

Belemus, a Samaritan, 1Esd. 2¹⁶.

Belial, destruction through hand of, Zad. 9¹²; let loose against Israel, 6⁹; three nets of, 6¹⁰; raised Jochanneh (against Moses), 7¹⁰; spirits of, man ruled by, 14⁵. *See* Beliar.

Beliar, Jub. 120 15³³ Mart. Is. 1^{8,9} 2⁴ 3¹¹ T.R. 22^(β) 47¹¹ 63 T.S. 5³ T.L. 3³ 18¹² 19¹ T. Jud. 25³ T.Iss. 6¹ 7⁷ T.Z. 9⁸ (bdg) T.D. 17 47 51^{10,11} T.N. 26 31 T.A. 18 32 64 T.Jos. 74 20² T.B. 38^{4,8} 61⁷ 71² Sib. 363⁷³, *see* Belial; angel of lawlessness, ruler of this world, Mart.

Is. 2⁴; chief of evil spirits, Mart. Is. 1⁸; coming and destruction of, Sib. § 6 3⁶³⁻⁹² (? = Antichrist, ? Simon Magus) 368^{n,37n}; has no power over the pure, T.R. 4¹¹; men to be delivered from, T.Z. 9^{8(bdg)}, cf. T.D. 5^{10,11}; to be bound by Messiah, T.L. 18¹²; to be cast into the fire, T.Jud. 25³; sons of, Jub. 15³³; spirit(s) of, T.L. 3³ T.Jud. 25³ T.Iss. 7⁷ T.D. 17; spirit of, rules, accuses, ensnares, Jub. 120; will of, T.N. 31; works of, T.L. 19¹ T.N. 26.

Beliar, servant of Ahikar, Ah. 7⁸ (Arm.). *See* Nebuhal.

Belmain, Judith 4⁴ 7³.

Beloved of the Lord, the, Mart. Is. 17^{n,13}.

Belshazzar. *See* Baltasar.

Belshim, a god appealed to by Ahikar, Ah. 146¹⁶ (Arm.).

Belt, the constellation, Sib. 5⁵²².

Ben Sir, Sir. 51³⁰; his right to give instruction, Sir. 33¹⁶⁻¹⁸ (361⁶⁶ 35²⁵⁻²⁷); how he acquired Wisdom, 51¹³⁻³⁰.

Benase, 1En. 78².

Benedicite, the, Azar. § 1, 35-65.

Benefactor, title of, Add. Esth. E2¹³ⁿ.

Benevolence, danger of indiscriminate, Sir. 12¹⁻⁷.

Benjamin, 1Esd. 2⁸ 5⁶⁶ 9⁵ Add. Esth. A1 Jub. 32^{3,33} 33²² 34^{3,20} 38⁸ 42^{4,9,10,21,23} 43^{1,7,16} 44^{23,25} Mart. Is. 3^{6,11} T.Jud. 25^{1,2} T.B. 11⁶ 27^(δ) 122^(β) Test. *App.* I. 3^{9,11,12}; sees Joseph in vision, T.B. 101; as a ravening wolf, T.B. 111.

Benjamite, 2Macc. 3⁴.

Benuzardan, Nadan's younger brother, Ah. 3⁶ (Arab.).

Beon, Jub. 29¹⁰ (1Macc. 5^{4,5}). *See* Baean.

Beor, Jub. 38¹⁶.

Berachel, son of = Jacob, Test. *App.* I 4⁸.

Berea, a place, 1Macc. 9⁴.

Beriah, Jub. 44²¹.

Berkael, 1En. 82¹⁷.

Beroea, custom of execution at, 2Macc. 13^{4,5}.

Beroth, i.e. Beeroth, 1Esd. 5¹⁰.

Betane, Judith 1⁹.

Betasuel, wife of Judah, Jub. 34²⁰, cf. Bathshua, Bedsuel.

Betenos, Jub. 4²⁸.

Beth ha-Midrash, (Jellinek) book quoted, T.Jud. 3-7 *n*.

Bethha-Midrash, i.e. house of instruction, Sir. 51^{23n,29n}. *See* Yeshibah.

Bethasmoth, 1Esd. 5¹⁸.

Bethbasi, 1Macc. 9^{62n,64}.

Bethdagon, idol's temple at Azotus, 1Macc. 10⁸³ⁿ.

Bethel, 1Macc. 9⁵⁰ Tob. 2⁶ Jub. 13^{3,15} 27^{10,26} 31^{1,3,30} 32^{1,9} 44² 45⁴ T.L. 7⁴ 9^{2,3} Test. *App.* II 10.

Bethhoron, 1Macc. 3^{16,24} 7³⁹ 9⁵⁰ Judith 4⁴ Jub. 34⁴; battle at, 1Macc. 3^{16,24}.

Bethlehem = Ephrath, Jub. 32³⁴ Mart. Is. 27^{8,12} 31 T.R. 3¹³.

Bethlomon, 1Esd. 5¹⁷.

Bethshan, 1Macc. 5⁵²ⁿ. 12⁴⁰; = Scythopolis, Jub. 29¹⁴ⁿ. 2Macc. 12²⁹.

Bethsura, 1Macc. 4^{29,61} 67^{26,31}, 49⁵⁰ 9⁹² 10¹⁴ 11⁶⁶ 14^{7,33} 2Macc. 13^{19,22}; (*or* Bethsuron), siege of, 2Macc. 11⁶ⁿ.

Bethuel, Jub. 19¹⁰ 27^{10,12} Test. *App.* II 62.

Bethulia, Judith, § 6 4⁶ⁿ. 610¹¹ 71^{3,6,13,20} § 3, 11 10⁶ 11⁹ 12⁷ 13¹⁰ 15^{3,6} 16^{21,23}.

Bethzacharias, 1Macc. 6³³.

Betolion, 1Esd. 5²¹.

Betomesthaim, Judith 4⁶ 15⁴.

Bezeth, 1Macc. 7¹⁹.

Bilhah, Jub. 28^{9,17,18,19} 33^{2,3,8,22} 34^{15,16} 44²⁷ T.R. 3^{11,13} T.Jud. 13³ T.N. 16^{9,12} T.G. 1⁶ T.Jos. 20^{8(β)} T.B. 1³ Test. *App.* I. 1¹.

Biqa, 1En. 69¹³.

Birthday, king's, 2Macc. 6⁷.

Bithynians, Sib. 5¹²⁴.

Blasphemy, 1En. 91^{7,11} 94⁹ 96⁷ Zad. 7¹² 14³.

Blessed, ten types of men who are, Sir. 25⁷⁻¹¹.

Blessing, 1En. 10^{16,18} 41⁸ 45^{4,5} 59^{1,2,3} 76^{4,13}.

Blessing of the Lord, Sir. 50²⁰ⁿ.

Blind of eye better than blind of heart, Ah. 2⁴⁸ (Syr. A).

Blindness, Tob. 210 317 510 69 14².

Blood, 1En. 91⁹ 15⁴ 100¹; of flesh, 15⁴; righteous, 47^{2,4}; sinners, 100⁹; drink, 15⁴; eating of forbidden, Jub. 67¹¹⁻¹³ 72²⁸⁻³³ 112 1En. 98¹¹ [Zad. 4⁶], to Isaac by Abraham, Jub. 217; shedding of, a sin, Jub. 67-13 72²⁸⁻³³ 112 1En. 9¹ 99⁶ (of Gentiles, Zad. 14⁷); proper use of in sacrifice, Jub. 61^{1,14}.

Boar, black wild = Esau, 1En. 89¹².

Boars, wild = Edomites, 1En. 89^{12n,42-49,66}; = Samaritans, 89⁷² 90¹³ⁿ.

Boccas, 1Esd. 8².

Body, the, an encumbrance, Wisd. 9¹⁵; no resurrection of in 2Enoch, 2En. § 3 50² 65⁶; to be restored by the earth, 2Bar. 42⁸ⁿ; resurrection of, 2Bar. 49²⁻⁵¹; resurrection of, not believed in by Alexandrian Jews, 4Macc. § 9. *See* Resurrection.

Bones flourish, Sir. 49¹⁰ⁿ.

Book, deeds written in, P.A. 21 3^{3,20}.

Book, the = Scriptures, Arist. 316.

Book, the holy = Scriptures, read by Eleazar before battle, 2Macc. 8²³.

Book of discipline of children of men, Jub. 36¹⁰; of the Division of the Seasons (= Book of Jubilees), Zad. 20¹; of the †Hagut, Zad. 11²ⁿ. 15⁵ 17⁵; of the histories of the kings of Judaea, 1Esd. 1³³; of the kings of Israel and Judah, 1Esd. 1³³; of life, 1En. 108³ Jub. 36¹⁰, cf. Books of the living; of the memorial of

life, Test. *App.* II 59; of remembrance, Zad. 9⁴³; of the seventy shepherds, 1En. 89⁶⁸⁻⁷⁷ 90^{17,20}; of unrighteousness, 81⁴, cf. 98^{7,8} 104⁷; of the words of righteousness, 14¹; of zeal and wrath, disquiet and expulsion, 39¹.

Book, sealed, 1En. 89^{70,71}. *See* Books, opened.

Books, the holy, 1En. 103² 108³. *See* Tablets, heavenly, and cf. 108⁷.

Books of deeds of righteous and wicked, opened, 4Ez. 6²⁰ 1En. 47³ⁿ; of Enoch's revelations, to be transmitted to generations of world, 2En. 33^{9,10}, *see* Apocrypha, Revelations; of fathers, Abraham learns Hebrew from, Jub. 12²⁷; of heathen writers, 1En. 104¹⁰; of Jacob and his fathers given to Levi, Jub. 45¹⁶ⁿ; of the Law, Zad. 9⁶; of the living, 1En. 47³ⁿ, cf. 104¹ and Book of life; of the Prophets, Zad. 97; recording sins, opened, 1En. 90²⁰ 2Bar. 24¹ 4Ez. 6²⁰.

Borrowing. *See* Lending.

Boser, Jub. 38¹⁷.

Bosor, place, 1Macc. 5^{26,36}.

Bosora, i.e. Bozrah, 1Macc. 5^{26,36}.

Botany, Wisd. 7²⁰ Jub. 101²⁻¹⁴ 1En. 71⁸³.

Boudan, Nadan's brother in Ah. 3⁶ (Arm.).

Branding, 3Macc. 22⁹.

Brazen serpent, Wisd. 16⁶.

Bread of dead, Tob. 4¹⁷.

Breastplate of High Priest, Wisd. 18²⁴.

Breastplate of understanding, T.L. 8².

Britains, Sib. 5²⁰⁰.

Brother = Jew, Tob. § 9.

Brotherly love, Tob. 4¹³.

†Bugacan, Add. Esth. A1⁷ⁿ. (*read* Agagite).

Builders of the wall (= Pharisees), Zad. 71 9^{21,26}.

Bull, symbolically used, 1En. 85³⁻⁹ 86³ 80^{1,9-12}; white = Messiah, 90³⁷.

Bundle of life, Sir. 61⁶ⁿ.

Burial, 1Macc. 270 13²⁵ Tob. 117^{sg}. 4^{3sg}. 61⁵ 121^{2sg}. A. & E. 48⁴⁻⁷ Apoc. Mos. 40¹⁻⁴³.

Burnt-offering alone to be offered on Sabbath, Zad. 13²⁷; to be sent by the clean only, 14¹.

†Busasejal, 1En. 69².

Byzantium, Sib. 3⁴³⁷.

Caeserin, Tob. 11¹.

Cain, Wisd. 10⁸ Jub. 41^{2,4,7,9,31} A. & E. 21⁸ 22³⁻⁵ 23^{1,2} Apoc. Mos. 1³ 2² 3^{1,2} 4² 40⁴ 1En. 22⁷ 85³⁻⁵ T.B. 7^{3,5} 4Macc. 18¹¹; death, by a stone, Jub. § 15 4³¹; spiritual death of Cain on Abel's murder, Wisd. 10³ⁿ; vengeance on, sevenfold, T.B. 7^{3,4}.

Cainan, 1En. 37¹ 2En. 33¹⁰.

Calamolalus, 1Esd. 5²².

Caleb, 1Macc. 250 Sir. 467⁹. 2Bar. 59¹.

Calebites, 1Esd. § 5(c)(g).

INDEX

Calendar, Jewish, Jub. § 15, 6^{20-30,32} 15¹ *notes*.
Calf, golden, Tob. 1⁵.
Caligula, 4Macc. § 1.
Calitas, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸. *See also* Colius.
Callisthenes, 2Macc. 8³³.
Camarina, in Greece, Sib. 3⁷³⁶.
Camarina = Ur, Sib. 3²¹⁸.
Camels = a class of giants, 1En. 86⁴.
Camp, Censor of the, Zad. 16^{1,6,8} 17^{6,8} 18²; children of the, Zad. 16⁶; cut off from (*see* Excommunication), Zad. 9⁴⁹; eat and drink in, on Sabbath, 13⁹; enter into the, 15⁶.
Campanians, Sib. 3⁴⁷⁹.
Camps, dwellers of, Zad. 17¹; settle in, 9¹ 16⁹.
Canaan, 1Macc. 9³⁷ Judith 5^{3,9,10} 1Bar. 3²² Sus. 56 Jub. 7^{10-12,13} 9¹ 10²⁹ 22²¹ 29² 46^{9,11} T.S. 6³ T.L. 12⁵ T.Jud. 10^{2,6} 11³ T.Z. 5⁵ T.Jos. 12² 13^{1,8} 15² T.B. 12^{3(8),4(8)}; daughter(s) of, Jub. 20⁴ 25^{1,4,5} 27^{8,10} 41²; king of, 46^{9,11}; land of, Judith 5^{9,10} Jub. 10³⁴ 12^{16,28} 13¹ 15¹⁰ 29² 34⁴ 39¹ 42^{4,9,13} 43⁴ 44^{4,34} 45¹⁵ 46^{3,6,7,13} 47¹ 49¹⁸ 50⁴ Test. *App.* II 78; seed of, Sus. 56 Jub. 20⁴ 25⁹ T.S. 6³; son of Ham, 7¹³.
Canaanite, Judith 5¹⁶ Jub. 34²⁰ Mart. Is. 2⁶.
Canaanite marriages forbidden, Jub. 20⁴ 25^{1-3,5}.
Canaanites, 1Esd. 8⁶⁹ Wisd. 12³ Jub. 14^{7,18} 30²⁵ T.L. 7¹ T.Jud. 3¹ 7¹⁰ 11¹. *See* Amorites.
Canaanitish war, T.B. 12³⁽⁸⁾.
Cancer, constellation, Sib. 5⁶²⁴.
Canon, Hebrew, threefold division implied in Sirach, Sir. *Prologue* 1*n*.
Canon, no fixed idea of, in Sirach, Sir. 24^{33*n*}.
Capharsalama, 1Macc. 7³¹.
Caphira, i.e. Chephirah, 1Esd. 5¹⁹.
Caphtorim = Philistines, Jub. 24³⁰.
Cappadocians, T.S. 6³ Sib. 3⁵¹⁷.
Capricorn, Sib. 5^{207,518,519}.
Captain, chief, T.Jos. 2¹ 16²⁽⁸⁾.
Captivity of Israel due to forsaking God's ordinances, festivals, Sabbaths, holy place, Jub. 1¹⁰. *See* Israel.
Carabasion, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Carchemish, war at, 1Esd. 12⁵.
Cardinal virtues, Wisd. 8⁷.
Caria, 1Macc. 15²³.
Carians, Sib. 3^{170,209,472} 4^{90,149} 5²⁸⁸.
Carmel, Judith, 1⁸.
Carmi, Jub. 44¹².
Carnaim, 1Macc. 5^{26,43,44} 2Macc. 12^{21*n*} 26⁸.
Carthage, Sib. 3⁴⁸⁴ 4¹⁰⁶.
Casphor, 1Macc. 5^{26,36}.
Caspian, siege of, 2Macc. 12¹³⁻¹⁶.
Catena on Pentateuch, an old, quoted, Ass. Mos. § 2*n*¹.
Cathua, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
Cattle, duty to, Sir. 7²².
Cebren, Sib. 3³⁴³.
Cedron, valley of, 2Bar. 5⁵ 21¹ 31². *See* Kedron.

Celtic mountaineer = Trajan, Sib. 5⁴⁵.
Celts. *See* Qelt.
Cendebeus, 1Macc. 15^{38,40} 16 1^{4,8}.
Censor, Zad. 10^{10*n*}, *see* Camp; duties of, 16¹⁻¹² 17⁶⁻⁸; of the many, 19⁸; to command, 19¹²; to examine, 19¹⁰; to instruct priest in law of leprosy, 15⁷; to receive alms, 18²; to receive accusations, 10¹⁰⁻¹³ 17⁸.
Chabrias, Arist. 48.
Chabris, son of Gothoniell, Judith 6¹⁵ 8¹¹ 10⁶.
Chabu, Arist. 50.
Chadisiai, 1Esd. 5²⁰.
Chaereas, brother of Timotheus, 2Macc. 10^{32,37}.
Chalcedon, Sib. 3⁴³⁴.
Chaldaean astrology, Sib. 3²²⁷.
Chaldaeans, 1Esd. 15² 4⁴⁵ 6¹⁵ Judith 5^{6,7} 1Bar. 12² Ep. Jer. 40 Azar. 25.
Chaldees, Jub. 9^{4,5} 11^{3,7,9,21} Sib. 3²¹⁸; army of, 2Bar. 8⁴; race of, Sib. 5⁴⁴⁰.
Chalkydri, 2En. 12^{1*n*}. 15¹.
Chalphi. *See* Judas, son of.
Chambers in heaven, Sir. 48^{12*n*}; of souls of righteous, 4Ez. 4^{35*n*} 7³⁵—in intermediate state, not before birth, 4^{41*n*}, cf. habitations of spirits (or 'winds') 5^{37*n*}; of sun and moon, 1En. 41⁵; of winds, hail, mist, and clouds, 41⁴; of winds, 60¹²; cf. 'places of rest' of thunder, 60¹⁴.
Chanukka, feast of, 2Macc. § 1 § 4 Judith § 8*a*, 16²⁵ 4Macc. § 8. *See* Dedication.
Chanuneus, 1Esd. 8⁴⁸.
Chaos, 1En. 18¹² 20⁵ 21^{1,2} 108³.
Chaphenatha, 1Macc. 12³⁷.
Charaathalan, 1Esd. 5³⁶.
Characters, new = new Hebrew script, square or 'Assyrian characters', 4Ez. 14^{42*n*}.
Charax, 2Macc. 12¹⁷. *See* Tubieni.
Charea, 1Esd. 5³².
Chariot of God, Sir. 49^{8*n*}.
Charity. *See* Alms.
Charme, 1Esd. 5²⁵.
Charmis, son of Melchiel, Judith 6¹⁵ 8¹¹ 10⁶.
Chaseba, 1Esd. 5³¹.
Chasid policy,—passive resistance, Ass. Mos. 9*n*.; alliance with Maccabees temporary, 9*n*.
Chasidim, 1Macc. 2^{42*n*}. Sir. § 3*iii* 1En. § 1 Test. § § 1, 16 Ass. Mos. 9¹ Zad. 17*n*.; a company of, support Mattathias, 1Macc. 2³⁹⁻⁴⁸ 2^{42*n*}; warlike, 3^{43,44} 2Macc. 14⁶; peaceful, 1Macc. 7¹²⁻¹⁴; = saints, 7^{17*n*}; welcome Alcimus, 7¹³; existed as a party before the Maccabean rising, 1En. 90^{6-17*n*}; symbolized by 'lambs' in 90⁶⁻⁹. *See* Hasidaeans.
Chasm of the abyss of the valley, 1En. 56^{3,4}.
Chasms of the earth levelled up, 1En. 80⁷. *See* Abyss, Ravine, Valley.
Chastening for sin, Ps. Sol. 10¹⁻³ 13⁶⁻⁹ 16¹¹; endurance of, Ps.

Sol. 10² 14¹ 16^{13,15}; of Israel, 2Bar. 1⁵, as son, Ps.Sol. 18⁴; of Jewish nation, through martyrs, 2Macc. 7³³⁻³⁸.
Chastisement, great, 1En. 91^{5,7}; day of, 102⁵; visions of, 13⁸.
Chastity, T.Jos. 4^{1,2} 6⁷ 9^{2,3} 10^{2,3}; an aid to prayer, 4Ez. 6^{32*n*}.
Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, Jub. 13²².
Chelod, son of, Judith 1⁶.
Chellians, Judith 2²⁸.
Chellus, Judith 1⁹.
Chermion, 2En. 57².
Cherubim, Sir. 49^{3*n*}. Azar. 32 Apoc. Mos. 19² 22³ 32² 38³ 1En. 14^{11,18} 20⁷ 61¹⁰ 71⁷ Sib. 3¹ 2En. 12^{1*n*}. 19⁶ 20¹ 21¹ 22² 29^{3(B)}. *See* Angels, Chalkydri.
Chian, Sib. 3⁴²².
Childbirth, Tob. 4⁴.
Children of the camp, Zad. 16⁶; of the covenant = Jews, Ps. Sol. 17¹⁷; of destitute, 1En. 99⁵; of earth = men, 12⁴ 15³ 86⁶ 105¹; = sinners, 100⁶ 102³; of fornication, 10³; of heaven = watchers, 6² 14³; = righteous, 101^{1*n*}; of men, 61² 10^{7,21} 12¹ 15^{4,12} 22^{3,5} 30¹ 40⁹ 42² 64² 69⁶⁻¹⁴ Sir. 17³⁰ Judith 8¹² Zad. 9⁵²; of people (= Israel), 10²; of the pit (= uncircumcised), 81² 16⁷; of righteousness, 1En. 91³ 93²; unlawfully begotten, Wisd. 4⁶; of uprightness, 1En. 105²; of Watchers, 10⁹⁻¹² 12⁶, cf. 14⁶ Zad. 3⁵; of the world, 9⁶⁴. *See* Sons.
Children, curse of sinful. Sir. 161⁵ 22³⁻⁶; duty to, 7²³⁻²⁵; elect and holy = watchers, 1En. 39¹; training of, Sir. 30⁴⁻¹³. *See* Daughters.
Children, Israel will be God's, Jub. 124. *See* Father.
Children, the Three, 1Macc. 2⁵⁰ 3Macc. 6⁶ Azar. 28, 66, 4Macc. 13⁹ 16²¹.
Chislev, month, 1Macc. 15⁴ 4^{52,59}; month, 2Macc. 1^{9,18} 10⁵.
Chittim = the islands and coastlands of Greece, 1Macc. 1^{1*n*}. 8⁹. *See* Kittim.
Chiun your images (= the books of the Prophets), Zad. 9^{5,7}.
Choba, Judith 4⁴.
Chobai, Judith 15^{4,5}.
Choice of guardian angels and intercessors given to nations, Test. *App.* I 9¹⁻⁵.
Choice, moral, 2Bar. 19^{1,2}.
Choir, martyrs as a, 4Macc. 8⁴ 13⁸ 14⁷.
Chola, Judith 15⁴.
Chorbe, 1Esd. 5¹².
[Christ, A. & E. 42^{2,5}.]
Christ, or Anointed One, title of Messiah, 1En. § 11 48¹⁰ 52⁴. *See* Anointed.
Christian additions to Martyrdom of Isaiah, Mart. Is. 1⁷; to Testaments, Test. § 13; doctrine of Return of Christ to judge the world, denied in, 4Ez. 5^{58-69*n*}, cf. 7³³⁻⁴⁴; influence in Syriac version of

Sirach, Sir. § 51; interpolations, A. & E. 29^{2,7} 42²⁻⁵; interpolation concerning vine, 3Bar. 4⁹⁻¹⁵ 13⁴ 15⁴; redactor of 3Baruch, 3Bar. § 8.
Chronicles. *See* Book.
Chronicles of the Kings, 1Esd. 1⁴².
Chronology, Jub. 46⁶⁻⁹ T.G. 8⁵ Ass. Mos. 12^{3*n*}. *See* Seleucid era.
Chrysostom, Sir. § 8, 4Macc. § 8.
Chusi, Judith 7¹⁸.
Cibyra, Sib. 5³¹⁷.
Cilicia, 1Macc. 11¹⁴ 2Macc. 4³⁶ Judith 17¹² 22^{1,25} 4Macc. 4².
Circe, Sib. 3⁸¹⁴.
Circumcision, Jub. § 15, 15^{14,26,29} 16¹⁴; by force, 1Macc. 2⁴⁶; enjoined on Abraham's sons, Jub. 20³; forbidden, 1Macc. 1⁴⁸; punished, 1Macc. 1⁶⁰ 2Macc. 6^{10,11} 4Macc. 4²⁵; severer and later rules concerning, Jub. 15^{14*n*}; token of an eternal covenant, 15⁹⁻¹¹. *See* Uncircumcision.
Cisterns at Jerusalem, Arist. 89.
Citadel at Jerusalem, Arist. 100*n*, 100-104.
Cities of the plain, Wisd. 10⁶.
Citizenship, offered to Jews, 3Macc. 2³⁰ 3²¹. *See* Alexandria, Antioch, Athens.
City = Jerusalem, 4Ez. 32^{4,25} 10⁴⁶ = New Jerusalem, 8⁶² 10^{27,42}, 44⁵⁴; Holy = Jerusalem, Sir. 24¹¹ 36¹¹ 49⁶ Azar. 5 Ps.Sol. 8⁴ Zad. 9⁴⁶; of the sanctuary, 14⁴.
Clean, *see* Heart; and unclean, Zad. 8¹⁴ 15¹; meats, *see* Forbidden.
Cleanse Israel, God will, Jub. 123.
Cleansed, from sin, by confession, Ps. Sol. 9¹²; by God's chastening, 10¹ 18⁶; in water, Zad. 12¹; through repentance, 10¹⁶.
Clement of Alexandria, Sir. § 8.
Cleopatra, married to Alexander Balas, 1Macc. 10^{57,58}; given to Demetrius II, 11¹².
Cleopatra, Add. Esth. F11*n*.
Cloud, pillar of, Wisd. 19⁷; with black and white waters, vision of, 2Bar. 53.
Clouds, angel or spirit of. *See* Angels.
Cnidus, 1Macc. 15²⁵.
Cock, heavenly, 3Bar. 6¹⁵.
Cocytus, 1En. 17^{9*n*}.
Coelesyria, 1Esd. 21^{7,24,27} 4⁴⁸ 6²⁹ 7¹ 8⁶⁷ 1Macc. 10^{69*n*} 2Macc. 3^{5,8} 4⁴ 8⁸ 10¹¹ 3Macc. 3¹⁵. *See also* Phoenicia.
Cohabitation, instrument of, Tob. 7¹³.
Cohortatio ad Graecos, relation of to Aristeas's Letter, Arist. § 9.
Cold and heat, angel or spirit of. *See* Angel.
Colius, called Calitas, 1Esd. 9²³.
Colophon, Sib. 3³⁴³.
Commandment, Sir. 15^{15*n*}.
Commandments, the two great, Test. § 16.
Community, of Israel, Zad. 14⁸;

INDEX

- four orders of Zadokite, 17¹⁻⁵.
See Congregation.
 Companions of Messiah. *See* Messiah.
 Competitors in games, martyrs like, 4Macc. 11²⁰ 15²⁹ 17¹² *sq.*
 Confess before God, Zad. 9^{50(B)}; to priest, 10⁸.
 Confessio Esdrae, two texts of, 4Ez. 8²⁰⁻⁴⁰ *n.*
 Confession, brings cleansing from sin, Ps.Sol. 9¹² *n.*; of exiles in 'Babylon', 1Bar. 1¹⁵⁻³¹⁸; of Israel's sins, Azar. 1-15 Add. Esth. C¹⁷; of sin, Jub. 1²² P.Man. 8-13; and forgiveness, for sick, Sir. 7³⁰ *n.*; = turning from sins, Sir. 4²⁰ *n.*
See Repentance.
 Conflict of Adam and Eve. *See* Adam and Eve.
 Congregation (= Israel or synagogue, P.A. 2² *n.*); the, P.A. 2^{2,5} 4⁷ Zad. 1^{8,17} *n.* 4⁷ 9^{9,22} 11¹⁻³ 16⁶; come into the, 14⁶; enter the, 9⁵⁰ 17⁷; his (censor's), 16^{3,4}; judges of, 11¹; of the elect and holy, 1En. 62⁸; of the righteous, 38¹; of the Righteous and Elect One, 53⁶; of men of perfection of holiness, Zad. 9³⁰; of treacherous men, Zad. 1⁸; prince of all the, 9⁹; trumpets of, 14⁹; the, smitten by the fiery angel, 4Macc. 7¹¹. *See* Community.
 Conscience, T.R. 4³ *n.* T.Jud. 20⁵; = the higher self, Wisd. 17¹¹ *n.*
 Consciousness, man's, of his perishing nature, contrasted with brutes' ignorance, 4Ez. 7⁶²⁻⁷²; man's, of law, condemns him, 7⁷²; of right and wrong in all men, 2Bar. 48⁴⁰ *n.*
 Consummation, 1En. 10¹² 16¹, *see* Day and cf. 19¹ Zad. 6^{6,7}; = final judgement, 2Bar. 30⁸ *n.* 76², *see* End; = time of kingdom, Ass. Mos. 1¹⁸ 2Bar. 27¹⁵ 29⁸; of the age, 2Bar. 69⁴ 83⁷; of all things, 83²²; of God's judgement, 82²; of the times, T.R. 6⁸ *n.*
 Contentment, advantage of, Sir. 29²¹⁻²².
 Corinth, Sib. 3⁴⁸⁷ 4¹⁰⁵ 5²¹⁴.
 Corruption, the present world the sphere of, 2Bar. 21¹⁹ *n.* 40³.
 Cos, 1Macc. 15²³.
 Council of nation, later developed into Sanhedrin, 1Macc. 12⁶ *n.*; of the pious, Ps. Sol. 4¹. *See* Synagogues.
 Counsellor, God needs no, Sir. 42²¹ 2En. 30⁴.
 Counsellors, true and false, Sir. 37⁷⁻¹⁵.
 Counterparts, all things have, T.A. 5^{1,2}.
 Covenant, Ps. Sol. 9¹⁸; children of = Jews, Ps. Sol. 17¹⁷; eternal, Ps. Sol. 10⁶; the holy, repudiated, 1Macc. 1¹⁵; in Zad.—1^{4,12,15} 2¹ 4⁹ 6⁶ 7¹² 8^{3,21}; and mercy, 82¹(B); of the forefathers, 1⁴ 9²⁵, cf. 6⁶; of God, 4¹⁰ 7¹² 8²¹ 9⁴¹ 16^{7,12}, cf. God established with the forefathers, 6⁶; God remembered, 83; of Israel, 5¹, cf. that Moses established with Israel, 19^{8,13}; of repentance, 9¹⁵(B); curses of, 1¹² 19^{1,4}; oath of, 19^{6,8}; ordinances of, 11², *see* Ordinances; members of, for ever, 4³; rules for, § 10 iv.; statutes of, 7¹² 9⁵¹; vengeance of, 1¹² 9¹¹; enter into, 2¹ 4⁹ 8¹¹ 9^{12,15}(B) 9^{28,49} 10² 16⁷ 19⁶; reject, 9³⁷; stand fast, 8²¹ 16¹²; transgress, 1¹⁵ 20⁸; new, drawn up in the land of Damascus, §§ 1, 8, 10, 8¹⁵ 9^{28,37}; those who were faithless to, to be destroyed by Messiah, 9¹⁰⁻²⁰; to be judged, 9²⁶⁻²⁷; excommunicated, 9²⁸⁻³⁹. *See* Faithful.
 Craftiness, how different from wisdom, Sir. 19²⁰⁻³⁰.
 Craftsman, indispensable but not fit for highest office, Sir. 38³¹⁻³⁴. *See* Artisan.
 Crates, viceroy of Cyprus, 2Macc. 4²⁰.
 Created, definite number of the, 2Bar. 23⁴⁻⁵ *n.*
 Creation, P.A. 5¹ 6¹² Zad. 7² 16¹; all corrupted, Jub. 5²⁻³; apocalypticists begin survey with, 4Ez. 3⁴ *n.*; ex nihilo, 2Bar. 21⁴ *n.*; fashioned anew at Exodus, Wisd. 19⁶; God and Wisdom in, Wisd. § 9; hymn in praise of, Sir. 39¹²⁻³⁵; new (when heavens and earth renewed), Jub. 1²⁰ 1En. 45^{4,5} *n.* 51^{4,5} 72¹ 91^{18,16} 2Bar. 32⁶ *n.* 44¹² 57² 4Ez. 5⁴⁵ 7⁷⁵; out of (pre-existing) matter, Wisd. 11¹⁷; teaching of 2Enoch on, 2En. § 6; transformed, 2Bar. 32⁹ 51², *see* Transformation; twenty-two acts of, Jub. 21¹⁻¹⁶; wisdom as seen in, Sir. 16²⁴⁻³⁰, cf. 42¹⁵⁻⁴³ ²⁵; works of, 4Ez. 6³⁸⁻⁵⁹. *See* Nature, Seven Days, World.
 Creatures in heavens, spirits of. *See* Angels.
 Cretan, Sib. 3¹⁴⁰.
 Crete, 1Macc. 10⁶⁷ Sib. 3⁵⁰⁴ 5⁴⁵⁰.
 Crobuzi, Sib. 3⁴⁷⁴.
 Cronos, Sib. 3^{110,121,127,129,131,148,150,152,157,200,201,383}.
 Croton, Sib. 4⁸².
 Crown, P.A. 1¹³ 4^{7,17} 6⁵; of righteousness, Arist. 280 T.L. 8².
 Crowns of glory, T.B. 4¹.
 Cud, chewing the, symbolizes memory, Arist. 153.
 Cup of Inspiration. *See* Inspiration.
 Curse, power of a, Sir. 4⁵ *n.*
 Curses of God's covenant, Zad. 1¹² 19^{1,4}.
 Cush, Jub. 7¹³ 9¹ 10³⁰.
 Cutha, 1Esd. 5³².
 Cyagra, Sib. 3³⁴⁴.
 Cyamon, Judith 7³.
 Cycle, metonic, 2En. 16^{5,8} *n.*, cf. 1En. 74¹³.
 Cymacans, Sib. 5³¹⁴.
 Cyme, Sib. 5³⁰⁸.
 Cyprus, 1Macc. 15²³ 2Macc. 4²⁰ 10¹³ 12² Sib. 3⁴⁵⁷ 4^{129,143} 5^{450,454}.
 Cyrene, 1Macc. 15²³ Sib. 5¹⁹⁸.
 Cymos, Sib. 3⁴⁷⁷.
 Cyrrhus, Sib. 4¹⁴².
 Cyrus, 1Esd. 2^{1,2,3,13,11} 4^{44,57} 5^{55,71,73} 6^{17,18,22,24} 7⁴ Bel 1 1En. 80⁵⁹ *n.* Sib. 3²⁸⁶; decree of, permitting Temple to be rebuilt, 1Esd. § 1, § 6(a) 2¹⁻⁷.
 Cyzicus, Sib. 3^{430,442} 4⁹⁹.
 Dacians, Sib. 3⁵¹³.
 Dacubi, 1Esd. 5²⁸.
 Daisan, 1Esd. 5³¹.
 Dakis, Arist. 47.
 Dalan, 1Esd. 5⁵⁷.
 Damascus, Judith 17¹² 22⁷ 15⁵ Zad. §§ 1, 8, 10, *see* Covenant, Migration, North, Penitents; not permanent headquarters of Zadokites, § 10iii; beyond, Zad. 9⁵; land of, 8^{6,15} 9^{28,37}; the Star came to, 9⁸.
 Dammasek, Jub. 14².
 Dan, Tob. 1⁶ Jub. 28¹⁸ 33²² 34²⁰ 38⁶ 44²⁷⁻²⁹ T.R. 6⁷ T.Jud. 7^{2(9),6} 25² T.Z. 2^{1(a)} 3² 4^{2(w),7,13} T.D. 1² 7³ T.A. 7⁶ Test. *App.* II 3; and Antichrist, T.D. 5⁹ *n.*
 Dan, city, Jub. 13²³.
 Dan, land of, 1En. 13⁷; waters of, 13⁷.
 Danaba, Jub. 38¹⁶.
 Danel, Jub. 4²⁰.
 Danel, 1En. 67.
 Daniel, 1Macc. 2⁶⁰ 3Macc. 6⁷ Sus. § 1, § 2, 45, 48, 51, 52, 55, 59, 61, 64 Bel 2, 4, 5, 7, 9-12, 14, 16, 17-19, 21, 22, 24-27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 37-42 4Ez. 12¹¹ 4Macc. 16^{3,21} 18¹³; semi-angelic figure still in time of Alexander Jannaeus, Sus. § 6 Bel. §§ 1, 2; son of Abal, a priest, Bel 2 (LXX).
 Daniel, Arist. 49.
 Daniel, Additions to. *See* Azariah, Prayer of; Bel and the Dragon; Susanna.
 Danjal, 1En. 69².
 Daphne, sanctuary near Antioch, 2Macc. 4³³.
 Dardanus, sons of, Sib. 3⁵⁰⁹.
 Darius, King, 1Esd. 2³⁰ 3^{1,3,5,7,9} 4⁴⁷ 5^{2,6} 6^{1,6,7,8,23,34} 7^{1,4,5}. *See* Temple, Zerubbabel, Sources of 1Esdas.
 Darius, Codomannus, king of the Persians and Medes, 1Macc. 1¹.
 Darkening the mind, T.R. 3⁸ T.L. 14⁴ T.D. 2⁴ T.G. 6². *See* Light.
 Darkness, curse of sinners, as light the blessing of righteous, 1En. 41⁸ *n.* 10^{4,5} 11^{6,7} 41⁸ 46⁶ 58⁶ 60¹⁹ 62¹⁰ 63^{6,11} 74³ 77³ 80^{4,8} 92⁵ 94⁹ 102⁷ 103⁸ 104⁸ 108^{11,14}.
 Darkness, plague of, Wisd. 17².
 Date in *Prologue* of Sirach, Sir. § 6ii(b).
 Dathaeus, Arist. 50.
 Dathan and Abiram, Sir. 45¹⁸ 4Macc. 2¹⁷.
 Dathema, a stronghold, 1Macc. 5⁹.
 Daughters, care of, Sir. 42⁹⁻¹⁴, cf. 7²⁴⁻²⁵ 26¹⁰⁻¹².
 David, 1Esd. 1^{3,5,15} 5^{5,60} 8^{29,49} Tob. 1⁴ Sir. 45²⁶ 47^{1,2,22} 48¹⁵ 49⁴ 51^{12,111} 2Bar. 61¹ 4Ez. 3²³ 7¹⁰⁸ (10⁴⁶) 12³² Ps. Sol. 17^{5,8,23} 4Macc. 3⁶ *sq.* 18¹⁵ P.A. 5¹⁹ 6³; = a lamb, raised to being a ram, 1En. 89⁴⁵⁻⁴⁶; books of, 2Macc. 2¹³; city of, made into a citadel (by Apollonius), 1Macc. 1³³ 2³¹ 7³² 13³⁶; deeds of, 1Macc. 2⁵⁷ 4³⁰; glorified, Zad. 7⁷; Psalmist, 4Macc. 18¹⁵; read not in the sealed Book of the Law, Zad. 7⁵; son of = Messiah, Ps.Sol. 17²³; thirst of, 4Macc. 3^{6,7,15}.
 Davidic line, animus against, Zad. § 12, cf. Judah; Messiah, expected in Ps.Sol. § 7, 17²³ *n.* Sir. § 3iii, 51¹². Contrast Sir. 36, 44-48.
 Day of affliction, 1En. 48^{8,10} 50²; of consummation, 1En. 10¹² 16¹; of cursing and chastisement, 102⁹; of darkness, 94⁹; of death of giants, 16¹; of decision = of judgement, Wisd. 3¹⁸; of destruction, 1En. 16¹ 98¹⁰; of judgement, 22^{4,13} 97³ 100⁴, great, 54⁶; of judgement and consummation, 10¹²; of the great judgement, 10⁶ 19¹ 94⁹ 98¹⁰ 99¹⁵ 104⁵; of great shame, 98¹⁰; of judgement, the great, 22¹¹ 84⁴, *see* Judgement; of judgement, 4Ez. 7^{38,39,102,104,105,113} 12³⁴, no prayer or atonement on, 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁴⁻¹⁰⁵, souls of righteous guarded in chambers till, *see* Intermediate state; of slaughter, 1En. 16¹ 94⁹; of unceasing bloodshed, 99⁶; of suffering and tribulation, 45² 63⁸; of tribulation, 1¹ 96²; and pain, 55³; unrighteousness, 97²; of wrath, Sir. 5⁸.
 De montibus Sina et Sion, cited under 2En. 30¹³.
 Dead, the, Tob. 5¹⁰, *see* Sacrifice, Sheol; burial of, Tob. § 6 § 8ii § 10B(4); duty to, Sir. 7³³; Fable of the Grateful, Tob. § 8ii; guarded, 2Bar. 23⁴ *n.* 4Ez. 7^{36,121}, *see* Chambers; mourning for, Sir. 38¹⁶⁻²³; pollution by, Zad. 14¹⁶; prayers for, 2Macc. 12⁴⁴; respect for, Sir. 8⁷; sacrifices for, 2Macc. 12^{43,45}; sacrifices of the, P.A. 3⁶ *n.*; sacrifices to, Jub. 22¹⁷ Tob. 4¹⁷ *n.*; sin offerings for, 2Macc. 12⁴³.
 Death, Tob. 4¹⁰ 12⁹ *sq.* (*see* Sheol) 1En. 94^{2,3} 98¹⁶ 102¹⁰ 4Ez. 8⁶³; abolished, for righteous, 2En. 65¹⁰ 4Ez. 8⁶³, *see* Hades; came through Eve, 2En. 30¹⁸ *n.*; certain, Sir. 14¹⁷; day of, P.A. 2^{5,14} 3¹ 4²⁹; due to the devil, Wisd. 2²⁴; to sin, 2En. 30¹⁶ *n.*; to sin or rather to sinful unrighteous knowledge, 1En. 60¹¹; = eternal rest, Sir. 30¹⁷ *n.*; = long sleep (for the righteous), 1En. 100⁶; physical and spiritual, Wisd. § 9; pronounce no man happy before, Sir. 11²⁸; traced to Adam, 2Bar. 23⁴, *see* Adam; views on, two, Sir. § 1, 41¹⁻⁴. *See* End.
 Deborah, Tob. 1⁸.
 Deborah, Jub. 31³⁰ 32³⁰.

INDEX

Deceit, 1En. 91⁸ 93⁴ 94⁶ 104¹⁰.
See Spirits.
Dedication, Feast of, 1Macc. 4⁵² *sg. n.* 2Macc. 1⁹ *n.*; instituted, 2Macc. 10¹⁻⁸.
Deep, the, = subterranean waters, Sir. 1³ *n.* 16¹⁸; or abyss, God's look dries up, 4Ez. 8²³; mouth of, 1En. 17⁸; *see* Abyss, Depth; shut up and sealed by Name of God, P. Man. 4.
Deification of kings, 2Macc. 11²³ Wisd. 14¹⁷.
Deliberation, clear, 4Macc. 1¹⁵ *n.*
Delos, 1Macc. 15²³ Sib. 3³⁶³ 4⁹².
Deluge, Jub. 5¹⁹⁻³² 1En. 10² 54⁷⁻¹⁰ 65¹ 89³⁻⁵ 91⁵ 106¹⁵ 2Bar. 56¹⁵ 4Macc. 15⁸¹; foretold to Noah, 1En. 65¹; held in check, 1En. 66².
Demeter, Sib. 3¹²³.
Demetrius I, Soter, son of Seleucus, 1Macc. 7^{1,4} 8³¹ 9¹ 10^{2,3,15}, 22, 25, 48-50, 52 2Macc. 14^{1,4,5,11,26} Sib. 3³⁸⁸⁻⁴⁰⁰ *n.*; accession, 1Macc. 7¹⁻²⁰; death, 10⁵⁰ *n.*; privileges alleged to be granted to Jews by, 1Macc. § 7ii (*b*) 10²⁵⁻⁴⁵—Jerusalem to be holy and free; feast days to be observed; immunity and release for Jews during feasts; Jews to have own laws; taxation largely remitted; Temple to receive large gifts.
Demetrius II, Nicator, 1Macc. 10⁶⁷ *n.* 11^{9,12,30,32,38-42,52,55,63} 12^{24,34} 13^{34,35} 14^{1-3,38} 15²² 2Macc. 17; king, 1Macc. 11¹⁹.
Demetrius of Phalerum, Arist. § 1 *9 n.*, 11, 28, 29, 301, 308, 309, 312, 317.
Democritus, Greek proverbial philosopher, Ah. § 2; references by, to Ahikar, Ah. § 3a.
Demon, Tob. 3¹⁷ 6^{8,14} 8².
Demonology of 1Enoch, 1En. § 11 (*d*); fallen watchers, 669^{2,3} 86 106^{13,14}; demons proper, 15^{8,9,11} 16¹ 19 69¹² 99⁷; of Jubilees reappears largely in N.T., Jub. § 15; demons attack men and rule over them, Jub. § 15, 10^{3,6}; corrupt and lead astray and destroy the wicked, 10⁸; subject to prince Mastema or Satan, 10⁸; sacrificed to, as gods, 22¹⁷; their activities cease on the judgement of Mastema, 10⁸, or setting up of Messianic Kingdom, when Satan is no longer able to hurt mankind, 23²⁹.
Demons, *see* Demonology, Spirits; children sacrificed to, Jub. 1¹¹; destroy without incurring judgement until consummation, 16¹; = evil spirits, *see* Angels of punishment, Satans; impure spirits, 99⁷; lead astray Noah's sons, Jub. 10^{1,2}; men sacrifice to, as gods, 1En. 19¹ 99⁷; restrained on Noah's prayer, Jub. 10^{9,13}; sacrificing to, 1Bar. 4⁷; = spirits of the giants, 1En. 15^{8,9,11} 16¹; to punish men, 3Bar. 16³.
Demophon, 2Macc. 12².

Deny. *See* Name.
Depth, 1En. 60¹¹; uttermost, 17⁸; depths made fast, 69¹⁰.
See Abyss, Deep.
Desert, demons of, 4Macc. 18⁸ *n.*
Desire. *See* Will.
Desolation. *See* Abomination.
Destiny, Wisd. 19⁴; of righteous, § 9.
Destroyer = Demetrius I, Sib. 3³⁶⁶; = destroying angel, Wisd. 18²⁸.
Destruction, Sir. 20²⁵ Ps.Sol. 9⁹ 16⁵; (or pit), eternal, Ps.Sol. 2⁵⁵; for ever, 3¹³; Sheol, darkness and, 14⁹; mark of, *see* Mark.
Deuteronomy, Ass. Mos. 1⁵.
Devil, Wisd. 2²⁴; A. & E. 10² 11^{1,2} 12¹ 13¹ 17² 33² S.A. & E. 33¹ 34¹⁻⁴ 35¹ 38¹ 39¹ Apoc. Mos. 15⁸ 16^{1,2,5} 17⁴ 21³; envy of, for Adam, Wisd. 2²⁴ 2En. 31³ 3Bar. 4⁸, *see* Death; fall of, A. & E. 12¹⁻¹⁷ 8.
Devils, 4Macc. 18⁸ *n.*
Devote, Zad. 20¹². *See* Ban.
Diadem of priesthood, T.L. 8¹⁰.
Diaspora, Add. Esth. § 1; addressed in 1Bar. 3⁹⁻⁴, 1Bar. § 4, § 7; duty of, to Law and Temple, Tob. § 7, *see* Dispersion; gathering of, 1Bar. 5⁵.
Didache, cites Sirach, Sir. § 8; relation of, to Sirach, Sir. § 7 (*a*).
Didactic sections in Tobit, Tob. § 9.
Didascalia, Sir. § 8; contains P.Man., §§ 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
Dinah, Jub. 28²³ 30^{2,3,4,12,24} 33²² 34^{15,16} 44¹⁸; ravishing and avenging of, Judith 9² T.L. 2² 5³ 6⁸.
Dinah, daughter of Barakiel, Jub. 4¹⁵.
Dione, Sib. 3¹²³.
Dionysia, festival of, 2Macc. 6⁷.
Dionysus, 2Macc. 6⁷, 14³³; and Hades, Wisd. 1¹⁰ *n.*; feast of, 3Macc. § 6; worship of, 3Macc. 2²⁹.
Dioscurus, month, 2Macc. 11²⁴ *n.*
Dis, Arist. 15.
Discernment attained by experience, Sir. 36¹⁸⁻²⁰⁽²³⁻²⁵⁾.
Discretion, Tob. 4¹⁴.
Dispensation from heaven to assist Jacob's deceit, Jub. 26¹⁸.
Dispersed of Israel, gathering together of, Ps.Sol. 8⁸⁴ 11³ 17¹⁹ *n.* 28⁵⁰; by Messiah, 17²⁸. *See* Ten Tribes.
Dispersion, the return from, 2Bar. 77⁶ 78⁷ *n.*; restoration of, Sir. 48¹⁰. *See* Diaspora.
Disputes with evil men, danger of, Sir. 81⁴⁻¹⁹. *See* Quarrels.
Divinations, vanity of, Sir. 34 (31)¹⁻⁸.
Divinities, heathen. *See* Gods.
Division of earth among Noah's sons, Jub. 81^{0,11} Sib. 3¹¹⁴ *n.*
Divorce forbidden in Zad. §§ 2, 9⁴⁰ 13. *See* 7¹ *n.*
Djemchid, king, and the Devas, Persian story of, Mart.Is. § 8.
Dodona, Sib. 3¹⁴⁴.
Dog, Tob. § 9, 6² 11⁵.
Dog-star, the, Sib. 5⁵²⁶.

Dogs = Philistines, 1En. 89⁴²⁻⁴⁹.
Dok, a stronghold, 1Macc. 16¹⁵ *n.*
Dominion. *See* Power.
Domitian, 4Ez. 11²⁴ *n.*
Dor, 1Macc. 15^{11,13,25}.
Dorotheus, Arist. 182, 183, 186.
Dorylaeum, Sib. 3⁴⁰⁶ *n.*
Dosa ben Harchinas, P.A. 3¹⁵.
Dositheans. *See* Zadokite Party.
Dositheus, Maccabean leader, 2Macc. 12^{19,24}.
Dositheus, man of Tabieni, 2Macc. 12³⁵.
Dositheus, priest, Add. Esth. F¹¹.
Dositheus, son of Drimylus, 3Macc. § 5, 1³.
Dositheus, an elder, Arist. 50.
Dosthai ben Jannai, P.A. 3¹¹.
Dotaea = Dothan, Judith 3⁹. *See* Dothaim.
Dothaim = Dothan, Judith 4⁶ 7^{3,18} 8³. *See* Dotaea.
Dothan, Jub. 29¹⁴ 34¹⁰ T.S. 2⁹.
Double-faced men, T.A. 3² 4¹⁻⁴, guilty of double sin, T.A. 6²; — heart, Sir. 1²⁸ 1En. 91⁴; — tongued, Sir. 5¹⁴ 6¹.
Doxologies, Enochic, 1En. 22¹⁴ 25⁷ 27² 36⁴ 39⁹⁻¹³ 48¹⁰ 81³ 83¹¹ 84 90⁴⁰.
Doxology, Tob. 13¹⁸ Sir. 51³⁰; (Thine is the glory), P. Man. 15².
Drachma, Tob. 5¹⁵.
Dragon, Bel. § 2, 23 *sgg.*
Dragon, the, constellation, Sib. 5⁵²².
Dragon, the = Pompey, Ps. Sol. 2²⁹ *n.*
Dragons, 2Bar. 10⁸ *n.*; = Kings of the Gentiles, Zad. 9^{19,20}; vision of, Add. Esth. A. 5⁻¹¹.
Dream of Mordecai. *See* Mordecai.
Dream-Visions, of Enoch, 1En. 83-90; first, 83²; second, 85⁴; of Ezra, 4Ez. 10⁵⁹.
Dreams and divinations, vanity of, Sir. 34 (31)¹⁻⁸.
Dress, importance of, Sir. 11¹⁴ *n.* 10³⁰.
Drimylus, 3Macc. 1³.
Drunkards, sin and doom of, 3Bar. 4^{16,17}.
Drunkennes, Tob. 4¹⁵; evils of, T.Jud. 16; warnings against, T.Jud. 14.
Dudael, 1En. 10⁴.
Dues remitted by Demetrius I, 1Macc. 10²²⁻³⁰.
Duidain, 1En. 60⁸.
Dumb, brutes struck, when Adam was driven from Eden, Jub. 3²⁸ *n.*
Duty, filial, Sir. 31¹⁻¹⁶; of reproving a friend, 19¹³⁻¹⁷; of wealthy, 14³⁻¹⁹; to cattle, 7²²; to children, 7²³⁻²⁵; to dead, 7²³; to friend, 7¹⁸ 22¹⁹⁻²⁶, *see* Friend; to God and His ministers, 7²⁹⁻³¹; to mourners, 7²⁴; to parents, 7^{27,28}; to poor, 7^{32,33}; to servant and slave, 7²⁰⁻²¹; to sick, 7³⁵, *see* Visiting; to wife, 7^{19,26}.
Dwell on the earth, those that, 1En. 37³ *n.*; in good sense,

37² 40^{6,7} 48⁵ (in genuine passages); in interpolations of parables, 37-71—in bad sense, 54⁹ 55¹ 60⁵ 65^{6,12} 66¹ 67⁸; merely geographical, 43⁴ 46⁷ 53¹ 54⁶ 55² 67⁷ 69^{1,7} 70¹. *See* Inhabitants.
Dwelling-place, of the Elect One, 1En. 39⁷; of God (= temple), 1Esd. 1⁵⁰; of the holy, 1En. 39⁴ *n.* 7⁸ 71¹⁶. *See* Abodes, Chambers, Mansions.
Dystrus, Tob. 2¹².
Eagle, 4Ez. 11 14¹⁷; = fourth kingdom which appeared to Daniel, 4Ez. 10⁶⁰ 12³⁵ *n.*; = Rome, Israel to overcome, Ass. Mos. 10⁸; -vision, 4Ez. 10⁶⁰⁻¹² 35; interpretation of, 4Ez. 12³⁻³⁹.
Eagles = Greeks or Macedonians, 1En. 90²⁻¹⁶.
Eagles' Dale, Ah. 3^{9,14,15} (Syr.). *See* Nisrin, plain of.
Earth, ends of, *see* Ends; middle of = Jerusalem, 1En. 26¹; midst of, abyss in = Gehenna, 1En. 90²⁶; pillars of, 1En. 57²; cleansed, 1En. 10^{20,22}; healed, 1En. 10⁷; shall rejoice, 1En. 51³; renewed, Jub. 1²⁹, *see* Creation, Heavens; elect shall inherit, 1En. 5⁷, walk thereon, 51⁵; righteous shall dwell upon, 51⁵; transformed by God, 45⁵.
Earth-born, Test. *App.* I 1¹ 4Ez. 4⁶.
East, help from, i.e. Jews of Babylon, 1Bar. 4²⁶ 5⁵.
Eating and drinking, *see* Table; herbs, 4Ez. 9²³⁻²⁵ *n.*
Eber, Jub. 8⁷ Test. *App.* I 8⁶.
Ebionism, half-way between Christianity and Judaism, 3Bar. § 8.
Ebla, 1En. 78².
Eblaen, T.L. 6⁹.
Ecbatana, 1Esd. 6²³ 2Macc. 9³ Tob. 3⁷ 5⁶ 61⁰ 7¹ 14¹² *sg.* Judith 1^{2,14}.
Ecclesiastes, relation of Wisdom to, Wisd. § 8.
Ecclesiasticus. *See* Sirach.
Eddinus, a singer, 1Esd. 1¹⁵.
Eden, garden of, Jub. 3^{9,12,15,26}, 29, 32, 35 4^{23,25} 81^{6,19,23} T.Jud. 25² T.D. 5¹² 2En. 31¹ P.A. 5^{22,24}; land of, Jub. 4²⁴ 81⁶, is holy of holies, 81⁰. *See* Garden, Paradise.
Eden of blessing, Sir. 40²⁷.
Eder, T.R. 3¹³.
Edna, Tob. 7^{2,3,8} 10¹².
Edna, daughter of Azrial, Jub. 4²⁷.
Edna, wife of Enoch, 1En. 85³, cf. 83². *See* Edni.
Edna, Terah's wife, Jub. 11¹⁴.
Edni, wife of Enoch, daughter of Danel, Jub. 4²⁰. *See* Edna.
Edom = Esau, Jub. 24⁶ 38^{8,14}.
Edom, land, Jub. 36¹⁹ 37¹⁰ 38^{15,16,24}; to sin a complete sin unto death and be rooted out, Jub. 26³⁴; subdued, T.Jud. 9⁷⁻⁸.
Edomites, 1Esd. 4⁴⁵ 8⁶⁹; = semi-Edomite population among the

INDEX

Jews of the Return, 1Esd. § 5 (c); breach with Edomites, § 5 (f); = wild boars in 1En. 89¹²_n. 42-72 90¹³_n; ? = kites, 90¹¹.
Edos, 1Esd. 9²⁵.
Effulgence, Wisd. 7²⁶_n.
Egla, Jub. 34²⁰.
Ego, the, Wisd. 8²⁰_n.
Egypt, 1Esd. 1^{25,26,35,37,38} 1Macc. 2⁵³ 3³² 10^{51,57} 11^{1,13,59} 2Macc. 1^{1,10} 4²¹ 5^{1,8,12} 6²⁹ 3Macc. 2²⁰ 3¹² 7¹ Judith 1^{9,10,12} 6⁹ Sir. *Prologue* 15, 1Bar. 1^{19,20} Add. Esth. C⁹ F¹¹ Jub. 1¹ 9⁴ 1C³³ 13^{11,12,15} 17¹³ 24^{8,9} 32²³ 34^{9,11} 38¹³ 39^{2,14} 40^{1,3,4,6,8,9,12} 42^{2,4,9,13,14,20} 43¹⁹ 44^{2,5,6,8,10,18,20,24,29,31,33} 45^{6,8,9} 12-14 46^{1,3,5-11,12,14,16} 47² 48^{1,2} 49^{2,5,6,23} Arist. 4, 6, 12, 13, 20, 22, 23, 35 T.R. 7² T.S. 4³ 6^{2(β)} T.L. 11⁸ 12⁵ T.Jud. 6⁸ 12^{11,12} T.Z. 3⁶ 6³ 8⁴ T.D. 5⁸ T.Jos. 11^{4,5} 17⁴ 2C^{5,6(c)} T.B. 2¹ 10¹ 12^{1(β),3(β),4} Test. *App.* I 1¹⁰ II 72-73, 80 Sib. 3^{46,161,193,208,249,255,314,348,608,614} 47² 53,57,60,73,112,179,279,458,460,488, 489,501,505,507 Ass.Mos. 3¹¹ 4Ez. 9²⁹ 14^{3,29} Ps.Sol. 2³⁰ 4Macc. 4²² Zad. 4⁵; conversion of, Sib. 5⁴⁸⁴⁻⁵⁰³; exodus from, 1En. 89²¹⁻²⁷; Jewish garrisons in, *see* Jewish; Jews in, Arist. 12, 310; King of, *see* Pharaoh; plagues of, 1En. 89²⁰ Wisd. 16-19; river of, Judith 1⁹ Jub. 10²⁹ 14¹⁸; subdued by Antiochus Epiphanes, 1Macc. 1¹⁶⁻²⁰ temple to God built in (Onias'), Sib. 5⁵⁰¹⁻⁵⁰³, destroyed, 5⁵⁰⁷; Tobit written in, Tob. § 7; upper parts of, Tob. 8⁸.
Egyptian, Jub. 17² 34²⁰ 39^{3,4,11} Sib. 3¹⁵⁹ 5³³⁸ T.Jos. 4^{5(β)} 5^{1(β)} 7^{2(β)} 8^{1(β)}; maid, Jub. 14^{22,23}; priests, Arist. 140; sea, Jub. 8¹⁴; woman, T.R. 4⁹ T.Jos. 5⁶ 4^{3(β)} 8^{1(β),5} 16⁵.
Egyptians, 1Esd. 8⁶⁹ Judith 5¹² Jub. 12¹ 42^{3,13} 45¹⁰ 46^{2,6} 47^{10,11} 48^{3,9,12,13,16-18} Arist. 11, 36, 138 T.S. 8²⁻⁴ Sib. 3⁵⁹⁷ Ass. Mos. 6⁹; and Canaanites, war between, Jub. 46⁶⁻⁹_n; chastened lightly first for reformation, then severely for punishment, Wisd. 12¹_n; punishment of fits sin, Jub. § 15, 48¹⁴; = wolves in 1En. 89^{13-27,55}.
Ehi, Jub. 44²⁵.
Ekrebel, Judith 7¹⁸.
Ekron, 1Macc. 10⁸⁹.
El El wa Abirer, Jub. 40⁷_n.
Ela, 1Esd. 9²⁷.
Ela, mountains of, Jub. 9².
Elam, Jub. 7¹⁸ 8^{1,21} 9² 10⁵⁵ 13²² Ah. 3⁷ (Syr.). *See* Persia.
Elam, a returning exile, 1Esd. 5¹² 8³⁸.
Elamites, T.N. 5^{8(β)}.
Elasa, a place, 1Macc. 9⁵.
Elda, land of, Jub. 3³².
Elder, Sir. 6³⁴ 8^{9,19} 25⁴ 32³. *See* Agcd.
Elders, the, P.A. 1¹; the rulers of the stars, 2En. 4¹; who served Ashtaroth, Zad. 7⁵.
Eleazar, son of Levi, 1Esd. 8²; and Joshua, Zad. 7⁵.
Eleazar, 1Esd. 8⁴³.

Eleazar, 1Esd. 8⁶³.
Eleazar, 1Esd. 9¹⁹.
Eleazar, 1Esd. 9²⁶.
Eleazar, a scribe, 2Macc. 6¹⁸ (martyred, 6¹⁸⁻³¹) 3Macc. 6¹ 4Macc. 1⁸ 5^{4,14} 6^{1,5}_n 14¹⁶ 7^{1,5,12} 9⁵ 10¹⁵ 17¹⁵; = Taxo, Ass.Mos. 9¹_n; Eleazar, not Judas, the true hero in Ass.Mos. § 1.
Eleazar, an elder, Arist. 50.
Eleazar, 1Macc. 8¹⁷.
Eleazar, the High Priest of the Jews, Arist. 1, 33, 35, 41, 50, 83, 96, 112, 123, 125, 172, 173, 320.
Eleazar, oldest of Jewish priests, present, Arist. 184.
Eleazar Avaran, a Maccabee, 1Macc. 2⁹ 6⁴³; death, 6⁴³; play on name 'God's Help', 2Macc. 8²³.
Eleazarben Arach, P.A. 2^{10-13,18}.
Eleazar ben Azariah, P.A. 3^{21,22}.
Eleazar ben Judah, P.A. 3⁹.
Eleazar ben Shammua, P.A. 4¹⁵.
Eleazar ha-Kappar, P.A. 4^{28,29}.
Eleazar Hisma, P.A. 3²³.
Eleazar the Modiite, P.A. 3¹⁶.
Eleazar. *See* Jeshua, son of Eleazar; Phinehas, son of Eleazar.
Elect, blessings of covenant for, 1En. 60⁸; dwell in garden of life, 61¹², with elect, 61⁴; God will protect, 1⁸; in light of eternal life, 58⁸; inherit the earth, 1En. 5⁷; light, grace, and peace shall be to, 5^{7a}; live and never again sin, 5⁸; mansions of, 41²; Son of Man revealed to, 62⁷; stand before Son of Man, 62⁸; tree of life, fruit for, 25⁶; wisdom bestowed on, 5⁸; walk on renewed earth, 1En. 51⁵; of Israel, Zad. 6², share in Messianic Kingdom, Jub. 1²⁹; titles and attributes of: Elect, 1En. 1^{3,8} 5⁷ 25⁵ 40⁵ 41² 48¹ 51⁵ 56⁸ 58¹⁻³ 61^{4,12} 62^{7,8} 93²; Elect ones, His, 1En. 56⁶ 62^{11,12} Mine, 45^{3,5} 48⁹; The Elect One (title of Messiah peculiar to part of parables, 4C⁵_n.) 1En. 4C⁵_n. 49^{2,4} 51^{5,5} 52^{6,9} 53⁶ 61^{5,8,10} 62¹; of righteousness and faith, 39⁶; Mine Elect One, 45^{3,4} 55⁴; and holy, 62⁸; and righteous, 1¹ 60⁸; of the world, 93¹; who hang upon the Lord of Spirits, 4C⁵, *see* Holy, Righteous; *see* 100 Messiah; (of children of Watchers) and beloved ones, 56^{3,4}; (of Watchers) and holy children, 39¹; works, (of righteous), 38².
Election, the Divine, Zad. 2⁶.
See Foreknowledge, Predestination.
Elements, four primal, 4Ez. 4¹⁰_n. 8⁸_n; interchanged (metabolism), Wisd. § 9, 19¹⁸; worshipped, 13².
Elephants = a class of giants, 1En. 86⁴; in war, 1Macc. 3³⁴_n. 6³⁴_n. 2Macc. 11⁴ 13²_n. 15²⁰ 3Macc. 5¹ &c.
Eleutherus, river, 1Macc. 11⁷_n. 12⁵⁰.
Elew, city, Jub. 34¹¹.

Eliab, Judith 8¹.
Eliadas, 1Esd. 9²⁸.
Eliali, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Eliaonias, 1Esd. 8³¹.
Eliasib, 1Esd. 9¹.
Eliasibus, 1Esd. 9²⁴.
Eliasimus, 1Esd. 9²⁸.
Eliasis, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Eliezer, Jub. 14².
Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, P.A. 2¹⁰⁻¹⁴.
Eliezer ben Jacob, P.A. 4¹³.
Elihu, Judith 8¹.
Elijah, 1Macc. 2⁵⁸ Sir. 48¹⁻¹² Mart. Is. 2¹⁴ 1En. 89⁵²_n. 93⁸ 2Bar. 77²⁴ 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁰.
Elijah, greatness of, in Jewish legend, Sir. 48¹¹_n; to turn fathers' heart to children and to restore the tribes of Israel, 48¹⁰.
Elim, Jub. 50¹.
Elionas, 1Esd. 9²².
Elionas, 1Esd. 9³².
Eliphalat, 1Esd. 8³⁹.
Eliphalat, 1Esd. 9³⁸.
Elisha, Sir. 48¹²⁻¹⁶ Zad. 9^{28(A)}.
Elisha, an elder, Arist. 47.
Elisha, an elder, Arist. 48.
Elisha, an elder, Arist. 50.
Elisha ben Abuiah, P.A. 4²⁵.
Eljo, Jub. 7²².
Elkiah, Judith 8¹.
El Nathan, 1Esd. 8⁴⁴.
Elomeel, 1En. 82¹⁴.
Elon, Jub. 44¹⁷.
Elul, month, 1Macc. 14²⁷.
Elymaeans. *See* Arioeh.
Elymais, 1Macc. 6¹_n. 2Macc. 1^{13,14} Tob. 2¹⁰.
Emadabun, 1Esd. 5⁵⁸.
Ematheis, 1Esd. 9²⁰.
Emmaus, 1Macc. 3^{40,57} 4³ 9⁵⁰.
Emmer, 1Esd. 9²¹.
Emmeruth, 1Esd. 5²⁴.
Emzara, Jub. 4³³.
Enaim, T.Jud. 12¹.
Enasibus, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Enchantments, 1En. 7¹ 8³, cf. 65⁶.
End, 4Ez. 6^{6,7,15} 7^{33,112} 12^{32,34}, *see* Consummation; of all generations, 1En. 10¹⁵; description of, 4Ez. 6^{13-20,23-24}; = destruction of world, 1En. 10² 65⁶, first, 93⁴; *'egcb'*, Sir. 16⁸; latter, of men manifests their character, T.A. 6⁴⁻⁷ Sir. 3²⁶; man known by latter end, 11²⁸; remember last end, 7³⁶; of the age, 4Ez. 12³⁴_n; of the days, 4Ez. 13³² Zad. § 10. iv, 6² 8¹⁰ (*see* Times); sons of Zadok hold office in, 6², Teacher of Righteousness to arise in, 8¹⁰; of heaven and earth, 1En. 18¹⁴, *see* Ends; of heavens, 1En. 39⁸; of man = death, is evil, Sir. 18¹²; of the righteous, 1En. 102¹⁰; of time, 2En. 33¹¹; of ungodly contrasted with honoured name of righteous, Sir. 41⁵⁻¹³; signs of the, Sib. 3⁷⁹⁶⁻⁸⁰⁸ 4Ez. 4⁵¹⁻⁵¹³ 6¹¹⁻²⁸ 8⁶³⁻⁹¹²; to come through God alone, 6⁹_n; visions of, vouchsafed to Abraham, 4Ez. 3¹⁴.
Endemias, Arist. 49.
Ends, of all, 1En. 19³; of earth, 1En. 1⁵ 18⁵ 23¹ 33^{1,2} 34¹ 35¹

36¹ 65² 76¹ 106⁸; of heaven, 36² 54⁹ 57² 60^{11,20} 71⁴ 93¹²; of the seasons, 4Ez. 14⁵.
Endurance, Sir. 2¹⁴_n. *See* Chastening.
Eneneus, 1Esd. 5⁸.
Ennatan, 1Esd. 8⁴⁴.
Enoch, Sir. 44¹⁶ 49^{14,16} Wisd. 4¹⁰ Jub. 4^{16,22} 7^{38,39} 10¹⁷ 19^{24,27} 21¹⁰ 1En. 1^{1,2} 12^{1,3} 13¹ 14²⁴ 15¹ 19³ 21^{5,9} 25¹ 37¹ 39² 60¹ 65^{2,5,9} 66³ 67⁴ 68¹ 69²⁹ 80¹ 81¹ 82² 91³ 92¹ 93^{1,2,3} 106^{7,13} 107³ 108¹ T.S. 5⁴ T.L. 10⁹_n. 14^{1(β)} 16^{1(β)} T.Jud. 18^{1(β)} T.Z. 3^{4(β)} T.D. 5⁶ T.N. 4¹ T.B. 9¹ 10⁶.
Enoch, 1 Book of, account, short, § 1; bibliography, § 12; canonicity, § 3; different elements in, and their dates, §§ 6, 7; influence on (a) Jewish, (b) N.T., (c) Patristic literature, § 10, on N.T. doctrine, § 11; MSS., Ethiopic, § 4; original language of 6-36 Aramaic, of 1-5, 37-104 Hebrew, § 9; poetical element in, § 8; title, § 2; Versions, Ancient—Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, § 5; Sections—I, 1-36; II, 37-71; III, 72-82; IV, 83-90; V, 91-104; additional fragments, 105-8; appendix, 108.
Enoch, Hebrew Book of, 2En. §§ 1, 4.
Enoch, 2 Book of, account, short, § 1; authorship, § 5; bibliography, § 8; date, § 5; language, § 3; place of writing, § 3; relation to Jewish and Christian literature, § 4; value for religious thought, § 7; Versions, two Slavonic, § 2; views on creation, anthropology, and ethics, § 6; 2 Book of cites Sirach, Sir. § 7 (b); relation of 3Baruch to, 3Bar. § 5.
Enoch, admonition of, to his children, 2En. 39¹-51⁸ 54-63⁴ 65¹⁻⁶⁶; ascent of, into heavens, 2En. 3¹-21⁶ 68¹; conducted to Garden of Eden, Jub. 4²³; early removal from the world, a blessing, Wisd. 4¹⁰, figure of, in apocalyptic, Sir. 44¹⁰_n; foretold the future, Jub. 4¹⁹; functions of, transferred to Moses, 2Bar. 13³_n. 59⁶⁻¹¹_n; heavenly scribe, Jub. 4²³; knows wisdom, Jub. 4¹⁷; led by Michael before the Lord's face, 2En. 22¹; lives on earth thirty days to give instruction, 2En. 36^{1,2}; miracle of knowledge (*or* an example of repentance) to all generations, Sir. 44¹⁰_n; recounted weeks of jubilees and Sabbaths of years, Jub. 4¹⁸; the scribe, 1En. 12³, of God's works, 2En. 23¹⁻⁴ 68², of men's deeds, 2En. 40¹³_n. 53² 64⁵; scribe of righteousness, 1En. 12⁴ 15¹; testified to sons of men, Jub. 4¹⁸, to Watchers, Jub. 4²²; translation of, in a vision, 1En. 14^{8,9}, in sleep, 1En. 13^{7,10} 14², in reality, 1En. 39³ 52¹ (cf. 'hidden', 12¹), final ('named raised aloft'), 70¹ 2En. 67² 68³, in

INDEX

spirit, 1En. 71^{1,5,6}; was with angels of God six jubilees of years, Jub. 4²¹; words of, Jub. 21¹⁰ 1En. § 2; writes signs of heaven, Jub. 4¹⁷.
 Enoch, Cain's son, Jub. 4⁹.
 Enoch, Reuben's son, Jub. 38⁸ 44¹².
 Enos, Jub. 4^{11,13} 19²⁴ 1En. 37¹ 2En. 33¹⁰.
 Envy, warning against, T.S. 3¹ 6² T.G. 7^{1,2,7}; cure of, T.S. 3^{4,6} 4⁷ T.G. 5³; evils of, T.S. 5²⁻³ 4⁸⁻⁹; not to, another's prosperity, T.G. 7¹⁻². *See* Eye.
 Ephesus, Sib. 3^{343,459} 5^{293,296}.
 Ephraim, Judith 6² Sir. 47^{21,23} Zad. 9³; departed from Judah, 9⁹[9⁴] 16¹¹.
 Ephrath = Bethlehem, Jub. 32³⁴ T.R. 3¹³.
 Ephron, city, taken by Judas M., 1Macc. 5⁴⁶; siege of, 2Macc. 12²⁷ *sg.*
 Ephron the Hittite, Jub. 36².
 Epicurean, P.A. 2¹⁸; tenets, Wisd. 2¹².
 Epicureanism, Sir. § 1.
 Epiphanius, relation of his account of LXX Translation to Aristas's Letter, Arist. § 9(B).
 Epiphany of God, 3Macc. 5^{8,51}. *See* Theophanies.
 Epiph(s), month, 3Macc. 6³⁸.
 Epistle to Two and a Half Tribes. *See* Tribes.
 Epitaph suggested for martyrs, 4Macc. 17⁹.
 Er, Jub. 41^{1,3} 44³⁴ T.Jud. 10^{1,2}.
 Erae, 1En. 78².
 Erasmus, 4Macc. § 8.
 Eretria, Arist. 201.
 Eri, Jub. 44²⁰.
 Eridanus, Sib. 5³¹⁶.
 Ermis. *See* Hermes.
 Ermon, 2En. 18⁴. *See* Hermon.
 Ermon = Heroonpolis, Jub. 46⁶.
 Erub, Pharisaic principle of, Zad. § 9⁴⁰.
 Erythraean Sea, 1En. 32².
 Erythraean Sibyl, Sib. § 6, 3⁹⁷⁻²⁹⁴.
 Esarhaddon, Tob. 12^{1,22} 2¹. *See* Sarhadum, Asbasareth.
 Esau, Jub. 15³⁰ 19^{12-16,19,31} 24³, 46,7 25¹ 26^{1,8-5,8,11,16,18,19,25,27}, 29,31-33,35 27^{1,2,8} 29^{13,17,18} 31¹ 35^{9,13,17,18,26-27} 36^{1,14,18,19} 37¹, 15,17,18 38² T.Jud. 9¹⁻⁴ T.G. 7⁴ T.B. 10¹⁰ 4Ez. 3¹⁶ 6^{8,9}, *see* Edom; and Jacob to love one another, Jub. 35²⁰⁻²⁴ 36³⁻⁴; wars between, 37¹⁻³⁸ 24; = black wild boar, 1En. 89¹²; children of, 1Macc. 5^{3,65} Judith 7^{8,18}; slain by Jacob, Jub. 38² T.Jud. 9³; sons of, their sins foreseen by Isaac, Jub. 35¹³⁻¹⁶; symbolizes present corrupt age, 4Ez. 67-10ⁿ.
 Esau (one of Nethinim), 1Esd. 5²⁹.
 Eschatological pictures, Sib. 3⁴⁸⁹⁻⁵⁰⁸.
 Eschatology of Tobit, Tob. § 10A(3), of Wisd. § 1, 1-6⁸, of Zad. 9⁴⁰.
 Eschlemias, Arist. 47.
 Eschol, Jub. 13²⁹.

Esdrae, Confessio. *See* Confessio.
 Esdraelon, plain of, Judith 1⁹ 3⁹ 4⁶ 7⁸.
 Esdras, i.e. Ezra, 1Esd. 8^{1,3,7,8}, 9,12,23,25,31,32,36 10^{1,7,16,39,40,42,45}, 46,49; priest and reader of the law of the Lord, 1Esd. 8^{8,9,19}.
 Esdras, 1 Book of—sources, 1Esd. § 6: (a) Sheshbazzar—Cyrus Tradition, (b) Zerubabel—Darius Tradition, (c) (a) and (b) combined, (d) Ezra story; title, 1Esd. § 2: (1) 1 Esdras, (2) 2 Esdras, (3) 3 Esdras, (4) 3 Paraleipomenon, (5) Tertius Neemiae; an independent version older than LXX of Canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah, § 2; value of, 1Esd. § 7: (1) light on contemporary thought, (2) help to criticism of canonical books.
 Esdris, 2Macc. 12³⁶ *n*.
 Eserebias, 1Esd. 8⁵⁴.
 Eshfagni, Ahikar's wife, Ah. 4^{6,8} 6^{8,6} (Syr.). *See* Abestan.
 Essenes, 1En. 108ⁿ. Ass. Mos. § 8. *See* Zadokite Party.
 Essenism, Sib. 42⁷ 4Ez. 14³⁹ *n*.
 Esther, Add. Esth. C¹² D⁹ E¹³ F⁴; additions to: author, § 5, F¹¹; bibliography, § 8; character of, § 1; date of, § 4, F¹¹; influence on later literature, § 6; MSS., § 2; theology, § 7; versions, § 3; appearance before king, Add. Esth. D¹⁻¹⁵; Canonical, discrepancies between Add. Esth. and, Add. Esth. § 1; deliverance of Jews in time of, 2Bar. 68^{2,3}; Fast of, 1Macc. 7⁴⁹ *n*.; mourning and fasting of, Add. Esth. C¹³; prayer of, C¹²⁻³⁰.
 Etyelus, ruler of the temple, 1Esd. 1⁸.
 Eternal, destruction, 1En. 84⁵; goodness and grace, 92³; hope, Jub. 31³²; house = tomb, 36¹; judgement, 1En. 91¹⁵, cf. 91⁹; King, *see* God; land = Palestine, Sib. 5⁴¹¹; law, 1En. 99²; life, 10¹⁰ 15^{4,6} 37⁴ 40⁹ 58³, cf. 5¹, *see* Life; in light of the Lord, Ps. Sol. 3¹⁶; according to God, 4Macc. 15³; for martyrs, 5³⁷ 17¹⁸ 18²³, *see* Patriarchs; light, 1En. 92⁴; place (= heaven), 12⁴; plant, 93¹⁰, *see* Plant; punishment, 2En. 10⁶ 4Macc. 9^{9,32} 10^{11,15} 11²³ 12¹² 13¹⁵ 15^{5,22} (fire and worms, Judith 16¹⁷); rest = death, Sir. 30¹⁷; sanctuary, not at Bethel, Jub. 32²²; seed, 1En. 84⁹; sleep, Jub. 36¹⁸; uprightness, 1En. 92⁴.
 Eternity, life of, Zad. 5⁶ [years of, 2⁶].
 Ethical teaching of 2Enoch, 2En. § 6.
 Ethiopia, Judith 1¹⁰ Add. Esth. B¹ E¹ Sib. 3³²⁰.
 Ethiopian, Sib. 5¹⁹⁴.
 Ethiopians, Arist. 13 Sib. 3¹⁶⁰, 208,516 5^{206,213,505}; = hyenas in 1En. 89⁵⁵.
 Etna, Sib. 4⁸¹.

Euergetes II, Physcon, Sir. § 6 ii (b).
 Euergetes, king of Egypt, Sir., *Prologue* 15.
 Euhemerism, Arist. § 6.
 Eumenes II of Pergamos, 1Macc. 8⁸.
 Euna, T.N. 1¹¹.
 Eunuch, Wisd. 3¹⁴.
 Eupator. *See* Antiochus V.
 Euphrates, 1Esd. 1^{25,27} 1Macc. 3^{32,37} Judith 1⁶ 2²⁴ Sir. 24²⁶; = the River, Sir. 39²² 44²¹ Jub. 9^{4,5} 1En. 77⁶ *n*. Sib. 4⁵¹, 120,139 5^{115,437}, 2Bar. 77²² 78¹.
 Eupolemus, son of John, son of Accos, 1Macc. 8¹⁷; envoy to Romans, 2Macc. 4¹¹.
 Europe, Sib. 3^{346,368,382,450} 4¹.
 Europus, river, Sib. 3¹⁴⁵.
 Eusebius, Sir. § 8.
 Eve, Tob. 8⁶ Jub. 33³ 4¹⁰ A. & E. 2² 3^{2,3} 4² 5¹ 6¹ 7¹ 9¹ 10^{1,3} 11¹ 18¹ 20¹⁻³ 21^{1,2} 22^{1,3,4} 24¹ 35^{2,3} 36¹ 37^{2,3} 38^{1,2} 43³ 44⁵ 46¹ 49¹ 50³ S.A. & E. 28² 35^{1,2} 38² 40¹ Apoc. Mos. 1¹⁻³ 2¹ 3³ 4^{1,2} 9^{2,3} 10^{1,2} 11¹ 13¹ 14^{1,2} 15¹ 17² 31¹ 32^{1,3,4} 33¹ 34¹ 36² 42^{3,4} 43¹ 2En. 30¹⁸ 4Macc. 18^{7,8}; created and brought to Adam, Jub. 34¹⁻¹⁴, *see* Adam; history of, 1En. 85³⁻⁷; led astray by a Satan, 1En. 69⁶; originated sin and death, Sir. 25²⁴; seduced by Satan, 2En. 31⁶, *see* Adam; sins, Jub. 31⁷⁻²⁰.
 Eve, Gospel of, A. & E. § 5^a.
 Eves of Sabbaths, observed, Judith 8⁶.
 Evil, 1En. 10¹⁶ 15^{8,9} 16³ 69²⁰ 94³ 99¹¹ 101¹ 103⁹ 108²; germ, 4Ez. 3²²; heart of Adam, 4Ez. 3²¹; of descendants, 3²⁰ *n*. 26; in heaven, 2En. 10¹⁻⁶ *n*.; principle, P.A. 2¹⁵ 4^{1,29} *n*.; seed, grain of, 4Ez. 4³⁰; thought innate in man, 7⁹², *see* Inclination, Yetzer; spirits and idols, Jub. 22¹⁷ *n*.; spirits flee from good men, T.Iss. 7⁷ T.D. 5¹ T.B. 5², *see* Beliar; to be overcome with good, T.Jos. 18² T.B. 4³; to perish, Sir. 40¹⁰⁻¹⁷; worst forms of, Sir. 25¹³⁻¹⁵; of wicked woman, 25¹⁶⁻²⁶.
 Evils of men, P.Man. 7ⁿ.
 Exalted, abased, Sir. 11⁶.
 Example of the martyrs, effect of, 4Macc. 1¹¹ 17²³ *sg.*
 Excommunication, Zad. 9²⁸⁻³⁸; = 'exclude from the Purity', 10¹³; = 'be watched seven years', 14⁶.
 Exile's prayer, Tob. 13¹⁻¹⁸.
 Existent created from non-existent, 2En. 24² 25¹.
 Exodus, Jub. 1¹ Ass. Mos. 1⁴. *See* Egypt.
 Explanation, of the Zadokite settlement, Zad. 18⁶; of the judgements, Zad. 18⁷. *See* Interpretation, Meaning, Midrash.
 External soul. *See* Soul.
 Eye, cause of sin, Sir. 31¹⁴ *n*.; envious, Sir. 14⁸⁻¹⁰; good, Sir. 14¹⁰; lustful glance of, T.R. 5³ T.Iss. 7² T.B. 6³; singleness of, T.Iss. 3⁴.

Ezbon, Jub. 44²⁹.
 Ezekiah, Arist. 47.
 Ezekiah, Arist. 47.
 Ezekias, 1Esd. 5¹⁵.
 Ezekias, son of Thocanus, 1Esd. 9¹⁴.
 Ezekias, 1Esd. 9⁴³.
 Ezekiel, Sir. 49^{8,9} 4Macc. 18¹⁷ Zad. 5⁶ 9^{11(β)}. *See* Faithful.
 Ezekiel, an elder, Arist. 50.
 Ezeqeel, 1En. 6⁷ 8³.
 Ezora, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
 Ezra, 1En. 89⁷² *n*. 4Ez. [3¹] 6¹⁰ 7^{2,25} 8² 14^{2,38,49}, *see* Esdras; omitted from Sirach's list of worthies in Sir. 44-48, Sir. § 4. — in 1 Esdras, companions of, 8²⁸⁻⁴⁰; reading of Law by, § 1 5³⁷⁻⁵⁵, *see* 1 Esdras, sources of; return of, §§ 1, 4, 6, 8¹; work of, 8¹⁻⁹ 46.
 — in 4Ezra, assumption of, to be with God's Son, till times be ended, 4Ez. 14ⁿ. 14⁹; five companions of, 4Ez. 14²⁴; = scribe of the knowledge of the Most High for ever, 4Ez. 14⁵⁰ *n*.; translation of, to Messiah, 4Ez. 14ⁿ.; writings of, twenty-four published books, = O.T. 4Ez. 14⁴⁵ *n*.; seventy secret = Apocrypha, 4Ez. 14⁴⁶ *n*. 14ⁿ.
 Ezra, 4 Book of, abbreviations employed, § 12; account, short, § 1; bibliography, § 12; composite nature of text, § 6; date, § 8, 14⁴⁸ *n*.; Eschatology, § 10; Greek text of, lost, § 4; Hebrew original, § 5; relation of to 1Enoch, 1En. § 10(a); to 2Baruch—each the work of a rival school, using similar sources, 4Ez. § 9 2Bar. § 1; to N.T.—no direct dependence, but resemblances in thought and diction, § 11; sources, §§ 1, 7, 8; Salathiel-Apocalypse; Eagle Vision; Son of Man Vision; Ezra Legend; Ezra Apocalypse (signs); text, Hebrew original, § 5, composite character of, § 6; theology of, § 10; title, § 2; versions, Arabic (two), Armenian, Ethiopic, Syriac, Latin, § 3, Greek lost, § 4.
 Ezra-Apocalypse. *See* Ezra, 4 Book of.
 Ezril, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
 Face, of Elect One, 1En. 61⁹ 62²; of God, 14²¹ 52⁹ 53² 63⁹ 84⁶ 89^{22,26,30} 103⁴, cf. Appearance 89⁸⁰; Presence, 84³ 90³⁴.
 Faces of Angels, 1En. 51⁴ 71¹.
 Factions. *See* Jewish.
 Faith, 1En. 39⁶ *n*. 43⁴ 58⁵ 61^{4,11} 2Bar. 54²¹ *n*. Zad. 9^{37,47,54}; = religious faith, 4Macc. 15²⁴ 17²; and works combined as complementary, 4Ez. 9^{7,8} 13²³; = faithfulness to law, 5¹ 6^{5,28} 7^{34,77} *n*.; Elect One of, 39⁶; heritage of, 58⁵; measures given to, 61⁴; spirit of, 61¹¹. *See* Messiah, Works.
 Faithful, 1En. 46³; confess sins, are forgiven and blessed, Zad. 9⁵⁰⁻⁵⁴; God confirms covenant

INDEX

with, through fresh revelations, Zad. 5¹⁻³; through Ezekiel, 5⁶⁻⁷.
Faithfulness to God, Sir. 2¹⁻³.
Faithless, delivered to the sword, Zad. 6^{4,10} woes against, Sir. 2¹²⁻¹⁴.
Fall, teaching concerning, 3Bar. §10, 3.
Fara, Jub. 8²⁷.
Fast, the, Zad. 8¹⁵.
Fasting, Tob. §10B T.R. 1¹⁰ T.S. 3⁴ T.Jud. 15⁴ 19². T.Iss. 7⁸ T.Jos. 3⁴, *see* Prayer; and adultery, T.A. 2⁸ 4³; and chastity, T.Jos. 9²; and prayer and obedience bring answers to petitions, Ah. 2⁴⁸ (Arm.); atonement by, *see* Atonement; forbidden on Sabbath, Zad. 13¹³.
Fasts, 2Bar. 5⁷ⁿ. 9²ⁿ.; of seven days, 4Ez. 3¹ *Intro. n.* 5¹³; four fasts followed by revelation in 4Ez. 5²⁰ 6³⁵ 9^{26,27} 12⁵¹.
Fates, the three, Sib. 5^{215,230,245}.
Father, God will be, of Israel, Jub. 1²⁴ⁿ, *see* Children (cf. P.A. 3¹⁹ Wisd. 18¹³; of righteous individual, Sir. 23¹, cf. Wisd. 2¹⁰); in heaven, P.A. 5²³. *See* God, titles of.
Fatherhood of God, Sir. §9i.
Fathers of old, praise of, Sir. 44¹⁻¹⁵; of Enoch and Noah, 44¹⁶⁻¹⁸; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, 44¹⁹⁻²³; Moses, 44²³⁻⁴⁵ 1⁵; Aaron, 45⁶⁻²²; Phinehas, 45²³⁻²⁶; Joshua and Caleb, 46¹⁻¹⁰ Judges, the, 46^{11,12}; Samuel, 46¹³⁻²⁰; David, 47¹⁻¹¹; Solomon, 47¹²⁻²²; Elijah, 48¹⁻¹²; Elisha, 48¹²⁻¹⁶; Hezekiah and Isaiah, 48¹⁷⁻²⁵; Josiah, 49¹⁻³; Jeremiah, 49⁷; Ezekiel, Job, and Twelve Prophets, Sir. 49⁸⁻¹⁰; Zerubbabel, Joshua son of Josedech, and Nehemiah, 49¹¹⁻¹³; Enoch, Joseph, Shem, Seth, Enoch, and Adam, 49¹⁴⁻¹⁶.
Fear, defined, Wisd. 17¹²; of God, Arist. 159, 189 T.B. 3^{3,4}, *see* Love to God, Wisdom; of the Lord, greatest good of all, Sir. 40¹⁸⁻²⁷; is life, 50²⁰; is true wisdom, 1¹¹⁻²⁰ 21¹¹; the Lord, those who, are blessed, 27¹¹, characteristics of, 2¹⁵⁻¹⁸, none greater than, 10²⁴; of sin, P.A. 2⁶ 3¹².
Feast, a, ordained by Simon the Maccabee, 1Macc. 13⁵², *see* Tabernacles; of Tabernacles, Jub. §15, 16²⁹; of Weeks, Jub. §15, 6¹⁷.
Feasts, Zad. 8¹⁵; profane the, 14⁶; and covenant, despising of, P.A. 3¹⁸, *see* Minim; and eves kept by Judith, *see* Pharisaic teaching; the four great, Jub. 6^{23,24}.
Fence for Torah, P.A. 1¹; for words, 6⁶; for separation, wisdom, 3¹⁸.
Festivals, and Sabbaths recognized by Demetrius I, 1Macc. 10⁸⁴; to be kept, 2Bar. 84⁸; commemorative, of Jews, Add. Esth. E^{21,22}; of God's covenant, Jub. 1^{10,14}; God's glorious, Zad. 5²; Maccabean, bond of

union between Jews of Palestine and Egypt, 2Macc. §3; institution of, 3Macc. 6³⁶ 7¹⁹; cf. 2Macc. §3 and *see* Feast; true order of, Jub. 6³⁴.
Fewness of saved, 4Ez. 7⁴⁵⁻⁷⁴ 8⁸ 9¹³⁻²².
Fig-tree, unfruitful, parable of, parallel idea to, in Ah. 5³⁵ (Syr.).
Filial duty and its reward, Sir. 3¹⁻¹⁶.
Fire, 1En. 10⁶ 14^{12,17,19,22} 17^{1,5} 21⁷ 39⁷ 54¹ 71²⁻⁶ 72⁴ 90^{24,26} 91⁹ 100⁹ 108³; Angel or Spirit of, *see* Angel; abyss of, 1En. 10¹³ &c., *see* Abyss, Gehenna; columns of, 1En. 18¹¹ 21⁷ 90²⁴; flames of, 71¹ 72⁷ 103⁸ 108^{4,5}; furnace of, 98³; mountain range of, 24¹; pillar of, Wisd. 18³; river of, 1En. 17⁵; streams of, 14¹⁹ 17⁵ 67⁷ 71^{2,6}; eternal, for drunkards, 3Bar. 4¹⁶; ever-burning, 1En. 67¹³; grievous, 102¹; of West, 17⁴ 23²; and worms for ever, Judith 16¹⁷; and the worm, Sir. 7¹⁷ⁿ; Beliar cast into, T.Jud. 25³; the final abode of the wicked, 2Bar. 44¹⁵ⁿ. 48^{39,43} 59²ⁿ.; of the altar, hidden till Nehemiah came, 2Macc. 1¹⁸⁻³⁶; Jeremiah, prophet, bids the captivity take some of fire, 2¹; snow and ice, T.L. 3²; ungodly punished in, Sib. 4⁴³ 2En. 10¹⁻⁶ 4Macc. 9⁹ 12¹².
Firmament, 1En. 18^{2,12}.
Firstborn, death of, Wisd. 18¹⁰.
First-fruits, feast of, celebrated by Abraham, Jub. 15^{1,2}; by Abraham, Isaac, Ishmael, and Jacob, Jub. 22¹; by Jacob before going to Egypt, Jub. 44⁴; and tithes, Judith 11¹³.
Five possessions of God, P.A. 6¹¹.
Flavian Emperors, 4Ez. 11¹ⁿ. 12³⁻³⁰ⁿ.
Flesh, 1En. 1⁹ 7⁵ 14²¹ 15⁸ 16¹ 17⁶ 61¹² 84⁶ 106¹⁷ 108¹¹ Zad. 3⁶, *see* Inclination; and blood, Sir. 14¹⁸ⁿ. 17³¹ 1En. 15⁴; of man, 84^{4,5}; of righteousness, 84⁶.
Flint, use of, 2Macc. 10³.
Flood, the, 3Macc. 2⁴ Sir. 44¹⁷ Wisd. 10⁴ Jub. 5¹⁰⁻³² 23⁹ 4Ez. 3¹⁰.
Fool = guileless, is without sins, Sir. 19²³.
Foolish, wisdom harsh to, Sir. 6²⁰⁻²²; warning against associating with, 8⁴; how differs from wise, 21^{12-17,18-28}; futurity of, 20¹⁴⁻¹⁷ 22⁷⁻¹⁸ 33(36)^{6,6}; speech of, 20²⁰ 27¹¹⁻¹³.
Forbidden meats, 4Macc. 1⁸³ 5^{3,14sq.} 13². *See* Clean.
Forced service, P.A. 3¹⁷.
Forehead. *See* Mark.
Foreknowledge of God, 4Ez. 7¹³² Zad. 2⁶. *See* Election.
Foresight, need of, in men, Sir. 18¹⁹⁻²⁶.
Forethought, need of, Sir. 32(35)¹⁸⁻²⁴ 33(36)⁴.
Forgetfulness, P.A. 3¹¹.
Forgive, Zad. 5⁵. *See* Pardon.

Forgiveness, P.Man. 7 1En. 5⁶ 12⁵ 13^{4,6}; count not upon, Sir. 5⁵, *see* Atonement, Confession; duty of, Sir. 27³⁰⁻²⁸⁷; of God, 16¹¹ 17²⁹ 18^{11-14,20n}.; for the repentant, Zad. 2³, *see* Pardon; of God, a reason for forgiveness of man, Ah. 8³⁴ (Syr.) 8²⁴ (Arm.); of thy neighbour, Sir. 28²ⁿ.; essential, includes restoration to communion, in Test. and N.T., Test. §11, §13, T.G. 6³⁻⁷; God's, of man, T.G. 7⁵.
Fornication. Zad. 3² 6¹¹ 7¹ 9¹⁵, cf. 8¹⁸ T.R. 1⁶ 6⁴ T.S. 5³; danger of, Sir. 9⁶ 19²; evils of, T.R. 4⁶⁻⁷ T.S. 5^{3,4} T.Jud. 14² 15¹⁻² 18²⁻⁶; in taking two wives, Zad. 7¹, *see* Polygamy; punishment of fire for, Jub. 20⁴; warnings against, T.R. 5⁵ 6¹.
Forty days of instruction, 2Bar. 76⁴, cf. 4Ez. 14²³.
Foundations of the Covenant. *See* Ordinances.
Fountain, figurative, of life, 1En. 96⁶; of the righteous and holy, 65¹²; of righteousness, 48¹; of wisdom, 48¹.
—literal, beneath the earth, 1En. 54⁷; opened, 89³; produces lead and tin, 65⁸. *See* Spring.
Four types of men, P.A. 5¹³⁻¹⁸.
Foxes = Ammonites in 1En. 89^{42,55}.
Free-will, Sir. 15¹¹⁻²⁰ 20²¹⁻²³ 2Bar. §10, 15⁵⁻⁸ 19¹⁻² P.A. 3¹⁹; and fate, 2Bar. 54¹⁵⁻¹⁹; co-ordinated with foreknowledge of God, P.A. 3¹⁹ⁿ; doctrine of, in Sirach, Sir. §9iv; in 2Bar. §10 18²ⁿ. 54¹⁵ⁿ.; implied, Zad. §§9⁴ 13, 3¹ 4^{2,10}, *see* Will; man's, 2En. 30¹⁵ⁿ. Ps. Sol. 9⁷.
Freedom offered to informers, 3Macc. 3²⁸.
Friend, *chaber*, Sir. 6¹⁰ⁿ.; (court title), 1Macc. 2¹⁸ 10^{16,19,20,60,65} 11^{26,57} 12⁴³ 13³⁶ 14³⁸ 15²⁸ 2Macc. 7²⁴ 8⁹ 10¹³ 14¹¹ Add. Esth. E³ⁿ. Arist. 45ⁿ.; bosom friend, 9²⁹; chief friends, 1Macc. 10⁶⁵ 11²⁷; duty to, Sir. 7¹⁸ 9¹⁰ 22¹⁹⁻²⁶; of God, used of Abraham, Jub. 19⁹. *See* Abraham, Isaac.
Friends of God, Wisd. 7²⁷ⁿ.
Friendship, true and false, Sir. 6⁵⁻¹⁷ 12⁸; rules as to making, 9¹⁰⁻¹⁶ 11²⁹⁻³⁴ 12⁹⁻¹³ 13¹; how dissolved, 22¹⁹⁻²⁶; good and bad, 37¹⁻⁶.
Fruit, laws about, Jub. 7^{36,37}.
[Furnace, the man who is melted in the, Zad. 9³¹.]
Future life, Wisd. 3¹; belief in a blessed, Zad. §§9³⁰ 13, 5⁶ⁿ.; conception of, developing in Sirach, Sir. 7¹⁷ⁿ.; idea of, absent in, 11²⁸ⁿ. 17^{27,28}; life continues in name, 39⁹ 41¹¹⁻¹³, *see* Spirit; no reference to in Add. Esth. §7; of righteous, inconsistent views of in Wisdom, Wisd. §9. *See* Life.
Future punishment, Sir. 5⁸ 7¹⁷ⁿ.

11²⁶ 28¹; eternal, Judith 16¹⁷; for ungodly, decay, Sir. 7¹⁷ (later 'fire and worm', 7¹⁷ⁿ). *See* Eternal punishment.
Gaas or Gaash, Jub. 34^{4,7} T. Jud. 7¹.
Gabadaeans, Arabians, 1Macc. 12³¹.
Gabael, Tob. 1^{1,14} 4^{1,20} 5⁶ 9^{2,5} 10².
Gabatha, eunuch, Add. Esth. A¹².
Gabbé, 1Esd. 5²⁰.
Gabri, Tob. 1¹⁴ 4²⁰.
Gabriel, Apoc. Mos. 40¹ 1En. 9¹ 10⁹ 20⁷ 40⁹ 54⁶, *see* Angels, Archangels; sent to Enoch, 2En. 21^{3,5}; seated on left of God, 2En. 24¹.
Gad, Jub. 28²⁰ 33²² 38⁵ 44^{19,20} T.R. 1⁴ T.Jud. 5² 7^{2(a)} 9⁶ 25⁸ T.Iss. 5⁸ T.Z. 2¹ 3² 4² T.G. 1¹ T.A. 7⁶; exploits of, T.G. 1³.
Gaddis. *See* John.
Gadir, Jub. 8^{23,26} 9¹².
Gadreel, a Satan, 1En. 69⁶.
Gaia, Sib. 3^{111,122}.
Gaidad, 2En. 1¹⁰ⁿ. 57².
Gains, unrighteous, Sir. 5³, cf. 1En. 63¹⁰.
Gait shows the man, Sir. 19³⁰.
Galatians, 1Macc. 8² Sib. 3⁴⁸⁵, 509,599 5³⁴⁰; battle of, in Babylon, 2Macc. 8²⁰ⁿ.
Galilee, 1Macc. 5^{14,15,17,20,21,23,55} 10⁵⁰ 11⁶⁸ 12^{47,49} Tob. 1⁶ Judith 1⁹ 15⁵; of Gentiles, 1Macc. 5¹⁵; upper, Tob. 1².
Gall, Tob. 6⁵; the, T.N. 2⁸.
Gamael, 1Esd. 8²⁰.
Gamaliel I, P.A. 1¹⁶.
Gamaliel III, P.A. 2².
Garden (i. e. Eden), Jub. 8²² 1En. 61¹²; of Eden, 2En. 8⁶. 31^{1,3}, *see* Eden; of Righteousness, 1En. 32³ 77³; of the Righteous, 1En. 60²³; where the elect and righteous dwell, 1En. 60⁸ 61¹², cf. 65² 70⁸ 89⁶². *See* also Paradise.
Garment of truth, T.L. 8².
Garments, Tob. 4¹⁶; cleansing of, Zad. 13¹²; law of, Jub. 3³⁰⁻³¹; of God's glory, 2En. 22⁸, cf. 1En. 62¹⁵; of life, 62¹⁶, cf. 108¹²; white, 71¹.
Gas, name, 1Esd. 5³⁴.
Gathering of Israel, 4Ez. 13¹²ⁿ. 40-48. *See* Dispersed.
Gauls, Sib. 5²⁰⁰.
Gaza, 1Macc. 11^{61,62} Sib. 3³⁴⁵ Arist. 115, 117.
Gazara, near Azotus, 1Macc. 7⁴⁵ 9⁶² 13^{43,53} 14^{7,34} 15^{28,35} 16¹, 19,21; a stronghold (= Gezer or Jazer ?), 2Macc. 10³²ⁿ.
Gazera, 1Esd. 5³¹ 1Macc. 4¹⁵. *See* Gazara.
Geba, Judith 3¹⁰.
Geba, T.L. 6¹.
Gedaliah, 2Bar. 5⁵ⁿ. 44¹.
Geddur, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
Gehazi, Zad. 9²⁸.
Gehenna, Ass. Mos. 10¹⁰ 2Bar. 59¹⁰ P.A. 1⁶ 5^{22,24}; furnace of, 4Ez. 7³⁰; in view of righteous in heaven, Ass. Mos. 10¹⁰ⁿ.; inherit, P.A. 1⁵; (1) place of

INDEX

corporal and spiritual punishment in the presence of the righteous (*a*) for ever, 1En. 27^{2,8} 90^{26,27}, (*b*) for a time only, 1En. 48⁹ 62^{12,13}, i. e. in 37-70 (Parables); (2) place of spiritual punishment only, 1En. 98³, cf. 103⁸, i. e. in 91-104 (Section V). *See also* Abyss, Fire, Punishment, Sheol, Valley. Gel, 3Bar. *Prol.* 2. Gemarias of Mount †Joel, Mart. Is. 2¹⁵. Genizah fragments of Sirach, Sir. § 3(*a*). Gennaeus. *See* Apollonius. Gennesar, waters of, 1Macc. 11⁶⁷ⁿ. Gentle nations, seventy, Jub. 44²⁴ Test. *App.* I 8⁵. Gentiles. 1Esd. 8⁶⁹ 1Macc. 1¹³, 14¹⁵ 24^{40,44,48,68} 3^{10,45,48,52,58} 4⁷, 11¹⁴, 26^{45,54,58,60} 5^{1,9,10,19,21,22,38}, 43^{57,63} 6^{18,53} 7²⁵ 11³⁸ 12⁵³ 13⁶ 14³⁶ Tob. 13³ 2Macc. 14^{3,38} Judith 8²² Jub. 1^{9,13,15,19} 3³¹ 6³⁵ 15³⁴ 16¹⁷ 23^{23,24} 24²⁸ 30^{11,13,14} 31¹⁸ 44³⁴ T.S. 7² T.L. 4⁴ 8¹⁴ 9¹⁰ 10⁴ 14^{1,3(a),4,6} 15¹ 16⁵ 18⁹ T.Jud. 22² 23^{2,5} 24⁶ T.Iss. 6² T.Z. 9^{6,8(bdg)} T.D. 5^{5,8} 6^{7,9} T.N. 3³ 4¹ 8^{3,4,6} T.A. 7³ T.Jos. 19¹¹ T.B. 3⁸ 9^{2,4} 10^{5,9,10} Ass. Mos. 4⁹ 8³ 10¹ 4Macc. 4¹¹ 18⁵; boasting of, 2Bar. 5¹ 7¹ 67^{2,6-7n} 80³; bread of, Tob. 1^{10,11}; conversion of, 1En. 50²⁻⁵ 90³⁰ⁿ 91¹⁴; customs of, 1Macc. 1¹³; destiny of, 2Bar. 72⁴⁻⁶ⁿ; feasts of, Jub. 6³⁰; hope for, no, in final judgement, Jub. § 15; inter-marriage forbidden, = fornication or giving to Moloch, Jub. 30⁷ⁿ; Israel will walk after, Jub. 1⁹, be scattered amongst, 1¹³, will turn to God from amongst, 1¹⁵, God will gather from, 1¹⁵; kings of, Zad. 9²⁰; no clean animal or bird to be sold to, Zad. 14⁹; no Israelite to be sold to, 14¹¹; no man to rest near, on Sabbath, 13²⁴; ordinances of, Zad. 10¹; to be saved, T.L. 4⁴ (8¹⁴?) 18⁹ T.Jud. 22² 24⁶ T.Z. 9^{8(bdg)} T.D. 6⁷ [T.N. 8^{3,4}] T.A. 7³ [T.Jos. 19¹¹ T.B. 3⁸] 9² [9⁴] 10^{5,10} [11^{2,3}]; shedding blood of, Zad. 14⁷; the Son of Man, the light of, 1En. 48⁴, spirits placed in authority over, to lead astray, Jub. 15³¹ (contrast Israel); = wild beasts, 1En. 85-90ⁿ. Geometry, P.A. 3²³. Gera, Jub. 44²⁵. Gerar, 2Macc. 13²⁴ⁿ Jub. 16¹⁰ 24^{8,12,17,19}. Gericus, 3Bar. 4⁷. Gerizim, 2Macc. 5²³ 6². Gersam, T.L. 11² 12¹. Gershon, Jub. 44¹⁴ Test. *App.* II 63, 74. *See* Gersam. Gerson, 1Esd. 8²⁹. Giants, 3Macc. 2⁴ⁿ 36 *sqq.* Judith 16⁷ Sir. 16⁷ⁿ Wisd. 14⁶ 1Bar. 3²⁶ Jub. 5¹ 7²², *see* Eljo; 1En. 7^{2,4} 9⁹ 15^{8,11} 16¹, cf. 86⁴ 88²; judgement of the, Jub. 20⁵. Gidaijal, 1En. 82²⁰.

Gideon, Judith 8¹. Gifts blind the eyes of wise, Sir. 20²⁹. Gihon, Sir. 24²⁷ (? = Nile 24²⁷ⁿ.) Jub. 8^{15,22,23}. Gilead, 1Macc. 5^{9,17,20,25,27,36}, 45⁵⁵ 13²² Judith 1⁸ 15⁵ Jub. 29^{4,5,7,9,12}, *see* Witness, heap of; Mart. Is. 2¹⁴. Gilgal, 1Macc. 9²ⁿ. Gilgamesh epic, quoted, Sir. § 1. Girdle, T.L. 8⁷ T.Jud. 12⁴ 15³. Girschites, Judith 5¹⁶ Jub. 14¹⁸. Giving, right spirit in, Sir. 18¹⁵⁻¹⁸; to evil, to be avoided, 12³⁻⁷. *See* Almsgiving. Glaphyra, Zad. § 6 ii.(c)*n*. Glory, garments of. *See* Garments; of God, Tob. 3¹⁶ Zad. 8⁷ 9⁴⁹; of the Great One, 1En. 104¹; of the Lord, Tob. 12^{12,15}; of man, Zad. 5⁶; the Great, 1En. 14²⁰ 102³ T.L. 3⁴. *See* God, titles of. Gnostic literature, influence of 1 Enoch on, 1En. § 10(c). Gnostos, father of Sibyl, Sib. 3⁸¹⁵. God, acknowledged by heathen, Wisd. 12²⁷; all things in hand of, Sir. 11¹⁴⁻²⁸; alone brings in End, 4Ez. 5⁵⁶⁻⁶⁶ⁿ, judges, 7^{33,37,38}; and His ministers, duty to, Sir. 7²⁹⁻³¹; author of beauty, Wisd. 13³; cause of sin, Sir. 15¹¹ⁿ; covenant of, Zad. 4⁹ 7¹² 8²¹ 9⁴¹ 16^{7,12}; doctrine of, Sir. § 9 i—one, Creator, eternal, holy, God of Israel, of world, Father; Father of Israel, loves them, Jub. 12^{4,25}; scatters them among Gentiles, Jub. 1¹³; gathers from amongst, 1¹⁵; will descend and dwell with them for ever, 17²⁰; will appear to eyes of all, 12⁸; Father of all children of Jacob, Jub. 12⁸; first coming of, to earth, 2En. 58¹, second, 32¹ⁿ; friends of, Zad. 4⁹, *see* Friend; giver of souls, 4Macc. 13¹³ 18²³; glory of, Zad. 9⁴⁹, *see* Glory of God; greatness of, Sir. 16¹⁷⁻²³ 18¹⁻¹⁴; help of, *see* Eleazar; Himself as Judge, Sib. § 8; holy spirit of, Wisd. 9¹⁷; knowledge of, is immortality, 15³; love of, 11²⁴ Zad. 9²⁵, to His creatures transcends man's, 4Ez. 5³⁸ⁿ. 84⁷; mercy of, Sir. 18¹¹⁻¹⁴; name of, not mentioned in 1 Macc., *see* § 5; rules the world, Sir. 10⁴, the individual, 10⁵; search for, Wisd. 13⁶; praise of, as Nature's Lord, Sir. 42¹⁵⁻⁴³ 33, His might, 43¹⁻²⁶; transcendence of, in Tobit, § 10; will dwell with men, 1En. 25³ 77¹ 1En. 91-104; wrath of, Ass. Mos. 10³ Zad. 11¹⁷ 4⁷ 9^{22,40-4} 11⁴, *see* Wrath; of peace, T.D. 5²; of the righteous, P.Man. 8. God, names and titles of: Adversary, the, P.A. 4²⁹; All might and all power, who has, 3Macc. 6¹²; All-King, Sir. 50¹⁵; All-seeing God, 2Macc. 9⁵; and Saviour, Add. Esth. D³; All-surveying God, E³,

see Beholds; All-powerful Lord, 2Macc. 3^{22,30}; and merciful God, A. & E. 27¹; All-wise God, the, 4Macc. 1¹²; Almighty, 1Esd. 9⁴⁶ 2Macc. 5²⁰ 7³³ 8^{11,24} 15^{8,32} 3Macc. 2^{2,8} 6¹⁸ Sib. Frag. 1⁸ 3Bar. 1³; Almighty God, 2Macc. 7³⁵ 8¹⁸ 3Macc. 6² Arist. 18, 19, 45, 139, 168, 184 Sib. 3⁷¹; living God of heaven, 3Macc. 6²⁸; Lord, 5⁷ Judith 15¹⁰ 16⁶; Alone exists from age to age, Sib. Frag. 1¹⁰; Arrays Himself against a king, 2Macc. 1¹¹; Artificer, the, Wisd. 13¹; Author of all good things, Arist. 205. Beauty, first Author of, Wisd. 13³; Beginnings of the ages serve, whose word, 2Bar. 54⁸; Beholds all things, who, 2Macc. 12²² 3Macc. 2²¹, *see* All-seeing; Beholds the depths, Azar. 32; Benefactor of the whole world, Arist. 210, cf. 281; Blessed for ever, He who is, 1En. 77¹; Blessed Heavenly One, Sib. 3¹; Bountiful, 4Ez. 7¹⁹⁶; Breathed into man a vital spirit, that, Wisd. 15¹¹; Brought you (Israel) up, that, 1Bar. 4⁸; Brought us (Israel) up out of Egypt, who, 2Bar. 75^{7,8}; Brought these plagues upon you (Israel), that, 1Bar. 4^{18,27,29}; Buildeth His city and His sanctuary, Sir. 51^{12vii}. Called thee (Jerusalem) by name, that, 1Bar. 4³⁰; Called from the beginning of the world that which did not yet exist, that has, 2Bar. 21⁴; Careth for all, Wisd. 12¹³; Causes the rain and dew to descend, who, Jub. 12⁴; Causes the drops of rain to rain by number on the earth, who, 2Bar. 21⁸; Chambers are in the air, whose, 4Ez. 8²⁰; Champion (of Jews), 2Macc. 8³⁶, *see* Fighteth; Cherubim, that sits upon, Azar. 32, who has, as throne, Sib. 3¹; Chief of all, 5^{277,499}; Chose sons of Zadok for the priesthood, that, Sir. 51^{12ix}; Chose Zion, that, 51^{12xi}; Commanded the air by Thy nod, that has, 2Bar. 21⁶; Commandment is strong and enactment terrible, whose, 4Ez. 8²³; Compassionate, 4Ez. 8²⁰; Created, who, 2Bar. 10¹⁹; all things, 3Macc. 2³; everything by His word, Jub. 12⁴; heaven and earth, the God who, Bel 5; and all things, who, Jub. 7³⁶ 36⁷ 2En. 66 *Preface*; me, 2Bar. 54⁹; us (Israel) 7³⁵; the world out of formless matter, Wisd. 11¹⁷; the world was, who said and, Test. *App.* I 9⁵; Creator, Sir. 3¹⁶ Jub. 7²⁰ 10⁵ 16²⁶ 22⁶ 1En. 81⁶ 94¹⁰ Test. *App.* I 8⁶ 102^{8,9} Sib. 3⁷⁰⁴ Ass. Mos. 10¹⁰ 2En. 10⁶ 51⁴ 2Bar. 14¹⁵ 44⁴ 48⁴⁶ 4Ez. 5⁴⁴ P.A. 4²⁹; Creator of all things, 2Macc. 12⁴ Sir. 24⁸ Sib. 23^{1,32} 11¹⁷ 17³ 22^{4,27}

45⁵ 2En. 51⁴(B) 4Macc. 11⁵; of all created things, Ah. 1⁵ (Arab.); of great Temple, Sib. 5⁴³³; of heavens and earth, 378⁶ Ah. 1⁵ (Arab.); of waters, Judith 9¹²; of world, 2Macc. 7²³ 13¹⁴ 4Macc. 5²⁵; who has planted His sweet Spirit in us all, Sib. Frag. 1⁵. Deep, who hast shut up, and sealed it, P.Man. 4; Deliverer of Israel, 3Macc. 7²³; our, Ps.Sol. 17³, *see* Saviour of Israel; Delivered them (Israel, Lord who, Wisd. 19⁵; Delivereth them that trust in Him, Sir. 51⁸; Delivereth out of every evil, that, Wisd. 16⁸; Depths come as the heights, to whom the, 2Bar. 54³; Discerner, the, P.A. 4²⁹; Divine, the (II, page 781, c. xxvi. 1); Does everything upon the earth, who, Jub. 12⁴; Does everything easily by a nod, 2Bar. 54²; Dread, whom all things, P.Man. 5. Educated us, He who, 2Bar. 78³; Eternal, the, 3Macc. 6¹² Sib. Frag. 3¹⁷ Sib. 3^{15,101,301,328}, 594, 601, 615, 631, 672, 676, 679, 708, 711, 721, 733, 758, 766; and supreme God, A. & E. 28¹; Creator, Sib. 3¹⁰; Father of all men, 3⁶⁰⁴; God, Sir. 36¹⁷ Jub. 12²⁹ 13⁸ 1En. 1⁴ Sib. 3^{56,742} Ass. Mos. 10⁷ 2En. 1⁸; Immortal God, Sib. 5⁶⁶; King, Apoc. Mos. 29⁴ 1En. 25^{3,5,7} 27³ Sib. 3⁷¹⁷; Lord, 1En. 58⁴ 2En. 1^{8(b)}; Ruler, 64³; Saviour, of Israel, 3Macc. 7¹⁶; who created heaven and earth, Sib. 3³⁹; Ever, God whose Being is for, 5¹⁷⁴; Everlasting, the, 1Bar. 4^{10,14,20,22,24,35} 5² Sib. 5³⁶⁰; your Saviour, 1Bar. 4²²; God, Tob. 14⁷ 1Bar. 4⁸ Sus. 42; King, Tob. 13^{6,10}; Lord, 13¹³; Exalted One, the, 4Ez. 4³⁴; Existence, the One, Sib. Frag. 1³⁵; Exists from age to age, who alone, 1¹⁰. *See* God who is, God whose Being is for ever, One who is. Fashioner, the, of men, 4Ez. 7⁹⁴; Faithfulness standeth eternal, whose, 8²³; Father, 3Macc. 5⁷ 6⁸ Sir. 23¹ Wisd. 21⁶ 14³ Jub. 124²⁵ T.L. 18⁹ Sib. 5^{560,590}; as a, 3Macc. 7⁶; Holy, the, T.Jud. 24²; invisible, Apoc. Mos. 35³; of all, 35² 37⁴ Sib. 3⁵⁵⁰ 5³²⁸; of all the children of Jacob, Jub. 12⁸; of all holy, among the holy ones, 3Macc. 2²¹; of all within whom is the breath of God, the Great, Sib. 5⁴⁰⁶; of light, the, Apoc. Mos. 26³; our, Tob. 13⁴ Sib. 372⁶; my, Sir. 51¹⁰; which is in heaven, P.A. 5²³; who alone is excellent, Sib. 5²⁸⁴; who is from everlasting, Sib. 5⁴⁹⁸; Fighteth for our nation, He who ever, 2Macc. 14³⁴, *see* Champion; Firmament, Thou that hast fixed, by thy

INDEX

word, 2Bar. 21⁴; Forgiving, 4Ez. 7¹³⁹; Formed him (Moses), He who, 2Bar. 17⁴; man by . . . wisdom, Wisd. 9²; man in womb, who, Test. *App.* I 9²; them (works), Wisd. 13⁴; Formeth all, He that, Sir. 51^{121v}. See Creator.

Gathereth the outcasts of Israel, He that, Sir. 51¹² v¹; Glorious, greatly, 3Macc. 6¹⁸; Glorious One, 6¹⁸; Glory, great, the, 1En. 14²⁰ 102⁸ T.L. 3⁴; Glory is inconceivable, whose, 4Ez. 8²¹; Glory of God, the, Tob. 3¹⁶ 12^{12,15} 3Bar. 4¹⁶ 7² 11²; God (my, thy, &c.), Tob. 11¹⁸ 13^{4,7} Judith 5^{9,12,18,19,21} 6³ 7²⁸ 9⁴ 11^{10,11,13,23} 13^{11,17} 16^{2,13} Jub. 1¹⁷ 7³⁴ 10⁵ 12^{19,20,21,24} 13^{8,16} 15¹⁰ 19²⁸ 22⁹ 27²⁷ 33^{11,13} 41²⁵ Arist. 42 Apoc. Mos. 35³ T.S. 2⁸ T.Jos. 1⁶ 8⁵⁽²⁾ 2En. 67⁸ (B) Ps.Sol. 5⁶ 6⁷ 8³⁶ 9¹⁶ 15¹⁵ 17^{3,4,15}, 30⁴² 18^{8,11} (II, page 779, line 23 from bottom): my and thy God, Jub. 21²⁰; God, a, to thee and to thy seed, 22¹⁵; Almighty, 15⁴ 27¹¹ 2En. *Prolog.*; and King, Add. Esth. C⁸; Himself, Sib. 4^{181,183} 5³⁵²; our Father, 3⁷²⁶; God Most High, 1Esd. 9⁴⁶ Sir. 24²³ 39⁶ 47^{5,8} 48²⁰ Jub. 12¹⁹ 22¹¹ [T.Jud. 24⁴] P.A. 6¹¹ Ah. 6¹⁵ (Arab.); of Abraham, Add. Esth. C⁸ Jub. 24^{22,23} 31²⁵ 35¹⁴ Ass. Mos. 3⁹; and of Isaac, Jub. 29⁴ 31^{31,44,45} 45³; and Isaac and Jacob, and of their righteous seed, P.Man. 1; of afflicted, Judith 9¹¹; of ages, Jub. 25¹⁵ 1En. 9⁴; of all, Sir. 36¹ 45²³ 50²² Jub. 22^{10,27} 30¹⁹ 31^{13,32} Apoc. Mos. 32² 42⁸; of all power and might, Judith 9¹⁴; all rule, Apoc. Mos. 42⁵; of Daniel, Bel 41; of . . . father, Judith 9¹² Mart. Is. 2² T.Jos. 6⁹; of father Isaac, Jub. 44¹; of . . . fathers, 1Esd. 1⁵⁰ 4⁶⁰ 8^{25,58} 9⁸ 3Macc. 7¹⁶ Tob. 8⁶ Judith 10⁸ Wisd. 9¹ P.Man. 1 Azar. 3, 29 Jub. 31³¹ 44⁵ T.R. 4¹⁰ T.S. 2⁸ T. Jud. 10⁵ T.D. 1⁵⁽²⁾ T.G. 2⁵ T.Jos. 1⁴ 6⁷ Test. *App.* I 11¹⁰ 8³ Ass. Mos. 9⁶ 4Macc. 12¹⁸ P.A. 5²⁴; of gods, Azar. 68 Jub. 8²⁰ 23¹ 1En. 9⁴; of glory, 1En. 25⁷; of heaven, 3Macc. 7⁶ Tob. 7¹² 8¹⁵ Judith 5⁸ 11¹⁷ Jub. 12⁴ 20⁷ 22¹⁹ 1En. 10⁶ 5⁷ T.R. 1⁶ 6⁹ Sib. 3^{174,286} 4¹³⁵ 5⁷⁶ Ass. Mos. 2⁴ Ah. 6¹⁸ (Syr.) Ah. 6²⁶ (Arab.); and earth, T. Iss. 7⁷, see Almighty living God of heaven; of Hebrews, T.Jos. 12³; of hosts, 1Esd. 9⁴⁶; of inheritance of Israel, Judith 9¹²; of Isaac, Jub. 27²² 29⁴ Ass. Mos. 3⁹, see God of Abraham; of Israel, 1Esd. 1⁴⁸ 2^{48,67} 6¹ 7^{4,9,15} 8^{3,65,72} 9³⁹ 2Macc. 9⁵ Tob. 13¹⁸ Judith 4¹² 6²¹ 10¹ 14¹⁰ 1Bar. 2¹¹ 3¹ Jub. 1²⁸ T.Jos. 2² Ps.Sol. 4¹ 9¹⁶; of Jacob, Ass. Mos. 3⁹ Ps.Sol. 15¹; of Jacob our father, T.D.

1⁹ (β AS¹); or justice, Sir. 35¹²; of my life, 23¹; of my salvation, 51¹; of peace, T.D. 5²; of praises, Sir. 51¹²¹; of requital, 35¹¹; of righteous, P.Man. 8; of righteousness, Jub. 25²¹ T.Jud. 22²; judging Israel with chastening, Ps.Sol. 8³²; of Sabaoth, 2En. 52¹; of spirits of all flesh, Jub. 10³; of the whole world, 1En. 84²; of them that repent, P.Man. 13; of truth, 1Esd. 4⁴⁰; the Creator, Ah. 1¹ (Arab.); the Father, Apoc. Mos. 43⁵ Sib. 5³⁶⁰; the Great King, 3^{499,616}; the High and the Mighty, Ah. *Aeth. Frag.* 1; the just judge, A. & E. 29¹⁰; the Lord, 3² 13² 14² 16¹ 33¹; the merciful, 2Macc. 11⁹; their King, A. & E. 29⁸; who bestows on all kings glory &c., Arist. 224; ever is, Sib. 3³⁸; fulfils all your desires, Arist. 283; gave them (Israel) their law, 15; has endowed you with these qualities, 290; is, 4Macc. 5²⁴; made us (Adam and Eve), A. & E. 4⁹; makes you care for these things, Arist. 282; maintains your kingdom, 15; overlooks you, Sib. Frag. 1³; who oversees all things, 32²; rules and preserves us, Arist. 157; whom they knew, Judith 5⁸; Godhead, the, T.L. 3⁷ (A⁹); Good, 4Ez. 7¹³⁸; Governest all creation, who, 3Macc. 6²; whole world, 2³; Grace, that shewest, upon the earth, Ah. 4¹⁸ (Syr.); Gracious, 4Ez. 7¹³⁸; Gracious One, 8²²; Great • Eternal God, Sib. 3⁶⁹⁸ 5⁵⁰⁰; Great Father, 3²⁹⁶ 5⁴⁰⁶; Great God, the, 3Macc. 7^{2,22} Arist. 9⁵ Sib. 3^{162,297,566,567,702,778,779} 4¹⁶³; Great Holy One, the, 1En. 9⁷; Great Lord, the, 81³; Great One, the, 14² 103^{1,4} 104¹; Great Sovereign, the, 2Macc. 5²⁰; of the world, 12¹⁵; Guards all, who, Sib. 3³⁸.

Hater of insolence, 3Macc. 6⁹; Hateth iniquity, that, Judith 5¹⁷; He (Him), 1Macc. 2⁶¹; He above, Sib. 3⁷⁶⁰, cf. Lord above us; He that hath kept me alive, Ah. 84⁰ (Syr.); He that is, Wisd. 13¹, see Exists; Head of days, One who had a, 1En. 46¹; Head of days, the, 46² 47³ 48² 55¹ 60² 71¹⁰, 12^{13,14}; Heaven, 1Macc. 2^{21,37} 3^{18,19,60} 4^{24,55} 16⁸ 2Macc. 2¹⁸ 3Macc. 6³³ (Tob. 9⁶) Sus. 9, 35 (9) Jub. 26¹⁸ (30¹?) (T.B. 3⁸) Ass. Mos. 3⁸ P.A. 1^{3,11} 2^{2,16} 4^{5,14,15} 5²⁰; Heaven, abode is the, whose, Sib. Frag. 1¹¹; dwelling is in, whose, Sib. 3^{11,807}; dwells in, God who, 5²⁹⁸; Heaven, dwells in, who, 2Macc. 3³⁹; is in, God which, Tob. 5¹⁷; Heaven, that has made firm the height of the, by the spirit, 2Bar. 21⁴;

Heavenly and true God, the, Sib. Frag. 1¹⁰; God, the, Sib. 4⁵¹ 3Bar. 11⁹; King, T.B. 10⁷ (A); One, the, Ass. Mos. 10³; Sovereign, 2Macc. 15²⁸; Heavens, whose are the highest, 4Ez. 8²⁰; Helper of the oppressed, Judith 9¹¹; Highest, the, A. & E., 15⁸; Holdeth all things together, that which, Wisd. 1⁷; Holy among the holy ones, 3Macc. 2²; and faithful, Jub. 21⁴; and Righteous One, A. & E. 27⁷; God, 3Macc. 6⁴ 7¹⁰ Sib. 3⁴⁷⁷; (and) Great One, 1En. 1³ 10¹ 14¹ 25³ 84¹ 92² 98⁶ 104⁹; Holy King, 3Macc. 2¹³; Holy Lord, 2Macc. 14³⁶ [Apoc. Mos. 43⁶]; One, Sir. 4¹³ 23⁹ 39³⁵ 43¹⁰ 1Bar. 4^{22,35} 5⁵ Apoc. Mos. 33⁵ Sib. 3⁶⁸⁸; of Israel, Sir. 50¹⁷ 1En. 1² 37² 93¹¹ T.D. 5¹⁸ Sib. 3⁷⁰⁹ P.A. 3^{1,4} 4²⁹ 5⁶ 6^{11,12}; One of the holy ones, T.L. 3⁴ (A⁹); Honoured One, the, 1En. 103¹, see Name; Hope and refuge of the poor, Ps.Sol. 15²; Hope, in whom ye (Israel), 2Bar. 77⁷; Hosts stand trembling, before whom, 4Ez. 8²¹.

Immortal, the, Sib. Frag. 1¹¹ Sib. 5¹¹⁰; and eternal, 5²⁷⁷; Father of gods and of all men, 3²⁷⁸; God, 3^{276,283,600,628,693} 5^{298,360,490,497}; loud-thundering God of heaven, 5⁷⁶; One, 3⁵⁸²; Incorruptible Creator, Sib. Frag. 3¹⁷; Incorruptible, the, 4Ez. 3¹¹; Indignation melteth the mountains, whose, 4Ez. 8²⁹; Ineffable, Sib. 3¹¹; Inspired into man an active soul, He that, Wisd. 15¹¹, see Spirit; Invisible God, the, Sib. 5⁴²⁷ 2En. 67³; Invisible yet seeing all Himself, Sib. Frag. 1⁵.

Jael, Apoc. Mos. 29⁴ 33⁵; Jealousy, an ear of, Wisd. 1¹⁰; Judge, the, 2Bar. 5³ 48³⁹ P.A. 4²⁹; holy, Jub. 10³²; Judge, righteous, 2Macc. 12⁵ Sir. 35¹⁷; a righteous, Ps.Sol. 2¹⁸; the sovereign righteous, Sib. 3⁷⁰⁴; Just and righteous, Ah. 4¹⁸ (Syr.); Justice, Wisd. 1⁸ 11²⁰ 14³¹ 4Macc. 8¹⁵; divine, Sib. 3²⁶⁰ 4Macc. 12¹²; lover of, Arist. 209.

Keepeth Israel, He that, Sir. 51¹² 1¹¹; King, 51¹ 1En. 84²; great, 1En. 84⁵ 91¹³ Ps.Sol. 2³⁶; of ages, 1En. 12³; of all, Tob. 10¹⁵; of every creature, Judith 9¹²; glory for ever, 1En. 81³; of gods, Add. Esth. C²⁸; of great power, 3Macc. 6²; of heaven, 1Esd. 4^{46,58} Tob. 13^{7,11,16} T.B. 10⁷ (c β S¹); of heavens, 3Macc. 2²; of kings, 2Macc. 13⁴ 3Macc. 5³⁵ 1En. 9⁴ 84², cf. 63⁴; of kings of kings, Sir. 51^{121v} P.A. 4²⁰; of world, 2Macc. 7⁹; on Mount Zion for all eternity, Jub. 1²⁸; on the lofty throne, Ass. Mos. 4²; our, Add. Esth. C¹⁴ Sib. Frag. 3⁴² Sib. 5^{552,499};

Ps.Sol. 5²¹ 17¹; that rulest over all, Add. Esth. C²; Knew that thou wast wronged, Ah. 5¹⁴ (Arab.); (?) Know, One whom the many do not, 4Ez. 5⁷; Knows all, who, Sib. Frag. 1⁴ 1Bar. 3³²; all things before they come into being, who, Sus. 35⁶, 42; the consummation of the times before they come, who, 2Bar. 21⁸; the secrets, Sus. 42; what is hidden, God who, Ah. 6²⁹ (Arab.).

Lawgiver, 4Macc. 5²⁸; Life, all, is from before His face, Jub. 12⁴; Life, all things are endowed with, through whom, Arist. 16; Life and deathless endless light, He who is, Sib. Frag. 3³⁴; Life and Spirit, Lord of, 2Macc. 14⁴⁶; Life for them (men), He who prepared, 4Ez. 8⁶⁰; Life, living, the, A. & E. 28²; Light, everlasting, Wisd. 7²⁶; of righteousness, T.Z. 9⁸; of the Universe, the, Apoc. Mos. 36³; the True, A. & E. 28²; Liveth for ever, God that, Tob. 13¹; He that, Sir. 18¹ 1En. 5¹ 106^{8,11} (*Lat. Frag.*); Living God, Bel 5, 25, Add. Esth. E¹⁶ Jub. 12⁶ 21⁴ Sib. 3⁷⁰³, see Almighty living God; Lord, 2Macc. 7³² 15⁴; One, the, Ah. 1¹ (Arab.); Lofty One, who has no respect of persons, 2Bar. 13⁸; Longsuffering, 4Ez. 7¹⁸⁴.

Lord, Almighty, Judith 4¹⁸ 8¹⁸ 16¹⁷ 1Bar. 3^{1,4} P.Man. 1, in heaven, P.Man. 1; above us, 4Ez. 8⁹; and Creator of the Universe, Arist. 15; Creator, Jub. 10⁸ S. A. & E. 30²; my Creator, 28²; for evermore, Jub. 8²⁰; Lord God, 1Esd. 8⁹² 2Macc. 1²⁴ 7⁶ 3Macc. 5³⁸ Tob. 14¹⁵ Judith 7²⁹ 8³⁵ 9² 13¹⁸ Bel 39, 41 Jub. 2¹ 6¹⁰ 9¹⁶ 12²⁵ 16²⁹ 25¹² A. & E. 2² 6² 9² 14¹ 15² 20² 22² 28¹ 30² 34¹ 30¹ 40² 46³ T.S. 2¹³ 6⁵ T.L. 8¹⁰ 9¹⁴ 2En. 22^{4,8} (B) 42¹⁴ (B) 43¹ (B) 44¹ (B) 45³ (B) 58^{1,2} (B) 64¹ (B) 3Bar. 1^{3,5,7} 4^{7,8} 4Ez. 8⁴⁵ Ps. Sol. 5¹; God Most High, 1Esd. 9⁴⁶; of Abraham, Add. Esth. C³⁰ Jub. 36⁶, and the God of Isaac, 27²²; of all power, Judith 13⁴; of . . . father, 9²; of . . . fathers, Jub. 49⁶; of heaven, Judith 6¹⁹; and earth, T.B. 3¹; of Israel, Judith 12⁹ 13⁷ Add. Esth. C¹⁴ Jub. 45³ Ps.Sol. 16³; of Shem, Jub. 8¹⁸; sole and glorious over the whole world, Azar. 22; who forsakes not those who love him, Bel 38; Lord Himself, the, Ps.Sol. 17^{38,51}; Lord, Lord, Jub. 14²; Lord . . . God, 1Esd. 1⁴ 5⁷⁰ 8^{14,15,27,79} Tob. 4^{19,21} Judith 4² 7^{19,29} 8^{14,16,25} 1Bar. 1^{10,13,15,18,19,21,22} 2^{5,6,12,15,19,27,30} 3^{6,8} Sus. 35 Bel 25 Jub. 1^{18,19} 3⁵ 4⁶ 6¹³ 7⁵ 10^{3,7,22} 13¹⁵ 15²⁶ 19²³ 26¹⁵ 33^{18,20} 45⁴ 48^{14,17} 50^{7,9,11}

INDEX

A. & E. 17¹ 29⁵ 35² T.S. 6⁵
T.L. 13¹ T.Z. 10⁶ T.N. 4³
Test. *App.* I 8⁸ Ps.Sol. 4²⁸ 6³
P.A. 3¹⁹ 5²⁴ Ah. 1⁴ (Syr. A);
Lord Most High, P.Man. 7
1En. 98¹¹ Test. *App.* II 51, 58
2Bar. 6⁶; Lord (my, thy, his,
&c.), 1Esd. 2⁵ 8^{40,47,50,52,53}
Tob. 8⁴ 13⁴ Judith 5²¹ 16^{2,12}
Add.Esth. C¹⁴ A. & E. 27¹
49³ 1En. 22¹⁴ 84⁶; LORD my
Lord, 2Bar. 3¹ⁿ. 14^{8,16} 16¹
23¹ 38¹ 48⁴⁵ 4Ez. 3⁴ 5^{23,38} 7^{17,58}
12⁷ 13⁵¹ (of angel? 4Ez. 4³⁸
6¹¹); Lord of ages, 1En. 9¹; of
all, Ass.Mos. 4²; of all the
ages, Jub. 31¹³; of all reputa-
tion, Arist. 269; of . . . fathers,
1Esd. 4⁶² Judith 7²⁸; of glory.
1En. 22¹⁴ 25³ 27^{3,5} 36⁴ 40⁸ 63²
75⁸ 83⁸; of heaven, Tob. 7^{11,17}
1En. 106¹¹ Test. *App.* II 13
Sib.Frag. 1³⁶ Ass.Mos. 4⁴; and
earth, Tob. 10¹³ Judith 9¹²; of
hosts, Apoc.Mos. 38⁸ [43⁶]
P.A. 68¹¹; of Israel, 1Esd. 2^{3,5}
5⁷¹ 6¹⁵ 8^{13,89}; of judgement,
1En. 83¹¹; of kings, 63^{2,4}; of
light, 2En. 18³; of lords, 1En.
9⁴ Ass.Mos. 9⁶; of majesty,
1En. 12³; of mercy, 2Macc.
8²⁹; of mighty, 1En. 63²; of
rich, 63²; of righteousness,
Tob. 13⁶ Jub. 25¹⁵ 1En. 22¹⁴
90³⁰ 106⁹; Lord of sheep,
80^{16,22,26,29,33,36,42,46,50,51,52,54,}
57,70,71,75,76 90^{14-20,29,33}; Lord
of Spirits, 37^{2n,4} 38^{2,4,6} 39^{2,7,8,}
9¹² 40^{1,2,3,4,5,6,7,10} 41^{2,6,7} 43⁴
45^{1,2} 46^{3,6,7,8} 47^{1,2,4} 48^{2,3,5,7,10}
49^{2,4} 50^{2,3,5} 51³ 52^{5,9} 53⁶ 54^{5,7}
55^{3,4} 57⁸ 58^{4,6} 59^{1,2} 60^{6,8,24,25}
61^{3,5,8,9,11,13} 62^{2,10,12,14,16} 63^{1,2,}
7¹² 65^{9,11} 66² 67^{8,9} 68⁴ 69^{24,29}
70¹ 71^{2,17}; of universe, Arist.
195; of whole creation of the
world, 1En. 84²; of wisdom,
63²; of world, Jub. 25²³ 1En.
81¹⁰ Ass.Mos. 1¹¹; our Saviour,
Ps.Sol. 8³⁹; over all dominion,
Add.Esth. C²³; Ruler of
Sabaoth, 2En. 21¹; that dwells
eternally, 4Ez. 8²⁰; that dwells
in Jerusalem, 1Esd. 2⁵; that
brought thee (Abraham) out
of Ur of Chaldees, Jub. 14⁷,
cf. 22²⁷; that wrought in thee
those great and wonderful
things, Arist. 155; the eternal
God, Sus. 35⁶; the God of
gods, Bel 7; the Great King,
Tob. 13¹⁵; the Most High
God, Jub. 21²⁰; which made
heaven and earth, 1Esd. 6¹³;
who created the heaven and
the earth, Jub. 32¹⁸; who
hath holy knowledge, 2Macc.
6³⁰; whose name has not been
sent into this world, Mart.Is.
17; Look drieth up the depths,
whose, 4Ez. 8²³; Looks on all,
who, Sib.Frag. 1⁴; Loved us
(Israel) from of old and never
hated us, who, 2Bar. 78³;
Lover of souls, Wisd. 11²⁶.
Made, who, 2Bar. 10¹⁹; all
things, Jub. 31²⁹; all things
by . . . word, Wisd. 9¹; (all)
from the beginning, Sib.Frag.
3¹⁶; earth, 2Bar. 21⁴; heaven

and earth, P.Man. 1² Sib.Frag.
3³⁻⁵, ct. 2En. 2²; Israel, 1Bar.
4⁷ 2Bar. 60²; them (men) 4Ez.
8⁶⁰; them (stars), 1Bar. 3²⁴;
us, 2Bar. 79²; Maker, man's,
Sir. 10¹² 32¹³ 46¹³ 47⁸ Wisd.
16²⁴ Apoc.Mos. 31⁴ 32⁴ 2Bar.
82² P.A. 4²⁹; nature's first,
Wisd. 13⁵; Maketh a horn to
sprout for the house of David,
He that, Sir. 51^{12viii}; Master,
Tob. 3¹⁴ Azar. 13 Apoc.Mos.
19² 23² 42⁵; Merciful, Sir.
50¹⁹; One, Ah. 4¹⁷ (Arab.);
God, 3Macc. 5⁷ Tob. 3¹² 1Bar.
3¹; Lord, 2Macc. 13¹²; Mercy,
who keeps, Wisd. 9¹; who
shows, Ah. 5¹⁴ (Arab.);
Mighty, Sib. 3⁷⁸⁵; God, the,
3^{91,97,194,246,274,284,306,489,549,565,}
575,584,632,656,667,665,671,687,740,781,
784,818 4^{6,25} 5¹⁸⁶ 2Bar. 6⁸ 7¹ 13^{2,4,}
Heavenly God, 3¹⁹; King,
3^{56,560,808}; One, the, Sir.
35¹⁸ 2Bar. 21⁸ 25⁴ 32^{1,6} 34¹
44⁶ 46^{1,4} 47¹ 48^{1,38} 49¹ 54^{1,11}
55⁶ 56³ 59⁸ 61⁶ 6^{2,3,5,6,8,10}
64^{3,4} 65¹ 66^{1,5,6} 67² 70² 77^{11,26}
81⁴ 82⁵ 84^{1,6,7,10} 85^{2,3} 4Ez.
63² 9⁴⁶ 10²⁴ 11⁴³ 12²⁷ 13²³;
in dominion, the, 1En. 103¹;
of Israel, T.S. 6⁵; of Jacob,
Sir. 51^{12xi}; works for sal-
vation of Israel, who has,
3Macc. 6¹³; Most exalted
of all, Sib.Frag. 3³, *see*
Exalted; Most High, 2Macc.
3³¹ 3Macc. 6² Tob. 1³ 4¹¹
Sir. 63⁷ 9¹⁵ 17²⁶ 19¹⁷ 23^{18,23}
24^{2,5} 28⁷ 34^{6,19} 35⁶ 39^{1,5} 41⁴
42² 44^{2,20} 49⁴ 50^{7,14,15,16,17}
Wisd. 5¹⁵ 6³ Add.Esth. E¹⁶
Jub. 16¹⁸ 22²⁷ 1En. 9⁹ 10¹ 46⁷
60^{1,22} 62⁷ 77¹ 94⁸ 97² 98^{7,11}
99^{3,10} 100⁴ 101^{1,6,9} T.S. 2⁵ 6⁷
T.L. 3¹⁰ 4^{1,2} 5^{1,7} 8¹⁵ [168] 18⁷
T.Iss. 2⁵ T.G. 3¹ T.A. 2⁶ 5⁴ 7³
T.Jos. 1⁴ 3¹⁰ 9³ 10³ T.B. 4⁶ 6²
(c8S¹) Test. *App.* I 10¹ Sib.
Frag. 1⁴ Sib. 3^{519,574,580} Ass.
Mos. 10⁷ 2Bar. 17¹ 24² 25¹
54^{3,17} 56¹ 64^{6,8} 67^{3,7} 69² 70⁷
71³ 76¹ 77^{4,21} 80^{1,3} 81^{2,4} 82^{2,6}
83¹ 85^{8,12} 4Ez. 3³ 4^{2,11,34} 5^{4,22,34}
6^{32,37} 7^{19,23,33,37,42,50,70,74,77,78,79,}
81,83,87,88,89,102,122,132 81^{48,66,69}
92^{4,6,25,28,44} 10^{24,38,49,52,54,57,58,}
59 11^{38,43,44} 12^{4,6,23,30,32,36,39,47}
13^{13,23,26,29,44,47,56,57} 14^{42,45,50};
Most High God, 1Esd. 6³¹
81^{9,21} 3Macc. 1^{9,16} 3¹¹ 4¹⁶ 5²⁵
7⁹ Judith 13¹⁸ Sir. 7⁹ 41⁸ 46^{5,6}
Jub. 7³⁶ 13^{16,20} 16²⁷ 20⁹ 21^{20,22,}
23,25 22^{6,13,19,23,27} 25^{3,11,21} 27¹⁵
32¹ 36¹⁶ 39⁶ Test. *App.* II
13, 30 Sib. 3⁷¹⁹ Ass.Mos. 6¹
Ah. 1^{1,5} 3⁷ 4¹⁷ 5¹⁵ 6^{2,7,10} 7¹⁹
(all Arab.), *see* God Most
High; Most High Lord, 1Esd.
2³; Most Mighty, Add.Esth.
E¹⁶; Moulded (man), that,
Wisd. 15¹¹.
Name, the, P.A. 4⁵ 5¹¹;
(?) called upon us (Israel), 4Ez.
10²²; glorious and honoured,
&c., which created heavens
and earth and all things, Jub.
36⁷; His, 2Bar. 67³ P.A. 3³;
holy, the, Jub. 25¹²; My, 2Bar.
5²; of Heaven, P.A. 1¹¹ 2^{2,16}

4⁵ 5²⁰; of Him that made
them, 4Ez. 8⁶⁰; of his God,
Ps.Sol. 6⁷; of the Lord, Test.
App. I 9⁴ Ps.Sol. 6²; Thy, 7⁶;
Thy Great, 2Bar. 5¹; Nourishes
all, who, Sib.Frag. 1⁵; No-
thing is too hard, Thou for
whom, 2Bar. 54².
One, Sib.Frag. 3³ 2Bar. 48²⁴;
Almighty God, the, Arist. 139;
God, Arist. 132 Sib.Frag. 1^{7,82}
Sib. 3⁵⁷¹ 4⁸⁰ 5²⁸⁴; Sovereign
God, 3¹¹; that judgeth alone,
P.A. 4¹⁰; who is and was . . .
and shall be, Sib. 3¹⁶; Only
Ruler, 3Macc. 2². *See* Sole.
Possessor of heaven and earth,
P.A. 6¹¹; Power, divine, the,
Arist. 236, 252 Ah. 1¹ (Syr. A)
excellent in, Sib.Frag. 1⁷; In-
finite, Mighty, A. & E. 28²;
(supreme), the, Wisd. 1³;
some, 4Macc. 5¹³; Pours forth
upon men gladness, who, Sib.
Frag. 3³⁵; Praise of all His
pious ones, Sir. 51^{12xv}; Pre-
pared the earth, that, 1Bar.
3³²; Prince of the world, Sib.
Frag. 1¹⁵; Promised, on our
behalf. . . that He will never
forget or forsake us, who al-
ways, 2Bar. 78⁷; Protector of
all, 3Macc. 6⁹; of the forlorn,
Judith 9¹¹; Providence, Wisd.
14³ Arist. 201 Sib. 5²²⁷; divine,
4Macc. 17²²; divine and all-
wise, 13¹⁹; eternal, the, Wisd.
17²; God's, Sib. 5³²³; just,
that watched over our fathers,
4Macc. 9²⁴.
Reason, Source of, Ah. 1¹
(Arab.); Receives not gifts,
who, Jub. 33¹³; Redeemer of
Israel, Sir. 51^{12v}; Redeemed
them (Israel), the Lord who,
Ps.Sol. 9¹; Redeemeth and
saveth Israel, One who, 1Macc.
4¹¹, *see* Saviour of Israel;
Redeemeth from all evil, Sib.
5¹⁸; Reigns for ever, who,
Sib. 3⁵⁹³; Respects not persons,
who, Jub. 33¹⁸ Ps.Sol. 2¹⁸, cf.
P.A. 4²⁹; Revealst to those
who fear Thee what is pre-
pared for them, 2Bar. 54⁴;
Rich in mercy, 3Macc. 6⁹;
Righteous beyond all, Jub. 21⁴;
Righteous Ruler, 3Macc. 3³;
Rock of Isaac, Sir. 51^{12xi};
Ruler and Lord of the universe,
Arist. 16; Ruler of all, 3Macc.
5²⁸ 6³⁹, cf. Sib.Frag. 1¹⁷, *see*
King, Only Ruler, Righteous
Ruler; of all creation, 3Macc.
2⁷; of all power, 5^{7,51} 7⁹;
Rules for ever, who, 1En. 22¹⁴
(E); over all, Add.Esth. E^{18,21};
over the world, 1En. 22¹⁴ (G⁸);
the world, Ass.Mos. 4²; with
great thought the hosts which
stand before Thee, 2Bar. 21⁶.
Saved all His people, who,
2Macc. 2¹⁷; thee (Ahi^{kar}),
Ah. 5¹⁴ (Arab.); Saves them
that hope in Him, who, Sus.
60; Saviour of all, Wisd. 16⁷;
of Israel, 1Macc. 4³⁰ 3Macc.
6³², eternal, 7¹⁶; of them that
are without hope, Judith 9¹¹;
Sea, who has bound the, by

the word, P.Man. 3; See, One
whom none can, from earth,
Sib. 4¹⁰; Seen those things
which are to be, Thou that
hast, 2Bar. 21⁵; Seeth all,
who, 2Macc. 7³⁵, *see* All-
seeing; Self-sprung, Sib.Frag.
1¹⁷ Sib. 3¹²; Sends forth the
light, that, 1Bar. 3³³; rain,
winds, famines, &c., Sib.Frag.
1³²⁻³⁴; Sent it (the word),
who, 2Bar. 56⁴; me (Baruch),
who, 84⁷; Shechinah, P.A. 3⁸,
see Shechinah; Shield of
Abraham, Sir. 51^{12x}; Sky,
dwelling in the, Sib.Frag. 3¹⁷;
whose dwelling is in the, Sib.
3⁸¹; Sole Potentate, 3⁷¹⁸;
Souls, God who gave us our,
4Macc. 13¹³; Souls, Sustainer
of, Sib. 5⁵⁰⁶; Sovereign, 2Macc.
12²⁸; Sole, Sib.Frag. 1⁷;
Sovereign in heaven, 2Macc.
15^{8,4}; Sovereign Lord, 5¹⁷ 6¹⁴
15^{22,29} Wisd. 11²⁶ 13^{3,9}; of all,
Wisd. 6⁷ 8³; of all creation,
3Macc. 2², *see* Ruler; of
earth, Sib.Frag. 1³⁵; of spirits,
2Macc. 3²⁴; of the world, sole,
Sib. 5¹⁸⁰; Sovereignty over all
flesh, who has, Bel 5; Spirit
and soul, who placed in man,
Test. *App.* I 9⁵; Strength of
my life, Sir. 51¹; Supreme
God, 2Macc. 3³⁶ Arist. 19,
37.
Teacher, Sir. 51¹⁷; Throne is
beyond imagination, whose,
4Ez. 8²¹; Thunder, delight is
in the, whose, 5⁶², cf. 5⁷⁶;
Sender of, 5⁴³³; Thunders from
on high, He who, Sib. 3¹
5³⁰²; True, the, 5⁴⁹⁹;
and eternal God, Sib.Frag.
1²⁰; and everlasting God,
3⁴⁶; God, the, 3Macc. 6¹⁸
Wisd. 12²⁷ Arist. 140, Sib. 5⁴⁹³
2En. 66²; Truth, lover of the,
Arist. 206.
Unbegotten, Sib.Frag. 1^{7,17};
Upholder of the weak, Judith
9¹¹; Unseen yet seeing all
Himself alone, Sib. 3¹², *see*
Invisible.
Watcher of all from heaven,
Sib. 5³⁵²; Wisdom, guideth,
that, Wisd. 7¹⁵; Who hath
made . . . perfect in, Ah. 7⁴
(Arab.); Wise, Sib. 5⁵⁰⁰; Wise,
correcteth, One that, Wisd.
7¹⁵; Witness, the, P.A. 4²⁹; Wit-
nesses all, who, Sib.Frag. 1⁴;
Wonders, doer of, 3Macc. 6⁹²;
worker of, 2Macc. 15²¹; Word
is sure and behest constant,
4Ez. 8²²; World-Ruler, the,
Sib. 3¹⁹; Worship, whom ye
(Israel), 2Bar. 77⁷.
Godless, 1En. 1¹ 5⁷ 16¹ 38⁸ 81⁹
91¹⁴ 94¹¹ 98¹⁵ 99^{8,10}.
Godlessness, 1En. 10²⁰ 104⁹.
Godly man is wise, Sir. 21¹¹,
18-28; receives discipline, and
is blessed, 32(35)¹⁴⁻¹⁷.
Gods of heathen, dead, Sib.
Frag. 1²² 3^{545,597}; impossi-
bility of, Frag. 2¹⁻³ Frag.
3¹⁻³²; = demons, *see* Demono-
logy; strange, Israel turns to,
Jub. 1⁸.

INDEX

See Ashtaroth, Bel, Belshim, Dis, Zeus.
Gog, Jub. 8²⁵; and Magog, land of = Ethiopia, Sib. 3⁸¹⁰, 512.
Gold, lay up, Tob. 12⁹; proved in fire, Sir. 2⁵ Wisd. 3⁶.
'Golden Rule,' Tob. 4¹⁵.
Goliath, Sir. 47⁴.
Gomer, Jub. 7¹⁹ 9⁸.
Gomorra, Jub. 16⁵ 20⁶ Mart. Is. 3¹⁰. See Aguaron.
Good man, the, T.B. 4²⁻⁵.
Goodness abides for ever, Sir. 40^{12,17}.
Gorgias, 1Macc. 3³⁸ 4^{1,5,18} 5⁵⁹ 2Macc. 8⁹ 10¹⁴ 12^{32,35,37}. Judas' victory over, 1Macc. 4¹⁻²⁵.
Gortyna, 1Macc. 15²⁸.
Goshen, land of, Judith 1¹⁰; land of, Jub. 44⁹ 45^{1,2,6}.
Gotholias, 1Esd. 8³³.
Government, attitude to, P.A. 1¹⁰ 2³.
Grace alone accounts for election and salvation of Israel, Ass. Mos. § 9.
Graeco-Egyptians = 'vultures' and 'kites' in 1En. 90². Cf. 90^{11,13n}.
Grape-gatherer, Ben-Sira claims to be only a, Sir. 1, 33¹⁶⁻¹⁸.
Grateful dead. See Dead.
Grave, Tob. 8^{10,18}.
Greece, 1Macc. 8⁹ Sib. 3⁸¹³ 4⁹⁶. See Hellas.
Greek, 2Macc. 13² Sib. 3¹⁰³; cities compel Jews to hellenize, 2Macc. 6⁹, cf. 11⁸; fashions, 4¹⁵; influences in Tobit, 2¹² 5¹⁶; kingdom, i.e. the Seleucid era, 1Macc. 1¹⁰ⁿ; language, Arist. 38; speculation condemned, Sir. 3²⁴ⁿ; text of Ecclesiasticus, divergence in order from Old Latin version, Sir. § 4, 30-36; ways of life, 2Macc. 4¹⁰ 6⁸. See Hellenizing.
Greeks, 1Macc. 6² 8¹⁸ 2Macc. 4³⁶ 11³ Arist. 121, 137 Sib. 3^{171,202,520,536,553,600} 5²⁶⁴ 4Macc. 18²⁰; favour Jews, 3Macc. 3⁸; or Macedonians = 'eagles' in 1En. 90²⁻¹⁶.
Greetings in letters, 3Macc. 3¹³ⁿ 7¹.
Gregory Nazianzen praises Maccabean martyrs, 4Macc. § 8.
Grigori (i.e. 'the Watchers'), 2En. 18^{1,3,7,9}.
Grosseteste, Test. § 1.
Guardian angels, A. & E. 33¹, see Virtues; belief in, Jub. 35¹⁷; of Esau, Jub. 35¹⁷; of Jacob, 35¹⁷. See Angelic patrons.
Guardians of the gates of hell, 2En. 42¹.
Guilt, incur, Zad. § 4, 4⁹ 16².
Guilt-offering, Zad. 10⁹.
Guilty, against the soul, P.A. 3^{6,10,11}; held, Zad. 10⁷ 19⁵.
Guni, Jub. 44³⁰.
Gymnasium built in Jerusalem, 1Macc. 1¹⁴ 2Macc. 4^{9,12}.
Habakkuk, prophecy of, Bel 1(G), 33-37, 39; Mart. Is. 2⁹.
Habitations of souls, 4Ez. 7⁸⁰, 85,101,121.

Hades, 2Macc. 6²³ Sir. 17²⁷ 21¹⁰ 28²¹ Wisd. 1¹⁴ 16¹³ Azar. 66 Add. Esth. B⁷ (i.e. Sheol), T.R. 4⁶ T.L. 4¹ T.B. 9⁵ Sib. Frag. 1²² 3^{383,458} 5¹⁷⁸ 3Bar. 4^{4,6} 5³ 4Ez. 4^{7,8} 8⁵³; abolished for righteous, 4Ez. 8⁵³, cf. 2Bar. 21³, see Death; deities in, Sib. Frag. 1²²; gates of, Wisd. 16¹³; god of death, Wisd. 1¹⁶ⁿ; perish in, Sir. 17²⁷ⁿ; pit of, Sir. 21¹⁰, see Pit, Sheol; relation to Dragon, 3Bar. 4³ⁿ.
Haemus, mountains, Sib. 3⁴⁷⁴.
Hagar, Jub. 14^{22,23} 17^{2,8,11,17} 19¹¹.
Haggai. See Aggaeus.
Haggi, Jub. 44²⁰.
Hagiographa, Sir. Prologue 111; once quoted in Zad. § 8.
†Hagu. See Book, References.
Haiqar, Arabic name of Ahikar, *passim*.
Halacha, earlier than those in the Mishnah, enunciated in Jubilees, Jub. § 15; none in Pirkē Aboth, P.A. § 2, 2, see Rule; severer in Zad. than in Talmud, Zad. § 6. See 7¹¹ⁿ, 13²³ⁿ.
Halachoth of Zadokites based on Prophets, Zad. § 9⁴.
Halaphta ben Dosa, P.A. 3⁸.
Halicarnassus, 1Macc. 15²³.
Hallel, the, Wisd. 18⁹.
Haman, Jub. 4²³ 7^{8,13} 8^{10,22,24,30} 9^{1,13} 10^{28,30} 22²¹ T.S. 6⁴; lot of, Jub. 8²². See Canaan.
Hamadathus, Add. Esth. A¹⁷ E^{10,17}.
Haman, Add. Esth. A¹⁷ B^{3,6} C^{5,28} E^{10,17} F⁴.
Hameath, 1Macc. 12²⁴ Jub. 10³³ 13².
Hamor, Jub. 30² T.L. 2² 5⁴ 6^{3,4}.
Hanselim, father of the king of Persia and Elam, Ah. 3⁷ (Syr.). See Achish, Akhi.
Hananel, 1En. 69².
Hananiah, Azariah and Mishael, 1Macc. 2⁶⁰. See Three Children.
Hananiel, Tob. 1¹⁸.
Hanina, deputy of the priests, P.A. 3².
Hanina ben Dosa, P.A. 3¹²⁻¹⁴.
Hanina ben Hachinai, P.A. 3⁶.
Hanina ben Teradion, P.A. 3³.
Hanukka. See Chanukka.
Haran, brother of Abraham, Jub. 12^{10,14,30} 13¹; land of, 12¹⁵, 28 13¹ 27^{3,19} 35^{10,12} (44¹ read Hebron) T.L. 2¹ T.Iss. 1⁵.
Hares symbolize double livers, T.A. 2⁹.
Harvest of evil, 4Ez. 4^{28,29,30}; of good will be greater, 4Ez. 4²⁹⁻³¹.
Hasidaeans led by Judas Maccabaeus, 2Macc. 14⁶. See Chasidim.
Hasmonaean monarchy attacked, Ps. Sol. § 6, 17^{7,8n}.
Hastening of times, 2Bar. 20¹ 83¹.
Hateful, three things, Sir. 25².
Hatred, cure of, T.G. 5^{3,4}; evils of, 3²⁻⁵ 4⁶.
Hazor, T.Jud. 3¹ 4³; plain of, 1Macc. 11⁶⁷ⁿ. See Aresa.

Head, and not tail, Israel to be, Jub. 1¹⁶ 1En. 103¹¹.
Head of days. See God.
Healing, 1En. 95⁴; of body, 67³; of earth, 10⁷.
Health, good, a blessing, Sir. 30¹⁴⁻²⁰.
Heap. See Sea, Witness.
Heart, 1En. 14² 47⁴ 48⁴ 68³ 93⁶ 94⁵ 95¹ 96⁴ 98⁷ 99^{8,16} 104⁹; T.N. 2^{6,8}; clean, Jub. 1²¹; double, 1En. 91⁴; perfect, Zad. 17; place idols upon, 9³⁴; stubbornness of, 3⁴ 4^{5,10} 9¹⁸, 27^{3,4}; uprightness of, 9²³; way of God's, 17.
Heathen, conversion of, Tob. § 10 A (3), 13⁷⁻¹⁸ 14⁴⁻⁶; Conversion of, 2Bar. 72⁴⁻⁶ 4Ez. 13¹³ Ps. Sol. 17³²; lost because they openly spurn Law, 4Ez. 7²⁴; marriages, Tob. § 9, Wisd. 1¹ⁿ, detested, Add. Esth. C²⁷; none saved, 4Ez. 13³²ⁿ; wives put away, 1Esd. 9⁹⁻³⁶. See Orgies, Unclean-ness.
Heaven, 1En. 6² 14^{9,11} 18³ 21^{2,3} 33² 45⁴ 47³ 55² 57² 61^{6,12} 60¹⁶ 78¹⁷ 79¹ 80^{4,2} 83^{3,11} 86^{1,3} 93^{12,14} 101^{1,8} 104^{2,6} 108^{5,10} T.R. 1⁵ 7⁶ 9⁶ T.S. 6⁴ T.L. 2⁶⁻⁹ 3¹⁻⁹ 5¹ 13⁵ 14³ 18³⁻⁶ T.Jud. 21^{3,4} 24² 25² T.Iss. 7⁷ T.Jos. 12³ 19^{6(A)} T.B. 3^{1,8} 6⁵ 10⁷; children of = angels, 6² 14³; = righteous, 10¹¹; end of, 18¹⁴, see Ends; first, 91¹⁰, contrast New; five men from, appear to help Judas in battle, 2Macc. 10^{20,30}, cf. 11⁶; = God, P.A. 1^{3,11} 4^{14,15}, cf. name of, 2^{2,16} 4⁵ 5²⁰; high, 12⁴ 39¹; high, holy, and eternal, 15³; host of, 104⁶, see Host; new, 1En. 91¹⁶, see Creation; of heavens, 1⁴ 60¹ 71⁵; old Semitic conception of, 2En. 10¹ⁿ; second, contains fallen Watchers *ib.*, builders of Babel, 3Bar. 3⁵⁻⁸; sins prevent looking up to, P.Man. 9; third, Paradise in, Apoc. Mos. 40². See Angels, God, Prophecy, Sacrifices, Sea, Temple.
Heavenly archetypes of things on earth, Wisd. 9⁹ⁿ; bodies, observe their order, Sir. 16²⁷⁻²⁸, cf. 1En. 2¹, Ep. Jer. 60 Ps. Sol. 18¹²⁻¹⁴; dispensation, to assist Jacob's deceit, Jub. 26¹⁸; hosts, ten orders of, 2En. 20²ⁿ; Jerusalem, vision of, 4Ez. 9^{26-10⁵⁹}, ? = great mountain (or rock), 13^{6,7,35}, belongs to eternal order, available for righteous after Final Judgement, 8⁶², see Sion, revealed as a builded city, 10^{27,42,44}; ordinance to slay Shechemites, Jub. 30⁶; pattern of Holy City, 4Ez. 10⁴⁰. See Luminaries, Tablets, Vision.
Heavens, 1En. 1² 18¹⁰ 39³ 41¹ 42¹ 47² 61¹⁰ 71^{1,8} 84⁴ 91¹⁶ 98⁶; and earth renewed, Jub. 1²⁹, see Creation; host of, 1En. 61¹⁰; opened, T.L. 18⁶ T.Jud. 24²; plurality of, implied, 4Ez. 3¹⁹ⁿ; powers

of, 1En. 91¹⁶, see Angels; seven, belief in, in Test. XII Patr., 2 Enoch, Ascension of Isaiah, 3 Baruch, Chagigah 12, 3Bar. § 10; seven, 2En. 3-21; first, 3-6; second, 7; third, 8-10; fourth, 11-17; fifth, 18; sixth, 19; seventh, 20, 21; (eighth to tenth, 21^{1-22¹}); seven, T.L. 2^{7-3⁸} (BAS); three, 2^{7-3⁸} (αΑα).
Hebrew, Abraham learns, Jub. 12^{26,27}; characters, Arist. 30, see Jewish; language, holy, Test. App. I 8⁹; Testament of Naphtali, see Naphtali; Text of Zadokite Frag., Zad. § 4; tongue, Arist. 38 4Macc. 12⁷ 16¹⁵ Jub. 43¹⁵; the tongue of the creation, learnt by Abraham, see Abraham, Books of the fathers; translation from, difficulties of, Sir. Prologue 111. See Intros. to Books.
Hebrew(s), 2Macc. 7³¹ 11¹³ 15³⁷ Judith 10¹² 12¹¹ 14¹⁸ Jub. 39¹⁰ 47⁷ T.Jos. 12² 13³ Sib. 3⁶⁹ 5^{161,258} 4Macc. 4¹¹ 5^{2,4} 8² 9^{5,18} 17⁹.
Hebron, 1Macc. 5⁶⁵ Jub. 13¹⁰, 12²¹ 14¹⁰ 16¹⁰ 19^{1,2,5} 22³ 24¹ 29¹⁹ 36²⁰ 37¹⁵ 45¹⁴ 46¹⁰ (see Haran) T.R. 7² T.S. 8² T.L. 9⁵ 19⁵ T.Jud. 26^{4,3n} 26^{3,4} T.Iss. 7⁸ T.Z. 10⁷ T.N. 9¹ T.G. 1⁶ 8⁵ T.A. 81² T.Jos. 20^{6(C)} T.B. 12^{1(9),3} 2Bar. 47¹; as a seat of prophetic inspiration, 2Bar. 47¹ 4Ez. 9²⁶⁻²⁸ⁿ.
Hebron, son of Kohath, T.L. 12² Test. App. II 74.
Hecataeus of Abdera, relation of Aristeas's Letter to, Arist. § 5, 31ⁿ.
Hector, Sib. 3⁴²⁷.
Heel, 1En. 82²⁰.
Hegemonides, 2Macc. 13²⁴.
He-He, ben, P.A. 5^{26,27}.
Helemmelek, 1En. 82^{13,16}.
Helen and Paris, Sib. 2⁴¹³ⁿ.
Heliolus, 2Macc. 3^{7,8,13,22,25}, 26,31-33,35,37,40 4¹ 5¹⁸.
Heliopolis, priest of, Jub. 40¹⁰ 44²⁴ T.Jos. 18³.
Helkias, i.e. Hilkiah, a ruler of the temple, 1Esd. 1⁶.
Helkias, 1Esd. 8¹.
Helkias, ancestor of Baruch, 1Bar. 1¹.
Helkias, father of high priest Joakim, 1Bar. 1⁷.
Helkias, Sus. 2, 7, 29, 63.
Hell, 1En. 51¹ⁿ Sib. 4¹⁸⁶; and destruction, Ah. 8³⁸ (Arab.); or Hades, 2En. 40¹³ⁿ 41¹ 42¹; the very lowest, 40¹²ⁿ. See Abyss, Gehenna, Sheol.
Hellas, Sib. 3^{510,537,545,564,598,639}, 732,810 4^{70,82} 5¹³⁷. See Greece.
Hellenic tracts in Sirach, Sir. § 1.
Hellenism, pioneer of evils to mankind, Sib. 3⁵⁵³.
Hellenization of Jews enforced, 2Macc. 6¹⁻³¹ 3Macc. 2²⁸ⁿ Ass. Mos. 8³⁻⁵, cf. 1Macc. 1¹⁰⁻¹⁵, 41-53; given up, 2Macc. 11²⁵⁻²⁶; under Jason, 4Macc. 4¹⁸⁻²⁰.
Hellenizing, details of in 1Macc.

INDEX

—gymnasium built, 1¹⁴; uncircumcision, 1¹⁵; circumcision forbidden, 1^{60,61}; covenant repudiated, 1¹⁵; sacrificing to idols, 1⁴⁸; sacrificing swine, &c., 1⁴⁷; unclean things eaten; profaning Sabbaths and feasts, 1^{43,46}; Law—books burned, 1⁵⁶, practices forbidden, 1^{49,57}; abomination of desolation set up, 1⁵⁴; influences, Zad. 9¹⁰⁻²⁰; priesthood attacked, §§ 9⁸⁰ roi. Hellespont, Sib. 4⁷⁰ 5³⁸⁶. Hera, Sib. 3¹³⁶ 5¹⁴⁰. Heracles, Sib. 5⁸⁷; festival of at Tyre (high priest Jason sends money for sacrifice to), 2Macc. 4¹⁹. Heraclitus' views, Wisd. 1¹⁶ n. 2² n. Hereditary taint of character, Wisd. 3¹² 4³⁻⁶ n. Heredity, 4Macc. 15⁴ n. Hermes, Sib. 5^{87,386}; the planet, 2En. 30⁸ n. Hermon, man, 3Macc. 5¹ &c. Hermon, mountain, Jub. 29¹⁰ 1En. 6⁶ n. 13⁷; where the angels who fell descended, 2En. 18⁴ (Ermon), cf. 1En. 6²⁻⁶. *See* Aspis. Herod, 1En. 67⁸ n. Ass. Mos. § 7; = an insolent king, Ass. Mos. 6²; = ? Man of lies, Zad. § 6ii(*b*); sons of, § 6, *see* Alexander; successors of, Ass. Mos. 6⁷ n.; suppresses priesthood and Sadducees, Ass. Mos. 6⁷ n. Heshbon, Judith 5¹⁵. Hestia, Sib. 3¹²³. Heth, children of, Jub. 19^{4,5} 27⁸. *See* Hittite. Hexameron, fragment of an, 2Bar. 29⁴ n. Hexapla. *See* Origen. Hezaqa, Jub. 34²⁰. Hezekiah, king of Judah, 2Macc. 15²² Sir. 48^{17,22} 49⁴ 2Bar. 62^{1,3,5} Mart. Is. 1^{1,7,10,12,13} 21³ 3^{3,4,5} (In 2¹² read Zedekiah) 4Ez. 7¹¹⁰; Testament of, Mart. Is. §§ 1, 5. Hezron, Jub. 44¹². Hierapolis, Sib. 3⁸⁴⁵ 5³¹⁸. Hiereel, 1Esd. 9²¹. Hieremoth, 1Esd. 9²⁷. Hieremoth, 1Esd. 9³⁰. Hiermas, 1Esd. 9²⁶. Hieronymus, 2Macc. 12². High, the Most. *See* God, titles of. High places, Jub. 1¹¹. High priest, Sir. 49¹⁵⁻⁵⁰ 24 1Bar. 1⁷ n. Arist. 1, 11, 32, 35, 41, 121; political power of, Sir. 45²⁴ n.; succession, hereditary 45²⁸ n. High-priesthood, hereditary, conferred on Simon Maccabaeus, 1Macc. 14⁴¹; confirmed by Demetrius II, 14³⁸. High priests, Maccabaeans, adopt title of Melchizedek, 'priest of the Most High God', Jub. 32¹ n. T.L. 8¹⁴ Ass. Mos. 6¹. Hilkiah. *See* Helkias. Hillel, line of, P.A. § 1. Hilujaseph, 1En. 82¹⁷. Hinnom, valley of, 1En. 26^{4,5}. *See* Gehenna.

Hippodrome at Alexandria, 3Macc. 4¹¹ &c. Hippodrome, the, T.Jos. 20^{3(β)}. Histories. *See* Book. History, earlier and later. *See* Moses. Hittite, Jub. 36². *See* Heth. Hittites, 1Esd. 8⁶⁰ T.S. 6³. Hivite, Jub. 30². Hivites, Jub. 14¹⁸. Holiness, counsel of, Zad. 9⁴⁸; perfection of, *see* Perfection. Hollow places (= Sheol), 1En. 22^{2,3,5}. Holofernes, Judith § 6 24¹⁴ 3⁵ 4¹ 5^{1,22,24} 6^{1,10,17} 7^{1,6,16,26} 10^{17,18}, 20,21 11^{1,20,22} 12^{3,5,6,7,10,13,15,16}, 17,20 13^{2,6,9,15} 14^{3,6,11,13,19} 15¹¹ 16¹⁹; slain by Judith, 13⁹. Holy, 1En. 1⁹ 9³ 12² 38⁵ 39^{1,4,5} 41² 43⁴ 45¹ 47^{2,4} 48^{1,9} 50¹ 51² 57² 58^{3,5} 60⁴ 61^{8,10,12} 62⁸ 65¹² 103² 106¹⁹; and common, Zad. 15¹; and profane, 8¹⁴; Holy City = Jerusalem, Sir. 24¹¹ 36¹³ Ps. Sol. 8⁴, *see* City; Land protects those who dwell in it, 2Bar. 29² n., sanctified by God—the scene of Messianic salvation, 4Ez. 9²⁸. 12³⁴ 13^{48,49} 2Bar. 26² 46²; One, Sir. 4¹⁴ n. 23⁹ 43¹⁰ 47⁸ 48²⁰ 1Bar. 4²² 5⁵—blessed be He, P.A. 4²⁹ 5⁶ 6^{11,12}, *see* God, titles of; one = Jacob, Azar. 12; ones of God = angels, Sir. 42¹⁶ T.L. 3³ Ps. Sol. 17⁴⁹; = angels of sanctification, Jub. 31¹⁴; of the Lord = Israel, Jub. 33¹² T.S. 6²; Place (= Jerusalem or Temple?), Jub. 1¹⁰ Sib. 3³⁰⁸, *see* Sanctuary; Spirit, Mart. Is. 5¹⁴; of God bestowed on man, to be returned as pure as when received, Test. *App.* I 10⁹, *see* Spirit; things (= tithes), Zad. 8¹⁶, *see* Anointed One, City, Name, Sabbath, Spirit; *in* 1En.: used of angels, *see* Angels; Watchers, 1En. 15^{4,5}; of God: Holy, holy, holy, 1En. 39¹², Lord, 91⁷, name (of God), 94 108¹², One, *see* God; of heaven: heaven, 1En. 15³, eternal place, 1En. 12⁴; of men: and elect, 1En. 50⁴, righteous and elect, 1En. 38⁴; of Temple: holy place, 1En. 25⁵. (Contrast 'holy eternal place' = 'heaven'.) Homer, borrowed from Sibyl, Sib. 3⁴¹⁹ n. 419—431. Honour, 1En. 50¹ 103⁶ 108^{11,12}; to whom due, Sir. 10¹⁹⁻²⁵; paid to wisdom, not wealth, 10³⁰⁻¹¹. Hoof, divided, symbol of discrimination, Arist. 150. Horeb, Sir. 48⁷. Horites, Jub. 37¹⁰ 38⁸. Horn, the great = Judas Maccabaeus, 1En. 90⁹ n. Host (array) of heaven, P.Man. 2n.; = angels, P.Man. 15n.; of the heavens, 1En. 61¹⁰ 104⁹, cf. 1⁹ 60¹. *See* Angels. Hosts of Azazel punished, 1En. 54⁵ 55⁴; of God = angels, Sir. 24² 42¹⁶; of heaven, 17³². Houday, one of the king's sons

who question Ahiqar, Ah. 2¹⁰¹ (Arm.). *See* Baliayn. Hours, 1En. 89⁷² n., cf. 'periods', 1En. 90¹; 'times', 90⁵. *See* Times. House, build a sure, in Israel, Zad. 5⁵; of God = universe, 1Bar. 3^{24,25}; of instruction, Sir. 51²³ n.; of Israel, the two houses of, Zad. 9⁴; of the Law = school or college, Zad. § 10 ii. 9^{35,38}; = Temple: of the Eternal, Sib. 3³²⁸; of the Great God, 3^{772,776}, *see* Temple; for the Great King, 1En. 91¹³, Lord of the Sheep, 1En. 89^{36,40}; of dominion, 1En. 93⁸; glory and dominion, 93⁷; of the sheep, 1En. 89⁵⁰⁻⁵⁶ 90²⁶; a new, 1En. 90²⁹; of worship = Temple or synagogue, Zad. § 4, 14². Hrotitz, Armenian month, Ah. 3^{9,12} (Arm.). *See* Ab, Nisan. Human flesh eaten, Wisd. 12⁵. Humble, Ps. Sol. 5¹⁴. Humility, P.A. 4^{3,4,12} 5²²; need of, Sir. 3¹⁷⁻²⁵; exhortation to, 7⁴⁻⁷. Huphim, Jub. 44²⁵. Hushim, Jub. 44^{28,29}. Hydaspes, Judith 1⁶. Hyenas = Ethiopians or (?) Syrians, 1En. 89³⁶ n. Hymn in praise of Creation, Sir. 39¹²⁻³⁵. Hypocrite, Sir. 129 32(35)¹⁵ n. *See* Double-heart. Hyrcanus, John, 1En. 38⁵ n. 103^{14,15} n.; king, establisher of new priesthood, and prophet, T.R. 6^{8,12} n. T.L. 8¹⁴⁻¹⁵ notes; new priesthood of, T.L. 18² *sgg.*, *see* Bath-qol, Messianic; regarded as Messiah in T.Lev. 18. *See* T.R. 6 T.L. 8. Hyrcanus II, Zad. § 6ii(*c*). Hyrcanus, son of Tobias, 2Macc. 3¹¹ n. Iadinus, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸. Iapetus, Sib. 3¹¹⁰. Iassus, Sib. 3³⁴². Iberians, Sib. 5¹¹⁶. Ibn Samik, executioner, Ah. 4⁴ (Arab). *See* Abu Samik, Nabusemakh, &c. Idleness, Tob. 4¹³. Idolil. *See* Adoil. Idol, command to offer to, Ah. 2⁷⁰ (Syr.); Bel, Ah. 6¹⁶ (Arab.). Idol temple, Bel 10n. Idolatry, 3Macc. 4¹⁶ 6¹¹ Wisd. 13—15; attacked, Arist. § 6, 134—7; commanded by Antiochus, 1Macc. 14³; denounced, Wisd. § 1 Bel 5 Sib. Frags. 1, 3; by Abraham, Jub. 12¹⁻⁸ 21¹⁻⁶ 22¹⁷⁻²²; by Isaac, 36⁵; of Babylon, denounced in Ep. Jer. § 1; of Israel, Jub. 1¹¹; punished eternally, 2En. 10⁶; rise of, Jub. 11⁴⁻⁷; vanity of, Ep. Jer. 4—73. Idols, Zad. 9³⁴. Iduel, 1Esd. 8⁴³. Idumaea, 1Macc. 4^{15,61} 5³ 6³¹. Idumaeans, Arist. 107 2Macc. 10^{15,17}. Ieddias, 1Esd. 9²⁶.

Ignorance, 4Macc. 1⁶ n.; and sin, 2En. 30¹⁶; an evil in itself, 30¹⁶ n. Ijaka, Jub. 44²⁸. Ijasaka, Benjamin's wife, Jub. 34²⁰. Ijaska, Jub. 11⁹. Ijona, Jub. 34²⁰. Ijusasacl, 1En. 82¹⁴. Iliadun, 1Esd. 5⁵⁸. Ilium, Sib. 3^{428,432}. Images, 1En. 65⁶ 99⁷, *see* Chiun; molten, Zad. 9⁴⁸. *See* Idolatry. Imagination, evil, Zad. 3². *See* Inclination, Yetzer. Imalkue the Arabian, 1Macc. 11³⁹ n. [Immanuel. *See* Jesus Christ.] Immortality, Wisd. 3⁴ 4¹ 15³; denial of, 2²; of animals, 2En. 58⁶ n.; of soul, Alexandrian Jews' doctrine of, 4Macc. § 9—righteous enter bliss at death, 10¹⁵ 13¹⁷ 16¹³ 17^{4,18} 18²³; wicked enter on eternal torture, 9^{9,32} 10^{11,15} 12¹⁹ 13¹⁵ 18^{5,22}; subjective, Wisd. 3¹⁵ n. *See* Eternal, Future Life, Intermediate State, Treasures. Innah, Jub. 44²¹. Impurity, wickedness of, Sir. 23¹⁸⁻²⁷. Imputed Righteousness. *See* Merits, Righteousness. Incense, Tob. 6¹⁷ 8² Sir. 24¹⁵ n. Incest, Zad. 7⁹⁻¹¹ 6¹⁷; laws concerning, Jub. 33¹⁰⁻²⁰; punished by burning, 41^{25,26,28}. Inclination, the, T.Jud. 18 T.N. 2⁵ T.G. 5³ T.A. 3² T.Jos. 2⁶ T.B. 6^{1,4}; of flesh and blood, Sir. 17³¹, *see* Tendency, Yetzer; the evil, to be shunned, Zad. 3¹⁻²; Watchers, all flesh, and Noah's sons fell through it, 3³⁻⁴; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob walked not after, 4²⁻³; but sons of Jacob did, 4⁴⁻¹⁰. Inclinations, the two, good and evil, T.A. 1³ n. 15⁵⁻⁹. *See* Yetzer. Independence, advantage of, Sir. 29²⁴⁻²⁸; not to be surrendered, 33¹⁹⁻²³ (30²⁸⁻³²). India, 1Macc. 8⁸ Add. Esth. B¹ E¹ Jub. 8²¹ 9^{2,3}. Indian, 1Macc. 6³⁸. Indians, Sib. 5^{195,206}. Individual responsibility. *See* Soul. Indocolpitae, T.Jos. 11². Indus, 1En. 77⁷ n. Infanticide, Wisd. 12⁶; condemned, Sib. 3⁷⁶⁸. Informers, reward of, 3Macc. 3²⁸. Inhabitants of the earth, Zad. 11⁴ 2Bar. 25¹ n. *See* Dwell. Inscription relating to sun and stars, discovered by Kainam, Jub. 8⁸. Insincerity hateful, Sir. 27²²⁻²⁴. Inspiratio = disembodied soul. *See* Souls. Inspiration, cup of, 4Ez. 14³⁹; intensifies natural faculties, 14⁴⁰. Intercession by departed, Onias and Jeremiah, 2Macc. 15¹²⁻¹⁶;

INDEX

by departed saints for the living denied, 2En. 53¹ⁿ; by Moses, for Israel, Ass. Mos. 12⁶ⁿ; no, on Day of Judgement, 4Ez. 7¹⁰²⁻¹¹⁵; of fathers, prophets, or righteous, 2Bar. 85¹². *See* Angels, Archangels, Prayer.

Intercourse, danger of, with evil men, Sir. 9¹¹⁻¹³ 11²⁰⁻³³ 12¹³⁻¹³; with strangers, 11⁸⁴, *see* Associating; unnatural, Sib. 3^{185,596} 4³⁴ 5¹⁶⁶; Israel guilty of, Ps.Sol. 2¹⁵ 8¹⁰.

Intermediate agencies, not employed in bringing in the End, 4Ez. 5⁶⁶⁻⁶⁶ⁿ; not allowed between departing soul and God, 7¹⁰²⁻¹¹⁵ⁿ. *See* Mediation, Transcendence.

Intermediate place, of happiness, 2Bar. 21²³ⁿ 59¹⁰ⁿ; of torment, 30⁶ 36¹¹ 52^{1,2n}. *See* Chambers, Immortality, Paradise.

Intermediate state, of righteous, souls in peace and joy, guarded in chambers, 4Ez. 7⁸⁸⁻⁹⁹ 89ⁿ; of wicked, souls in torment await Judgement, 4Ez. 7⁸¹⁻⁸⁷.

Interpretation, Zad. 2¹⁰ 6⁵ 8¹⁶. *See* Law, Meaning, Messiah, Midrash.

Involuntary birth and death, 2Bar. 14¹⁰ 48¹⁵ 4Ez. 8⁹.

Ioanit stations of light, 2En. 20¹ⁿ(A). *See* Ostanim.

Ionians, Sib. 5²⁸⁸.

Iram, T.Jud. 8¹.

Isaac, 2Macc. 1² Tob. 4¹² Judith 8²⁶ Sir. 44²² 51^{12x1} Azar. 12 Jub. 17 6¹⁹ 15^{19,21} 16^{3,13,16,17} 17^{1,4,6,16} 18^{2,3,5,6,8} 19^{10,12,15,19,31} 20^{1,11} 21¹ 22^{1,2,3,5} 23^{4,5,7} 24^{1,14,15,19,20,25,27,28} 26^{1,3,5,14} 16-18,21,25,27-29,31-33 27^{8,9,12,14} 18,22 28²⁵ 29^{4,15,17,18} 31^{9-5,8,9} 22,25-27,31,32 32^{22,23,31} 33^{1,21-23} 34³ 35^{9,13} 36^{1,16,18} 37¹ 40¹² 44⁵ 45³; death of, 40¹²; T.R. 3¹³ T.L. 9^{1,6} 15⁴ 18^{6,14} 19⁵ T.Jud. 17^{5(Ad)} 25¹ T.D. 7² T.N. 5² T.A. 7⁷ T.B. 1² 10^{4,6} Test. *App.* I 10² II 11, 12, Ass. Mos. 3⁹ 4Ez. 3¹⁶ 4Macc. 7^{14,19} 13^{12,17} 16^{20,25} 18¹¹; and Jacob, recorded as friends of God, members of the covenant for ever, Zad. 4³; sacrifice of, Wisd. 10⁵ 4Macc. 13² 16²⁰ 18¹¹; = 'a white bull', 1En. 89¹¹.

Isaac, an elder, Arist. 48.

Isaac, an elder, Arist. 49.

Isaelus, Arist. 50.

Isaiah, Sir. 48^{20,22} Mart. Is. 1^{2,6,7,11,13} 2^{7,10} 3^{1,6,8,12} 5^{2-4,7-9} 11,14 4Macc. 18¹³ Zad. § 8, 6⁹ 8⁹ 9² A. Contrast 9²(B), which quotes Zechariah.

Isaiah, Martyrdom of: account, short, § 1; authorship, § 7; bibliography, § 9; date, § 6; extent, § 5; in Jewish and Christian literature, § 8; oriental influences in, § 8; original language, Hebrew, § 7; title, § 2; versions, § 3; their relations, § 4.

Isaiah, Vision of, Mart. Is. §§ 1, 5.

Isael, 1Esd. 5³³.

Ishbak, Jub. 19¹¹.

Ishmael, Jub. 14²⁴ 15^{18,20,23,30} 17^{2,4,17} 20^{1,11,12} 22^{1,3,4} 23^{6,7} 29¹⁸; children of, Judith 2²³; = wild ass in 1En. 89¹¹.

Ishmael ben Elisha, P.A. 3¹⁷.

Ishmael ben Johanan ben Berokah, P.A. 4⁶.

Ishmael ben Jose, P.A. 4^{9,10}.

Ishmaelites, Jub. 20¹³ 34¹¹ T.S. 2⁹ T.Z. 2⁸ 4^{3(a)} T.G. 2⁸ T.Jos. 10⁶ 11² 13^{3,7} 15¹ 16² T.B. 2³.

Ishvah, Jub. 44²¹.

Ishvi, Jub. 44²¹.

Isis, Sib. 5^{53,484}.

Islands, the Seven Great, 1En. 77⁸.

Isles = Gentiles, Sib. 3⁷¹⁰.

Ismael, 1Esd. 9²².

Ismaerus, 1Esd. 9³⁴.

Israel, ancestor of Judith, Judith 8¹.

Israel = Jacob, 1Esd. 84⁷ Jub. 32¹⁷ 34¹⁶ 42^{16,17} 44^{1,8,9,12} 45^{1,3,6} 13,14 T.L. 14² Test. *App.* I 10¹⁰.

Israel = people, 1Esd. 1^{3,20,21,24} 32,33,48 2³ 3^{7,41,46,48,60,61,71} 61,14, 15 7^{4,8,9,15} 8^{3,7,13,59,65,69,72,80,92,96} 9,7,37,39 1Macc. 1^{11,20,25,30,36,43} 62,64 2^{15,42,46,55,70} 3^{1,8,10,35} 4¹¹ 25,26,30,31 5^{3,45,59,63} 6^{18,21} 7^{5,22} 26,27 8¹⁸ 9^{20,21,23,27,51,73} 10^{46,61} 11^{23,41} 12⁵² 13^{41,42,51} 14^{11,26} 16² 2Macc. 1^{25,26} 4⁸ 9⁵ Tob. 1^{4,5,8} 5⁵ 14^{4,5,7} Judith 4^{9,11,12,15} 6^{2,17} 21 8^{1,34} 9^{12,14} 12⁸ 13^{7,11,14} 14^{4,5} 10 15^{4,9,10,12,13} 16^{1,8,24} Sir. *Prologue* 2, 17¹⁷ 24⁸ 36¹² 44²³ 45^{5,11} 46¹ 47^{2,11,23} 48¹⁰ 50¹³ 51^{12x1,v} 1Bar. 2^{1,11,26,35} 3^{1,4,9,10,24,37} 4^{4,5} 5^{7,9} Add. Esth. C^{2,6,11,14,16} 16¹⁰ Jub. 1²⁹ 3¹⁴ 15^{27,30,32} 16^{29,30} 18¹⁰ 23²³ 30^{5-10,13,14,16-18} 31^{15,19} 33 14,18 41¹⁷ (45³) 48^{5,7,8,13,14} 49⁶ 50^{5,9-11} Mart. Is. 2^{8,10,12} 3⁷ T.R. 1¹⁰ 6^{8,11} T.S. 6^{2,5} 7² T.L. 2¹⁰ 4³ 5^{2,6,7} 6^{3(β)} 7³ 8¹⁶ 10^{2,3} 14^{3,6(β)} 17⁵ 18⁹ⁿ T.Jud. 12⁸ 17⁵ 21⁵ 22^{1,2} 25^{1,5} [T. Iss. 5⁸] T.Z. 4¹² 9⁵ T.D. 1⁹ 5^{4,13} 6^{2,4-7} 7⁵ T.N. 5⁸ 7¹⁸¹⁻³ T.G. 2⁵ 8¹ T.A. 7³ T.Jos. 12^{2(β-Ad)} 18⁴ 19¹¹ 20^{5,6(c)} T.B. 10^{8,10,11} 11^{2(β)} 12^{3(β)} Test. *App.* II. 67, 72 Ass. Mos. 3⁸ 10⁸ 4Ez. 3¹⁹ 4²³ 5^{17,35} 11^{1,107} 8¹⁶ 9³⁰ 12⁴⁶ 14²⁸ Ps. Sol. 2²⁴ 4¹ 5²¹ 7⁸ 8^{82,34,40} 9^{1,2,16,19} 10⁸ 11^{2,7,8,9} 14³ 16³ 17^{5,23,47,50,51} 18^{1,4,6} 4Macc. 17²² (cf. 15²⁹) Zad. 1³⁻¹⁰ 5^{1,5,7} 6¹⁻¹⁰ 8¹⁻⁶ 9^{4,7,8,23-29,40-49} 11² 14⁸ 15^{1,3} 17³ 19^{8,13} 20¹. *See* Jacob.

Israel, a holy people and a blameless seed, Wisd. 10¹⁹ⁿ; assemblies of, Ps. Sol. 10⁸; chastened as firstborn, only-begotten son, Ps. Sol. 18⁴; children of, 1Esd. 1^{9,19} 5⁴⁷ 7⁶ 10¹³ 8⁵ 1Macc. 3^{15,41} 1Bar. 2²⁸ Judith 4^{1,8} 5²³ 6¹⁰ 7^{1,4,6,10,17,19} 10⁸ 15^{3,5,7,8} 16²⁵ Sir. 4^{5,16,17} 22,23 51^{12xvi} Jub. 1¹ 2^{26,27,29,33} 51⁷ 6^{11,13,19,20,22,32,34} 18^{20,34} 28⁷ 30^{11,21} 32¹³ 34¹⁸ 38¹⁵ 41²⁶ 44³⁴ 46^{1,2,5,9,12,13} 47^{1,10,11} 48¹⁴⁻¹⁶ 18,19 49^{8,10,13-15,18,22} 50¹³; cities of, Zad. 15¹; congregation of, Jub. 49¹⁶; covenant with whole of, Zad. 10³; daughter(s) of, Sib. 48, 57 Jub. 30⁵; dispersed of

Ps. Sol. 8³⁴ 9²; elect of, Jub. 1²⁹; glorious history of, Wisd. 11²⁻¹³; God forgave, Zad. 5⁴⁻⁶; God the sole ruler of, Jub. 15³²; contrast Gentiles; God's First-born, Sir. 36¹² Jub. 2²⁰ 4Ez. 6⁵⁸ Ps.Sol. 18⁴, own people, Ass.Mos. 1¹², portion, therefore under His direct rule, Sir. 17¹⁷ⁿ, servant, Ps. Sol. 12⁷; history of, in Test. xii Patr.: to be redeemed, T.D. 6⁵; restored to own land, T.Z. 9⁸ T.A. 7⁷; cast away a second time, T.L. 15 T.Jud. 22² T.Z. 9⁹ T.N. 4⁵ T.G. 8², and again restored, T.L. 16⁵ T.Jud. 23⁵ T.N. 4⁵ T.A. 7⁴⁻⁷; all in Palestine under John Hyrcanus, T.R. 6⁸ⁿ; captivity among Gentiles, T.L. 15¹ T.Jud. 23³ T.Z. 9⁶ T.D. 5⁸; dispersed among Gentiles, T.L. 10⁴ 16⁵ T. Iss. 6² T.A. 7^{2,6} T.Jos. 19²; go after abominations of Gentiles, T.D. 5⁵ T.N. 4¹ T.G. 8²; scorn of Gentiles, T.L. 10⁴ 14¹; rebellion of, foreseen, Jub. 1¹, does not frustrate God's love, or nullify His covenant, 1⁵; turn to strange gods, 1⁸; walk after the Gentiles, and their uncleanness, 1⁹, *see* Captivity; house of, Ps. Sol. 9¹⁹ 10⁸; Jerusalem and Moses predestined for, Ass. Mos. 14^{17,18}; parties within, i. the righteous, poor, humble, god-fearing, &c., Ps. Sol. § 5; ii. the men-pleasers, profane, sinners, transgressors, unrighteous, § 5 *notes*; prayer for, Sir. 36¹⁻¹⁷ (33^{1-13a} 36^{16b-22}); righteous compared with heathen, Ps.Sol. 1² 2³⁷⁻⁴⁰, sceptre shall rise out of, Zad. 9⁸; seed of, Jub. 30⁵ Ps.Sol. 7⁸, solidarity of, in merit before God, Sir. 47¹²ⁿ; sons of, Sus. 48; titles: a nation of righteous men, Add. Esth. A⁶; an evilly disposed people, B⁴; children of God, Sib. 5²⁰²; chosen people, Add. Esth. E²¹; God's firstborn, only-begotten, beloved, Sir. 36¹² Jub. 2²⁰ 4Ez. 6⁵⁸ Ps.Sol. 18⁴; people whom God made, Sib. 5⁵⁰²; sons of the Great God, Sib. 3⁷⁰²; sons of the Most High, Add. Esth. E¹⁶; unique,—elect of God 4Ez. § 10, 5²³⁻²⁷ 6⁵⁸ 8¹⁶; have covenant with God, 3¹⁴; Law given to, 3¹⁹ 9³¹; Law accepted by, alone, 7^{23,24,72}; love of God for, 5³¹⁻⁴⁰; world created for sake of, 4Ez. 6⁵⁵ⁿ 50 7¹¹ Ass.Mos. 1¹² 2Bar. 14¹⁸ 15⁷ 21²⁴.

Israel and Aaron. *See* Aaron, Messiah.

Israelites, 1Macc. 1⁵⁸ Sus. 7, 28 4Macc. 18¹ Zad. 20¹⁰.

Issachar, Jub. 28²² 32²² 34²⁰ 38⁷ 44¹⁶ T.Jud. 25^{1,2} T. Iss. 1^{1,15}; single-hearted husbandman, T. Iss. 3-6n.

Issachar, son of Kohath, T.L. 12². Issues, the two, of action, T.A. 1³⁻²⁸.

Istalcurus, 1Esd. 8⁴⁰.

Isthmus, Sib. 5²¹⁶.

Italian, Sib. 3³⁵³ 4^{103,141}.

Italians, Sib. 3³⁵⁴.

Italy, 3^{404,470} 4^{104,116,119,130} 5¹³⁸ 160,342,448. *See* Latin, Rome.

Ithamar, 1Esd. 8²⁹.

Iv, Jub. 44^{30,31}.

Izhar, Test. *App.* II 74.

Jabbok, Jub. 29¹³.

Jabish, 2Bar. 5⁵.

Jachin, Jub. 44¹⁸.

Jacob, 2Macc. 1² Tob. 4¹² Judith 8²⁶ Sir. 23¹² 24^{8,23} 36^{11a} 45⁵ 46^{10,14} 47²² 49¹⁰ 51^{12xii} Wisd. 10¹⁰ 1Bar. 2³⁴ 3³⁷ 4³ Sus. 62 Jub. 17²⁸ 22^{20,23} 61⁹ 10^{12-16,17,19,21,23,26,27,31} 22^{4,5,10} 11,16,19,20,23,26,28 23¹⁻⁴ 24³⁻⁸ 25¹ 4,12,14 26^{5,7,10-13,16,17,18,26,30,35} 27^{1,4,6-9,12,13,18,19,22,25-27} 28²⁻⁶ 8,9,11,13-16,17,19,20,22,23,26,28-30 29^{2,4-7,12,13,18,20} 30^{1,3,6,12,17,24} 31^{1,2,4-6,8,15,19,23,26,27,30,31} 32^{2,3} 9,16,17,20,21,25,31,34 33^{1,7-9,15,21-23} 34^{1,3,4,12,18} 35^{1,2,7-10,12,13,15-17} 20,22,23,25,27 36^{1,14,18,20,23} 37^{1,2} 12-16,24 38^{1,2,9,12,14} 39^{1,2,6} 40^{2,4,10} 44^{2,5,18,19,23,27,33} 45^{2,3,5,15} 46^{1,2} T.R. 1⁶ T.S. 12⁷ 6² T.L. 7¹ 9¹ &c. Test. *App.* I 2⁷ 3^{2,13} 4^{2,4,5} 7,9,13 6² 10² II 1-9 Ass.Mos. 3⁹ 4Ez. 3^{16,19,32} 5³⁵ 6^{8,9} 8¹⁶ 9³⁰ 12⁴⁶ Ps. Sol. 7⁹ 15¹ 4Macc. 2¹⁹ 7¹⁹ 13¹⁷ 16²⁵ Zad. 4^{3,4} 6¹⁰ 9⁴¹, *see* Isaac, Israel; a star out of, Zad. 9⁸; = 'a white sheep' in 1En. 89¹²; death of, Jub. 45¹⁵; descendants, number of, Jub. 44¹²⁻³³ⁿ; house of, 1Macc. 1²⁸; i.e. people of Israel, 1Macc. 3^{7,45} 5²; seed of, 2Bar. 17⁴ 31⁸; sons of, Jub. 30^{6,12,23,26} 31^{9,15,16,18} 21,22 33^{22,23} 34^{12,20} 38^{9,10,13} 42⁴ 44^{11,18} 46⁹; symbolizes future age of incorruption, 4Ez. 6⁷⁻¹⁰ⁿ.

Jacob, an elder, Arist. 48.

Jacob, an elder, Arist. 49.

Jacob, Rabbi, P.A. 3¹⁰ 4^{21,22}.

Jacubus, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.

Jaddus, 1Esd. 5³⁸.

Jahleel, Jub. 44¹⁷.

Jahziel, Jub. 44³⁰.

Jairus, 1Esd. 5³¹.

Jairus, Add. Esth. A¹.

Jambri. *See* Ambri.

James, Epistle of Saint, relation of to Sirach, Sir. § 7(a).

Jamin, Jub. 44¹³.

Jamnia, 1Macc. 4¹⁵ 5⁵⁸ 10⁶⁹ 15⁴⁰ 2Macc. 12^{8,32,40}; idols of, 12⁴⁰; sea of, T.N. 6¹. *See* Jemnaan.

Jannaeus. *See* Alexander.

Jannai, P.A. 4¹⁹.

Jannes and Jambres,' quoted, Zad. § 8. *See* Jochanneh.

Japheth, Jub. 4³³ 7^{3,12,15} 8^{5,10} 12,25,29 9⁷ 10³⁵; lot of, 8²⁵.

Japheth, borders of, Judith 2²⁵.

Jared, Jub. 4^{15,16} 1En. 6⁸ 37¹ 106¹³ 2En. 33¹⁰.

Jarimoth, 1Esd. 9²⁸.

Jasaelus, 1Esd. 9³⁰.

Jashar, Book of, quoted, T.Jud. 3-9 *notes*.

Jason, son of Eleazar, 1Macc. 8¹⁷.

Jason, 2Macc. 17^{4,8,10,13,18,22-24} 26

INDEX

5^{5,6}; brother of Onias, sup-
plants him in priesthood, 4⁸ⁿ;
attacks Jerusalem, 17 5^{5,6};
high priest, 4Macc. 4^{16,17,18};
builds gymnasium, 4¹⁸.
Jason of Cyrene, Maccabaeon
history of in five books, 2Macc.
an abridgement of, 2Macc. § 1
2²⁵.
Jason, an elder, Arist. 49.
Jason, an elder, Arist. 49.
Jason. *See* Antipater.
Jasub, Jub. 44¹⁶.
Jasubus, 1Esd. 9³⁰.
Javan, Jub. 7¹⁹ 9¹⁰ Test. *App.* I
9⁴; kings of = asps, Zad. 9²⁰.
Jaxartes, 1En. 77⁷ⁿ.
Jazer, 1Macc. 5⁸.
Jebusite, Judith 5¹⁶.
Jebusites, 1Esd. 8⁶⁹ Jub. 14¹⁸.
Jechonias, king, Add. Esth. A³
1Bar. 1^{8,9}. *See* Jeconiah.
Jechonias, son of Jeelus, 1Esd.
8⁹².
Jecooniah, king, 2Bar. 1¹ⁿ. *See*
Jechonias.
Jecoonias, captain over a thou-
sand, 1Esd. 1⁹.
Jeddu, 1Esd. 5²⁴.
Jedeus, 1Esd. 9³⁰.
Jeli, 1Esd. 5³⁸.
Jeelus, 1Esd. 8⁹².
Jehoahaz (Joachaz), king of
Judah, 1Esd. 1³⁴.
Jehoiachin, king of Judah, 1Esd.
1⁴⁸ (Joakim).
Jehoiakim (Joakim), king of
Judah, 1Esd. 1^{37,38,39}.
Jehoshaphat, valley of, 1En.
26⁸ 53⁷ⁿ. *See* Valley.
Jemnaan = Jamnia, Judith 2²⁸.
See Jamnia.
Jemuel, Jub. 44¹³.
Jephunneh. *See* Caleb.
Jeqon, 1En. 69⁴.
Jerahmeel, Chronicles of, Bel § 4;
quoted, T. Jud. 3-9 *notes*.
Jerechu, 1Esd. 5²⁸.
Jeremiah, Sir. 49⁷ 2Bar. 2¹ 5⁵ 9¹
10^{2,4} 33¹ Zad. 9²⁸; accompanies
captivity to Babylon in B²,
10²ⁿ. 33²; does not accom-
pany captivity in B¹, 10²ⁿ.
77¹²ⁿ; good works and prayers
of, support Jerusalem, 2Bar. 2²;
hides ark, tabernacle, and altar
of incense, 2Macc. 2¹⁻¹²; lover
of brethren, prayeth fervently
for people and holy city,
15^{14sqg.} *See* Jeremy.
Jeremiah, an elder, Arist. 50.
Jeremias, son of Baani, 1Esd.
9³⁴.
Jeremiel, i. e. Remiel, arch-
angel, 4Ez. 4⁹⁶ⁿ.
Jeremy, i. e. Jeremiah, 1Esd. 1²⁸,
32, 47, 57 2¹ Ep. Jer. 1.
Jeremy, Epistle of, account, § 1;
date, § 2; original language,
Hebrew, § 3.
Jericho, 1Macc. 9⁵⁰ 16^{11,14}
2Macc. 12¹⁵ Judith 4⁴ Sir. 24¹⁴.
Jeroboam, Tob. 1⁵ 2Bar. 62¹
P.A. 5²¹; curse on, Sir. 47²³.
Jerome, Sir. § 8; condemns
apocryphal books of Esdras,
1Esd. § 2.
Jerusalem, 1Esd. 1^{21,31,35,37,39,44},
46, 49, 55 2^{4,5,7,8,10,15,16,18,27} 4^{48,47},
48, 52, 57, 58 5⁸ 8^{44,46,56,57} 6^{1,2,8,18},
19, 20, 21, 24, 26, 30, 33 8^{5,6,10,12,13,14},
15, 17, 25, 61, 81, 91 9^{3,6,37} 1Macc.
1^{14,20,35,44} 2^{1,6,18,31} 3^{34,35,45} 6^{7,12},
26, 48 7^{17,19,27,39,47} 8²⁰ 9^{3,50,58}
10^{7,10,31,32,39,43,45,66,74,87} 11^{7,20},
34, 41, 51, 62, 74 12^{24,55} 13^{2,10,39,49}
14^{18,36,37} 15^{28,32} 16²⁰ 2Macc.
1^{1,10} 3^{6,9,37} 4^{19,22,25} 5^{2,25} 6² 8³¹
9⁴ 10¹⁵ 11^{5,8} 12^{9,29,43} 14²³ 15³⁰
Tob. 1^{4,6,7} 5¹⁴ 13^{8sq.16sq.}
14^{4,5,7} (*see* New) Judith 1⁹
4^{2,6,8} 5¹⁹ 10⁸ 11^{13,14,19} 13⁴ 15⁵,
8, 9, 18 Sir. 24¹¹ 36¹³ 47²³ 1Bar.
1^{2,7,9,15} 2^{2,23} 4^{8,30} 5^{1,5} Add.
Esth. A³ F¹¹ Jub. 1^{28,29} Arist.
32, 35, 52 (cf. 'city'), 105 Mart.
Is. 1⁹ 2^{4,7} 3^{1,3,4,6,10} 5⁸ T.L. 10^{8,5}
T.Z. 9⁸ T.D. 5^{12,13} T.N. 5¹
3Bar. *Prolog.* 2, 1⁸ 4Ez. 10^{20,48}
Ps.Sol. 2^{3,13,14,20} 8^{4,17,19,21,23,26}
11^{2,3,8,9} 17^{16,17,24,33} 4Macc. 4^{3,22}
18⁵; attacked by Antiochus,
1Macc. 1²⁰; by Apollonius,
1²⁹; centre of earth, Jub. 8¹⁹
1En. 26¹ Sib. 5²⁶⁰; citadel of,
1Macc. 13⁴⁸ 15²⁸; description
of, Arist. 83-107; destruction
of, a problem to the pious,
2Bar. and 4Ezra *passim*;
earthly, removed for a time,
2Bar. 1⁴ⁿ. 6³ 32⁴ 4Ez. 9³⁸⁻¹⁰²⁴ⁿ,
to be restored in B¹, 2Bar. 1⁴ⁿ.
78⁷ⁿ, not to be restored in B²,
1⁴ⁿ, symbolized by son of Dis-
consolate Woman, 4Ez. 10²⁹⁻³⁰
7⁷ⁿ; Fall of, in A.D. 70, prob-
lem in 4Ezra, § 10(3), due to
sins of both Judah and Israel,
2Bar. 77¹⁰ⁿ; heavenly, 2Bar.
4²⁻⁷, called 'mother', 3¹²ⁿ,
= pattern of Zion, 59⁴, shown
to Abraham and Moses, 4^{4,5},
see New; holy, to be, Jub. 1²⁸;
invaded, 4Macc. 4⁹⁻²³; lament
over desecration of, 1Macc.
2⁶⁻¹⁴; New, Tob. 13⁷⁻¹⁸ 14⁵
T.D. 5¹²; = a new house,
1En. 90²⁹; to be the Heavenly
City, 4Ez. § 10, 7²⁶ 10^{25sqg.}; is
built for the righteous, 8⁹²;
offerings at, after destruction of
Temple, 1Bar. §§ 4, 8; Philo-
pator's visit to, 3Macc. 1^{8sq.}
3^{10sq.} 5⁴³; predestined as the
place of worship to God, Ass.
Mos. 1^{17,18}; sanctity of, 3Macc.
2⁹ 6³; sanctity of, recognized
by Demetrius I, 1Macc. 10³¹;
sons of, Ps.Sol. 2³; titles of =
the city of my righteous, 1En.
56⁷; the holy city, Ps.Sol. 8⁴;
= the holy place, 1En. 25⁶ⁿ;
= the house (of the sheep),
89^{50,51,56} 90²⁶; the uppermost,
? = the heavenly, Enoch's
eternal inheritance, 2En. 55².
See City, David, Solyma.
Jerusalemite, 2Macc. 14³⁷.
Jerusalemites, 2Macc. 4⁹ 8³⁶.
Jeshua Ben-Sira, the author of
Sirach, Sir. § 6; a scribe and
teacher of wisdom, had trav-
elled, § 6i.
Jeshua, son of Eleazar, son of
Sira, Sir. 50²⁷ⁿ, cf. 51³⁰. *See*
also Simeon, son of Jeshua.
Jeshua (Jesus), son of Josedek,
Sir. 49¹².
Jeshurun, i. e. Israel, Sir.
37²⁶ⁿ.

Jesias, 1Esd. 8⁵³.
Jesias, Arist. 49.
Jesse, Sir. 45²⁵.
Jesus, grandson of Sira, Sir.
Prologue. *See* Jeshua.
Jesus = Jeshua, son of Josedek,
1Esd. 5^{5,48,56,58,68,70} 6² 9¹⁹.
Jesus, 1Esd. 5⁸.
Jesus, 1Esd. 5¹¹.
Jesus, 1Esd. 5²⁴.
Jesus, 1Esd. 5²⁶.
Jesus, a priest, 1Esd. 8⁶³.
Jesus, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.
Jesus, father of Habakkuk,
Bel 1.
Jesus, an elder, Arist. 48.
Jesus, an elder, Arist. 49.
[Jesus Christ . . . Immanuel,
3Bar. 4¹⁵.]
Jetril, 1En. 69².
Jew, 1Macc. 2²³ 2Macc. 6⁶ 9¹⁶
Bel 28 Add. Esth. A².
Jewish additions to Testaments,
Test. § 12; books, Arist. 28;
captives, 4, 22, 33; characters,
3, 30, *see* Hebrew; com-
munity, 310; envoys, guests,
182, 183; factions, 4Macc. 4¹;
garrisons in Egypt, 3Macc.
3²¹ⁿ; high priest, Arist. 11;
literature, 121, post-Biblical
and pre-Christian, Zad. § 4; mar-
riages, Tob. 4¹²; nation, 2Macc.
10⁸; people, 2Macc. 5²²; popu-
lation of Alexandria, Arist.
308; priests, 184; race, 6, 15;
religion, 4 Macc. 5⁶; residents,
12⁹; slaves, 2Macc. 8¹¹;
soldiers, 1Macc. 11⁴⁷; subjects,
2Macc. 11²⁴.
Jewry, i. e. Judaea, 1Esd. 1³² 4⁴⁹
5^{7,8,57,61} 8⁸¹ 9³ Bel 33.
Jews, 1Esd. 1²¹ 2^{18,23} 4^{49,50} 6^{1,5},
8, 27 7² 8¹⁰ 1Macc. 4¹ 8^{20,23,24,27},
29, 31 10^{23,25,33,34,36} 11^{30,33,47,49},
50, 51 12^{3,6,21} 13³⁶ 14^{20,33,34,36,37},
40, 41, 47 15^{1,17} 2Macc. 1^{1,7,10} 2²¹
3^{30,32} 4^{11,35,36} 5^{24,29} 6^{1,8} 8^{10,35,36}
9^{4,7,10} 10^{12,14,16,24,30} 11^{2,15,16,17},
30, 34 12^{1,4,8,17,28,30,34} 13^{9,18,21,23,25}
14^{5,6,14,15,37,39} 15^{2,12} Tob. 11¹⁸
Sus. 4 Add. Esth. E^{15,19} F⁵
Arist. 1, 3, 11, 12, 22-24, 30,
35, 38, 53, 83, 182, 305 Sib.
4¹²⁶ 5²⁸; Antiochus promises
to make equal to citizens of
Athens, 2Macc. 9^{15,18,19}; apo-
state, 3Macc. 2³¹ 3²³ 7¹⁰;
charges against, 3^{3sq.}; Egyp-
tian, persecution of, 2²⁸ &c.;
deliverance of, 6^{10sq.}; embassy
of, to Philopator, 1⁸; fidelity
of, to Ptolemies, 3^{3,21} 5³¹ 6^{23sq.}
7^{7sq.}; numbers of, in Egypt,
4¹⁷; of Joppa, massacred,
2Macc. 12^{1,4}; of Jamnia, 12⁸,
see Tubieni, 12¹⁷; political
subjection of, Zad. § 6ii;
prevent Philopator entering
the Temple, 3Macc. 11^{1sq.}
Jezebel, 2Bar. 62³.
Jezelus, 1Esd. 8³².
Jezer, Jub. 44³⁰.
Jezrielus, 1Esd. 9²⁷.
Joab, 1Esd. 5¹¹.
Joab, 1Esd. 8³⁵.
Joachaz, i. e. Jehoahaz, son of
Josiah, 1Esd. 1³⁴. *See* Jeho-
haz.
Joadanus, 1Esd. 9¹⁹.

Joakim, i. e. Jehoiachin, 1Esd.
1⁴⁸ 1Bar. 1⁸.
Joakim, i. e. Jehoiakim, king,
1Esd. 1^{38,39}.
Joakim, son of Zorobabel,
1Esd. 5⁵.
Joakim, Sus. 1, 4, 7, 8, 28,
29, 63.
Joakim, high priest, 1Bar. 1⁷.
Joakim the high priest, Judith
§ 6, 4^{6,8,14} 15⁸.
Joannes, 1Esd. 8³⁸.
Joarib, sons of, 1Macc. 2¹ 14²⁹.
Job, Sir. 49⁹ⁿ.
Jobab, son of Zera, Jub. 38^{17,18}.
†Jobel, T. Jud. 6¹.
Jochanan, Sir. 50¹ⁿ.
Jochanan ben Zaccai, 1Bar. § 7.
See Johanan.
Jochanneh and his brother,
raised by Belial (to oppose
Moses), Zad. 7¹⁹. *See* Jannes.
Jochebed, Jub. 47⁸ T.L. 11⁸ 12⁴
Test. *App.* II 72, 75, 77.
Joda, 1Esd. 5⁵⁸.
Joel, archangel, S. A. & E.
31¹ 32^{1,2} Apoc. Mos. 43⁵.
†Joel, mount, Mart. Is. 2¹⁵ⁿ.
Joel, prophet, Mart. Is. 2⁹.
Johanan ben Berokah, P.A. 4⁵.
Johanan ben Zaccai, P.A. 2⁹⁻¹³.
See Jochanan.
Johanan the sandal-maker, P.A.
4¹⁴.
John, surnamed Gaddis, a Mac-
cabee, 1Macc. 2² 9^{56,38}.
John, father of Eupolemus,
2Macc. 4¹¹.
John Hyrcanus I, son of Simon,
1Macc. § 4, 13⁵⁵ 16^{1,2,3,19,21,23};
breach with Pharisees, Test.
§§ 1, 10; escapes massacre,
1Macc. 16²²; a History of,
mentioned by Sixtus Senensis,
16²⁴ⁿ; Messianic hymns to,
Test. § 1. *See* Hyrcanus.
John, the Maccabee. *See*
Joseph.
John, envoy, 2Macc. 11¹⁷.
John, an elder, Arist. 47.
John, an elder, Arist. 49.
John, an elder, Arist. 50.
John of Anathoth, Mart. Is. 2⁵.
Jokshan, Jub. 19¹¹.
Jomjael, 1En. 6⁷.
Jonah, 3Macc. 6⁸.
Jonas, 1Esd. 9¹.
Jonas, 1Esd. 9²³.
Jonathan, 1Esd. 8³².
Jonathan, son of Azazel, 1Esd. 9¹⁴.
Jonathan, son of Saul, 1Macc. 4³⁰
P.A. 5¹⁹.
Jonathan, son of Absalom,
1Macc. 13¹¹.
Jonathan Maccabaeus, called
Aphphus, 1Macc. 2⁵ 5^{17,24,55}
9^{19,28,31,33,37,43,58,60,62,65,70,73} 10³,
7, 9, 10, 15, 18, 21, 29, 46, 59, 62, 66, 69, 74, 76,
79, 80, 84, 86, 87, 88 11^{5,6,7,20-23,28-30},
37, 41, 42, 44, 53, 57, 60, 62, 63, 67, 69, 71, 74 12
1, 3, 5, 6, 24, 27, 28, 30, 36, 40, 44, 49, 52 13¹⁴,
15, 23, 25 14^{16,18,30} (killed, 13²³)
2Macc. 8²² 1En. 90⁸ⁿ; succeeds
Judas as leader, 1Macc. 9²³⁻³¹;
struggle of, with Bacchides,
9³²⁻⁷³; has centre of govern-
ment at Michmash, 9⁷⁸ⁿ;
victory of, over Apollonius of
Coelesyria, 10⁶⁷⁻⁸⁹; secures
favour of Demetrius II, 11²⁶⁻³⁷;

INDEX

assists him against Tryphon, 11³⁸⁻⁵³; makes friends with Antiochus VI, 11⁶⁴⁻⁷⁴; renews alliance with Rome, allies himself with Sparta, defeats Demetrius's men, 1Macc. 12¹⁻³⁸; captured by treachery, 12³⁹⁻⁵³; buried at Modin, 13²⁵⁻³⁰.
Jonathan, a high-priest, 2Macc. 1²⁸.
Jonathan, an elder, Arist. 48.
Jonathan, an elder, Arist. 49.
Jonathan, P.A. 4¹¹.
Jonathes, Arist. 50.
Joppa, 1Esd. 5⁵⁵ 1Macc. 10^{75,76} 11¹⁶ 12³⁴ 13¹¹ 14^{5,34} 15^{28,35} 2Macc. 4²² 12^{3,4,7} Arist. 115 Sib. 5²⁵¹.
Joram, captain over a thousand, 1Esd. 1⁹.
Jordan, 1Macc. 5^{24,52} 9^{34,42,43}, 45,48,49 Judith 1⁹ 5¹⁵ Sir. 24²⁶.
Jub. 10²⁹ 16⁶ 29¹⁴ 50⁴ Arist. 116 A. & E. 6² 7² 8¹ [42³] S. A. & E. 36⁴ 39¹ Ass. Mos. 1⁴; = 'a stream of water', 1En. 8^{6,37}.
Joribus, 1Esd. 8⁴⁴.
Joribus, 1Esd. 9¹⁹.
Josab, son of Isaiah, Mart. Is. 1^{2,6} 2⁹.
Josabds, 1Esd. 8⁶³.
Josaphias, 1Esd. 8³⁶.
Jose ben Halaphta, P.A. 4⁸.
Jose ben Joezer, P.A. 1⁴.
Jose ben Johanan, P.A. 1^{4,5}.
Jose ben Judah, P.A. 4²⁶.
Jose ben Kisma, P.A. 6¹⁰.
Jose the Priest, P.A. 2^{10,12,13,16}.
Josedek. See Jesus, Jeshua.
Joseph, patriarch, 1Macc. 2⁵³.
Sir. 40¹⁵ Wisd. 10¹³ Jub. 28²⁴ 29¹ 32²² 34^{3,10,12,13,15,17,18,20} 39^{2-5,7,11-18} 40^{2,5,8-13} 41²² 42^{5,10,13,21,25} 43^{1,2,8-10,14,23,24} 44^{3,6,9,23,24,32} 45^{2,3,6-9,12,14} 46^{1,2,3,8,9} (death of, 46³) 1En. 89¹³. T.R. 1² 4⁸ 6⁷ T.S. 1¹ 2^{6,13,14} 4^{2,4,5} 5¹ 8^{3,4} T.L. 1²⁷ 13⁹ T.Jud. 12¹¹ 25^{1,2,5(a)} T.Z. 1^{1,5,6} 2^{1,5,6,8} 3^{1,2(3),5,6} 4^{2,9,11} 5⁴ 8⁴ T.D. 1^{4,7,8} T.N. 1⁸ 5⁷ 6⁶ 7²⁻⁴ T.G. 1^{4,6,8,9} 3⁸ 5^{6,11} 6² T.Jos. 1^{1,2} 20^{6(c)} T.B. 1⁴ 2¹ 3^{1,3,6} 5⁵ 10¹ Test. App. 11^{8,10} 27³ 31^{4,7,9,11-13} 41³⁻¹⁵ 52²⁻⁵ 64⁸ 7⁴ II 82, 90 4Macc. 2² 18¹¹; bias against, in Late Hebrew Test. of Naphtali, Test. App. 11⁸ 4¹⁴ 5^{6,4,8} 7^{4,6}; cause of bondage in Egypt, Test. App. 11¹ 0; death of, T.R. 1² T.S. 1¹ T.L. 12⁷; example, held up as, or praised, T.R. 4⁸ T.S. 4^{4,6} 5¹ T.L. 13⁹ T.Z. 8⁴ T.D. 1⁴ T.N. 1⁸ T.B. 3^{1,6-7} 5⁵; rides on bull, and demands ten staves (= tribes) from Judah, Test. App. 13¹⁻⁸; shuns shaming his brethren, T.Jos. 10⁶ 11² 15³ 17¹; sons of, cause Israel to sin, Test. App. 11¹⁰; steers ship of Jacob and wrecks it, Test. App. 15¹⁻⁵; suppresses truth to save eunuch, T.Jos. 16⁶; three days and three nights in the pit, T.Z. 4⁴(BAS¹); virtue of, 4Macc. 2² 18¹¹.
Joseph, son of Zacharias, a

Maccabaeen leader, 1Macc. 5^{18,56,60}.
Joseph, i.e. John the Maccabee, 2Macc. 8²². 10¹⁹.
Joseph, son of Oziel, Judith 8¹.
Joseph, an elder, Arist. 47.
Joseph, an elder, Arist. 47.
Joseph, an elder, Arist. 49.
Joseph, an elder, Arist. 50.
Josephus, son of Ezora, 1Esd. 6³⁴.
Josephus, 1Macc. § 7iii(c); relation of 3Macc. to, 3Macc. § 5; 4Maccabees attributed to, 4Macc. § 7.
Josephus, 'the Hebrew', 4Macc. § 8.
Joshua, Moses' successor, 1Macc. 2⁵⁵ 2Macc. 12¹⁵ Sir. 46¹ Ass. Mos. 1^{6,9} 10^{11,15} 11^{1,3} 12^{1,3,8} 2Bar. 59¹ 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁷ P.A. 1¹ Zad. 7⁵; and the Judges, the time of, 1En. 89³⁹.
Joshua, the high priest, 1En. 89⁷².
Joshua ben Hananiah, P.A. 2^{10,12,13,15}.
Joshua ben Levi, P.A. 6².
Joshua ben Perahiah, P.A. 1⁶.
Josiah, king of Judah, 1Esd. 1^{1,7,18,21,22,23,24,25,78,32,33,34} Sir. 49^{1-3,4} 1Bar. 1⁹ 2Bar. 66⁴ 4Ez. 13⁴⁰; Passover of, 1Esd. 1¹⁻²².
Josias. See Josiah.
Joy, 1En. 10¹⁶ 47⁴ 51⁵ 69²⁶ 103³ 104⁴.
Jozabds, 1Esd. 9²³.
Jozabds, 1Esd. 9²⁹.
Josabds, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.
Jubilees, Book of, 1En. 7^{2,5}.
16¹. 98¹¹. Testaments, Appendix II notes Zad. §§ 6, 8, 12, 20¹.; abbreviations and symbols in, Jub. § 18; account, § 1; author and his object, § 2; bibliography, § 16; date, § 9; influence on N.T., § 15; MSS., § 3; relation of to 1Enoch, 1En. § 10(a); relation of to Massoretic text of Genesis, § 8; textual affinities, § 7; theology, § 16; title, § 2; versions, § 4, Eth. and Latin from Greek, § 5; Greek from Hebrew, § 6.
Jubilees, Heb. *Prologue*, 1¹⁴ and *passim*.
Jubilees, laws regarding, Jub. 50¹⁻⁵.
Judaea (see also Jewry), 1Esd. 1^{26,33,37,39,46} 2^{4,5,16} 4⁴⁵ 5⁷² 6^{8,27,28} 8¹² 1Macc. 3²⁴ 4^{29,35} 5^{8,18,23,59} 6^{48,53} 7^{24,46} 9^{50,60,63} 10^{58,45} 11^{20,28,34} 12³⁵ 13³³ 14⁸³ 15^{30,39,40} 16¹⁰ 2Macc. 1^{1,10} 5¹¹ 8⁹ 10²⁴ 11⁵ 13^{1,13} 14^{12,14} Tob. 1¹⁸ Judith 12³ 3⁹ 4^{1,3,7} 8²¹ 11¹⁹ Add. Esth. A⁹ Arist. 4, 12, 83, 107, 318 Mart. Is. 1⁹ Sib. 5^{263,329}.
Judah, land of, 1Esd. 13^{3,35}.
Judith 14⁷ Sir. 48¹⁶ 49⁴; Zad. 61⁷ 8⁶ 9³ [9⁴] 9⁴⁰; animus against in Zad. Frag. § 12, cf. 9¹³; Ephraim departed from, 9³ 16¹¹; house of, no more join, 6⁷; land of, go forth out of, 6⁴ 8⁶; princes of, 9¹³; daughter of, Sus. 22, 56, 57 1Bar. 13^{8,9,15} 21^{23,26} Mart. Is. 1¹ 2^{6,7} 3^{3,6,7,10,11} 5⁸; 1Macc.

1²⁹ 2^{6,18} 3^{8,39} 5^{45,53,68} 6^{5,12} 7^{10,22,49} 9^{1,57,72} 10^{30,33,37} 12^{4,46,52} 13^{1,12}; son of Jacob, T.R. 1⁴ 6^{7,11} T.S. 2^{9,11} 5⁶ 7^{1,2} T.L. 2¹¹ 8¹⁴ 9¹ T.Jud. 1^{1,3} 13¹ 17³ 18² 26⁴⁽³⁾ T.Iss. 5⁷ T.Z. 4² T.D. 5^{4,7,10} T.N. 5³⁻⁵ 6⁶ 8² T.G. 1^{6,9} 2^{3(a)} 8¹ T.Jos. 19^{8,11} T.B. 11^{2(c)} Test. App. 11⁸ 2⁴ 3⁴⁻⁹ 4^{8,12} 5³⁻⁵ 6^{2,4} II 3 Jub. 28^{15,17} 31^{5,9,12,18,31} 33²² 34^{3,20} 38^{1,5} 41^{1-4,6-9,13,14,16,19,23,27,28} 42¹⁹ 43¹¹ 44^{9,16,34}; blessing of, Jub. 31¹⁸⁻²⁰; exploits of, T.Jud. 2-7; forgiven for sin of ignorance, Jub. 41²⁶; sins with Tamar, T.Jud. 12; to be king, T.S. 7² T.Jud. 1⁶ 17⁵⁻⁶ 22³.
Judah, tribe of, 1Esd. 2⁸ 5^{5,66} 9⁵ Sir. 42²⁵; Levi and, see Levi.
Judah ben Illai, P.A. 4¹⁶.
Judah ben Tabbai, P.A. 1⁸. Zad. § 9⁵⁰.
Judah ben Tema, P.A. 5^{23,34}.
Judah the Holy. See Rabbi.
Judaism, 2Macc. 8¹ 14³⁸; and apocalyptic, 1En. § 1.
Judas, 1Esd. 9²³.
Judas, 2Macc. 1¹⁰.
Judas, an elder, Arist. 47.
Judas, an elder, Arist. 49.
Judas, an elder, Arist. 50.
Judas ben Tabbai. See Judah.
Judas, son of Chalphi, 1Macc. 11⁷⁰.
Judas Maccabaeus, 1Macc. 2^{4,66} 3^{1,10,12-14,16-18,25,26,42,56,58} 4^{3,5,6,8,11,16,19,21,23,29,35,36,41,59} 5^{5,10,16,17,19,24,27,31,38,40,42,44,45,48,49,53,55,62,63,65,68} 6^{19,32,42} 7^{6,10,23,25,28,29,30,31,35,40} 8^{1,17} 9^{5,7,10,12,14,16,18,19,22,23,26,28,29,31} 13⁹ 14¹⁸ 2Macc. 2¹⁹ 5²⁷ 8^{1,12} 12^{6,11,12,14,15,21-23} 26^{30,38,39,42} 13^{1,10,12,20,23} 14^{1,6,10,11,13,14,17,18,24-26,30,33} 15^{1,6,15,17,26} 1En. 90⁹. 10¹⁰⁻¹²; Maccabaeus, 1Macc. 8²⁰ 2Macc. 8^{9,16} 10^{1,16,18,21,25,29,33} 11^{6,7,15} 12^{19,20} 13²⁴ 14^{27,30} 15^{7,21}; campaigns of, 10⁹⁻³⁸ 12¹⁻⁴⁶; collects books, 24⁴; death of, 1Macc. 9¹⁸, result of, 9²²; regarded as Messiah in 1En. 83-90; revolt and early successes of, 2Macc. 81-86; song in praise of, 1Macc. 31⁹; victories over Apollonius and Seron, 31¹⁰⁻²⁶; Gorgias, 41²⁵, Lysias, 4²⁶⁻³⁵; Edomites and Ammonites, 51¹⁻⁸, in Gilead, 5⁹⁻⁶⁸.
Judas, son of Simon the Maccabee, 1Macc. 16^{2,9,14}.
Jude, Saint, Epistle of, Ass. Mos. §§ 2, 10 1En. § 10(b), 1⁹.
Judge, judgement, P.A. 1^{1,6,8,18} 3²⁰ 4^{9,10,29}.
Judge, no, Zad. 9⁴⁰; the, 20¹².
Judgement, according to works, Sir. 16¹⁴; at end of Messianic kingdom, before spiritual bliss of righteous, Jub. 23³⁰.; by sword at beginning of Messianic age, Wisd. 4¹⁸.; conceptions of in 1Enoch: (1) First World Judgement:—over men = Deluge, 1En. 54⁷⁻¹⁰; 'a great chastisement', 91⁵; 'the first end', 93⁴; earth and dwellers thereon destroyed,

10² 106¹⁵;—over fallen angels and giants, 104^{5,12,15}; (2) Judgement of the sword at the *beginning* of the Messianic kingdom when righteous destroy the wicked, 50² 90¹⁹ 91¹² 95⁷ 96¹ 98¹²; (3) Final World Judgement at the *beginning* of the Messianic kingdom;—over Azazel and his hosts, 54⁶ 55⁴;—over their elect and beloved children, 56³;—over the fallen stars, the seventy shepherds, and the blinded sheep, 90²⁰⁻²⁷; 'the great day', 22¹¹ 54⁶; 'the great judgement', 10⁸ 16¹ 19¹ 22⁴; 'the judgement that is for ever and ever', 10¹²⁰; (4) Final World Judgement at the *close* of the Messianic kingdom:—'great judgement', 94⁹ 98¹⁰ 100⁴ 103⁸ 104⁶; (2) and (3) are combined in 48⁸⁻¹⁰; (2) and (4) are combined in 99^{9,15}, see also Day, Messianic Kingdom, Punishment; conceptions of, in 4Ez.; according to works, 83³; by God Himself, 73³; day of, no intercession on, 7102-116; Final, 733-44 618 838; predestined by God, 770; sets in at once after death, 775-101, see Intermediate State; conceptions of, in *Jubilees*:—final, at close of Messianic kingdom, Jub. § 15, 23⁵⁰; embracing human and superhuman worlds, 510,14; impartial, according to opportunities, 515; Lex talionis observed by God in this world, 431 (Cain), 4814 (Egyptians); punishment to follow at once on transgression in some cases, 3717; retribution, individual and national in this world and next, § 15; day of, Judith 1617; Wisd. 318 420 (by righteous, 37; by God Himself, 517) Jub. 2221 2311 3610 T.L. 3³ 3Bar. 17. Ps. Sol. 1513; definite reckoning for, 2Bar. 271-282 2En. 322-333 677-10; eternal, 1En. 9115 104⁴, cf. 1012; final, 2Bar. 4889 598 T.L. 41 T.B. 108-10; great, 1En. 161 224 254 9115 949 9810 1004 1038 104⁶; grievous, 919; of angels, 682; of fire, 919; of God, 179 144 2210,11,13 456 472 504 606,25 638,12 6510 661 6710, 12,13 682,3,5 691,27 814 8311 844 9024,31 917 933,5 9114,15 952,3 968 973,5 988,10 9915 10010 1036,8 1043 10813 4Ez. 744,70,73,115 818 1435 Ps.Sol. 216,18,36,37 87,38 910 1513,14 Ah. 291 Zad. 12 912,36, 48,51,52 1012 A. & E. 297,10, certain, Sir. 3517,18, denounced on Antiochus, 2Macc. 735, on Nicanor, 811 1528-38, forms of, Sib. § 8; of Mighty God, 3687; = assizes of the world, 441, follows on destruction of world, 4179-192; of secrets, 1En. 682; righteous, 278 606 619 9114; true, 273. See Reckoning.
Judgements, two, one by water, and one by fire, A. & E. 499.
Judges, duty of, P.A. 18; of the earth = rulers of Jewish

INDEX

community at Alexandria, Wisd. 1ⁿ. 6ⁿ.; of the congregation, Zad. 11^{1,2}, cf. 15^{4,5}. Judges, the, Sir. 46¹¹. See Joshua.

Judging, hasty, Sir. 11²⁻¹³.

Judith, Book of, account of, short, § 1; author, a Pharisee, § 7; date of original and versions, *circa* 150 B.C., § 5; historical framework of text, § 6; integrity of text, § 6; later use of, § 8; MSS. of, § 3; theology, § 9; title, § 2; versions, ancient, of, § 4; Greek, Syriac, Vulgate, 'Chaldee', see Pharisaic teaching.

Judith, daughter of Merari, Judith 8^{1,4,9} 9¹ 10^{10,28} 11⁶ 12⁴, 14, 16, 18 13^{2,3,4,11} 14^{1,7,8,14,17} 15^{8,11} 16^{1,2,7,18,20,21,28}; a Simeonite, 9²; (?) festival of, Judith 16²⁸.; prayer of, 9²⁻¹⁴; slays Holofernes, 13³; song of, 16²⁻¹⁷.

Juel, son of Baani, 1Esd. 9³⁴.

Juel, son of Nooma, 1Esd. 9³⁶.

Julian emperors, 4Ez. 11⁶². 12³⁻³⁹.
 Julius Africanus, Sus. § 5, 54-59*n*. 1En. 10(c).
 Justice, Wisd. 1⁸ 11²⁰ 14³¹.

Justification, by the Law, 2Bar. 51³ 67⁶ 75⁷; by works and faith, 4Ez. 9⁷ 13²³ Sir. 16¹⁴.; doctrine of in 2Baruch and 4Ezra, 2Bar. 21⁹. See Faith.

Justify, various meanings of, 2Bar. 21⁹.
 Justin Martyr, 1En. 8^{8,9}. 15⁸.; quoted, 2Bar. 29⁸.

Kaber, Jub. 11⁷.

Kabratan, land of, Jub. 32³².

Kadesh, Zad. 4⁶ Jub. 16¹⁰ Judith 1⁹; -Barnea, 5¹⁴.

Kadmiel, 1Esd. 5²⁶.

Kadmiel, 1Esd. 5⁵⁸.

Kadmonites, Jub. 14¹⁸.

Kaftur, Jub. 8²¹.

Kainam, Jub. 8¹.

Kamaturi, islands of, Jub. 9¹³.

Karaites. See Zadokite Party.

Karaso, Jub. 8¹³.

Kariathiarus, i.e. Kiriath-jearim, 1Esd. 5¹⁹.

Karnaim, Jub. 29¹⁰. See Carnaim.

Kasbeel, 1En. 69¹³.

Kasdeja, 1En. 69¹².

Kedesh, in Galilee, 1Macc. 11⁶³. 73; Naphtali, Tob. 1².

Kedron, 1En. 26³. 1Macc. 12³⁷. 15^{39,41} 16⁹. See Cedron.

Keel, 1En. 82²⁰.

Kenan, Jub. 4¹³.

Kenites, Jub. 14¹⁸.

Kenizzites, Jub. 14¹⁸.

Keras, 1Esd. 5²⁹.

Kesed, Jub. 8⁶ 11^{1,3}.

Ketab, 1Esd. 5³⁰.

Keturah, Jub. 19¹¹ 20^{1,11,12} 23⁷.

Keys of Kingdom of Heaven, 3Bar. 11².

Khikar, Armenian name for Ahikar, Ah. *passim*.

Khons, Tractate of, Tob. §§ 7, 8.

Kilan, 1Esd. 5¹⁸.

Kin. See Marriage.

King of king of kings, P.A. 3¹. See God, titles of.

King = the congregation, Zad. 9⁷; no king, Zad. 9⁴⁰.

Kingly dignity depreciated, Zad. § 12.

Kingdom, kingship, P.A. 3^{2,7} 4¹⁷ 6⁶; and priests, Israel to be, Jub. 16¹⁸.; future, eternal, on this earth in Testaments, Test. § 16; of Heaven, 3Bar. 11²; righteous to receive, Wisd. 5¹⁶; theocratic, under Angel first, then under God alone, Ass. Mos. 10¹⁻¹⁰. See Messianic Kingdom.

Kings, Zad. 4⁸; after Solomon, wickedness of, Sir. 47²³⁻²⁵; and the mighty, 1En. 38⁶ 62¹⁻⁹ 63¹⁻¹² 67^{8,12}; of Gentiles = dragons, 9²⁰; of Javan = asps, 9²⁰; twelve = twelve Caesars, 4Ez. 12¹⁴.; four, 12²¹.
 Kinsman, like 'father', 'friend', a title of honour, 1Macc. 11³¹.
 'Kinsmen', a court title at Philopator's court, 3Macc. 5^{39,44}.

Kirama, 1Esd. 5²⁰.

Kirjath-Arba, Jub. 19¹.

Kirkisani, a Karaite scholar, Zad. § 2.

Kiseus = Kish, Add. Esth. A¹.

Kites = Egyptians under the Ptolemies, 1En. 90².; = (?) Edomites, 1En. 90¹⁸.

Kittim, Jub. 24^{28,29} 37¹⁰. See Chittim.

Knowledge, limit to human, Sir. 3²¹. 4Ez. 4¹⁻¹¹.

Kohath, Jub. 44¹⁴ T.L. 11^{3,6} 12². Test. *App.* II 66, 74.

Kokabel, 1En. 8⁶ 69².

Kokabel, 1En. 67.

Konae, Judith 4⁴.

Koran, parallels in with Ahikar, Ah. § 3*f*.

Kozebe, T.Jud. 6¹.

Krasos, Sib. 3⁴⁸⁹.

Kronos, the planet, 2En. 30⁸.
 Kruno. See Kronos.

Kuchavim, the ninth heaven, 2En. 21⁶.

Kush, Test. *App.* I 9³.

Laban, Jub. 19¹⁰ 25⁶ 27^{3,10,12} 28^{1-4,6,8,9,25,26,28,30} 29^{1,2,4,6,7,12} 31² T.Jud. 9¹ T.N. 11¹ Test. *App.* II 62.

Labana, 1Esd. 5³⁰.

Labourer inferior to scribe, Sir. 38²⁴⁻³⁰.

Laccunus, 1Esd. 9³¹.

Lacedaemonians, 2Macc. 5⁹.

Ladder of Tyre. See Tyre.

Lagus. See Ptolemy.

Lamb = Samuel, David, 1En. 89⁴⁵.

Lambs = Chasids, 1En. 90⁶⁻¹⁷.

Lamech, Jub. 4^{27,28} 7⁸⁸ 1En. 10¹ 106^{1,4,10,12,18} T.B. 7⁴.

Lamp, Tob. 8¹³; of Temple service extinguished, 4Ez. 10²².

Land (= Palestine), blessed, 1En. 27¹; of His elect ones, 56⁶; pleasant and glorious, 89⁴⁰; special sanctity of, 2Bar. 29².

Landmark, remove the, Zad. 11¹ 8¹ 9¹³; of the Law, break down, Zad. 9⁴⁹.

Laodicea, on Lycus, Sib. 3⁴⁷¹ 4¹⁰⁷ 5²⁹⁰.

Lapithae, Sib. 5¹³³.

Last, days, 4Ez. 13¹⁸; time, 13²⁰; times, varying conceptions of in 4Ezra, 4Ez. 8⁶⁰.: they who live at the, 4Ez. 8⁶⁰ 14²². See Times.

Lasthenes, 1Macc. 11³¹. 32.

Latin, Sib. 3⁵¹ 5¹⁶⁸; Version, Old, of Sirach, variation of order from LXX, in chaps. 30-6, Sir. §§ 4, 5ii.

Latins, Sib. 3⁵⁹⁷.

Latium, Sib. 3³⁵⁶ 5¹.

Law, the, 1Macc. 14^{9,53,56,57} 22¹, 26^{27,42,48,50,58,64,67,68} 34^{8,56} 42^{4,45}, 47⁵² 10^{14,61} 11²¹ 13⁴⁸ 14^{14,29} 2Macc. 13¹⁰ 4Macc. 17^{7,84} 28⁹, 10^{13,23} 20⁴ 19^{28,24} 5^{16-21,25,30,34} 62²⁸ 77^{8,15} 82⁵ 92^{2-4,15} 115^{12,27} 13^{13,22,24} 15^{10,29} 16¹⁶ 17¹⁶ 18^{1,10} Sir. *Prologue* 9, 20, 11¹⁵ 15¹ 19²⁴ 24²³ 26²³ 32^{15,17,24} 33³ 34⁸ 39¹⁸ 41⁸ 42² 45⁵ 49⁴ Sus. 3, 62 Jub. 30¹² Arist. 17¹, 31³ 1En. 92⁶ 106¹⁴ 108¹, cf. 5⁴ 99¹⁴ T.L. 13³ 14⁴ 16^{2,3} T.N. 8⁷ T.A. 2⁶ 4Ez. 3^{19,20,22} 17^{20,72,81,94} 82^{9,56} 91^{1,31,32,36,37} 13^{38,54} 14^{21,22}; and books of Law, attacked, 1Macc. 14^{9,53,56,57}, defended, 22^{1,26,27}, 48^{50,58,64,67,68} 34⁸ 13³; and Messianic expectation two centres of Jewish thought, alternately one or other becomes more prominent, 2Bar. § 10, 15⁹.; and Prophets, Sir. *Prologue* 1, 5, 13 Zad. §§ 8, 10, 13, see 9⁴⁻⁹, read before battle, 2Macc. 15⁹, cf. Book, holy; and Temple, duty of Diaspora to, Tob. § 7; books of, Arist. 30; devotion to the, 3Macc. 3⁴ 7¹¹ Ass. Mos. 9⁶; disobedience to, Wisd. 2¹²; eternal, Sir. § gii 1En. 99², lamp of, 2Bar. 59², cf. 19³; everlasting, no atonement for, Jub. 33¹⁷; filled with, Sir. 2¹⁶; for sinners, 1En. 93⁴; he that taketh hold of, i.e. Scribe, Sir. 15¹.; holy, Sib. 3^{276,284}; Israel will forget, Jub. 14⁴; Israel's eternal and inalienable glory, 1Bar. § 7, 4¹⁻³; Jewish, to be universal, Wisd. 18⁴; loyalty to, brings own reward, Sir. 33 (36)¹⁻⁸; not mentioned in Add. Esth. § 7; of eternal covenant, Ps.Sol. 10⁵.; of God, T.R. 3⁸ T.L. 13^{2,3(β-d)} T.Jud. 18³ T.Iss. 5¹ T.D. 6^{9,10(β)} T.N. 3² T.G. 4⁷ T.A. 7⁵; of the Lord, T.R. 6⁸ T.L. 9⁶ 13¹ 19^{1,2} T.Jud. 26¹ T.Z. 10² T.D. 5¹ T.N. 2⁶ T.G. 3² T.A. 6³ T.Jos. 4^{6(β)} 11¹ T.B. 10³; of the Most High, T.G. 3¹; of lawgiver, 4Ez. 7⁸⁹; of life, Sir. 17¹¹. 4Ez. 14³⁰; of Lord, 1Esd. 1^{38,48} &c.; of luminaries, 1En. 72^{1,2}; moon, 73¹ 74¹; stars, 79¹; sun, 72³⁸; twelve portals, 76¹⁴; of Moses, T.Z. 3⁴ (or scriptures) of our fathers = written covenants, 4Ez. 4²⁸; reading of, by Ezra, 1Esd. § 1, 9³⁷⁻⁵⁵; renewed study of, and

renewal of mankind, Jub. 23²⁶⁻³¹; retaliation, Jub. 4³¹, see Lex talionis; seek, those who, persecuted, Jub. 11²; son of, 2Bar. 46⁴; supremacy of, Sir. § gii; teaching concerning, *in Aristeas*, Jewish, purpose and function of, Arist. § 2, 128-171; called Scripture, § 3; divine, 3, 313, holy, 5, of Jewish race, 15; oracles of God, 158, 177; reasonableness of, 128; sacred, 313; value of, § 6, see Lawgiver; teaching concerning, *in 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra*, 2Bar. 15⁵. 38².; *in 2 Baruch*: abideth, 77¹⁵; accepted by man, 15⁵; alone left to Israel, 85⁸; a more excellent, given to Israel than to all peoples, 77³; and Zion to be remembered, 84³; exacts its rights, 48²⁷; glorified in proportion as Messianic and national hopes fail, 15⁵.; importance of, in 2 Bar., esp. in B¹, but most in B², 2Bar. § 10; is light, 18^{1,2}; is life, 38²; Israel's unconditional possession, 85⁸.; one, from One, 48²⁴; by one (Moses), 85¹⁴.; rejected by Gentiles, 48⁴⁰.; will aid Israel, 48²⁴; will requite sinners on God's Day, 48⁴⁷; with Israel, 48²²; *in 4 Ezra*: = i, written scriptures of O.T., 4Ez. 14²², burnt, 14²¹; ii, oral, transmitted by Moses to the wise, 14²⁶.; brings terror by its condemnation, and drives to appeal to God's mercy and forgiveness, 7^{132-83,86}; fidelity to = 'faith', see Faith; gift of God to Israel, 3¹⁹ 93¹.; imperishable, 9⁸⁷.; offered to all nations, accepted by Israel, 7^{28,24,72}; refused by heathen, 7²⁴; Son of Man destroys enemies by, 13³⁸; teachers of = Scribes, 82⁹; Ten Tribes restored on seeking again, 13⁴¹.; unique, 5²⁷; weakness of, as redemptive power, § 10; teaching concerning, *in Jubilees*: a revelation in time of what was timeless and eternal, Jub. §§ 12, 15; the ultimate and complete expression of absolute truth—this precluded any further revelation by prophecy—spiritual interpretation of, § 15; teaching concerning, *in Sirach*: eternal; identified with wisdom Sir. § gii; teaching concerning, *in Zad.*: Book of, hidden till Zadok arose, 7⁶; custom of, 9¹; House of, 9^{35,88}; interpretation of, 6⁵, midrash, 9³⁵; order of, 9¹; study of, 8⁸ 9⁸, true meaning of, 8¹²; = well, 8⁶; to be kept, 2Macc. 14²⁸ 4¹⁷ 6^{1,23,28} 7^{28,30}; unwritten, the, 2Bar. 57²; wisdom identified with, Sir. § 1; witnesses to God's mercy, Ps.Sol. 10⁶.
 Lawgiver, see Leader, Star; = Moses, Arist. 131, 139, 148, 153.

INDEX

Laws about fruit, Jub. 7³⁷.
 Lawyers. *See* Scribes.
 Leader, 1En. 8²⁰; of day and night, 7⁵; of sheep, 8⁹; of stars, 7² 7⁴ 8⁰ 8² 10¹¹; of Zadokites, first = Star or Lawgiver; second = Teacher of Righteousness, Zad. § 101. iv.
 Leah, Jub. 28^{5-6,9-14,16,17,20-22} 29² 33^{1,22} 36^{21,22} T.S. 2² T.Jud. 1⁸ T.Iss. 14^{7,9,15} 2²; death of, Jub. 36²¹.
 Leba Nasr = Salmanassar, Mart. Is. 2¹⁴.
 Lebanon, Sir. 39¹⁴ 50^{8,12} (*see* Libanus) Jub. 8²¹ 9⁴ 10^{29,33} 12¹⁵ 1En. 13⁹.
 Leisure needed for study, P.A. 2⁶.
 Lending and suretyship, Sir. 8¹²⁻¹³; and borrowing, 29¹⁻¹³.
 Length of days, 1En. 10⁹ 71¹⁷, cf. 13⁶. *See* Life.
 Leo, Sib. 5^{616,523,525}.
 Leprosy, law of, Zad. 15⁷⁻⁸.
 Lessan, Sib. 5^{121,316}.
 Libanus, village, 2Macc. 14¹⁶.
 Letters, in 1 Maccabees, 1Macc. § 7: i. (a) from Jews in Gilead to Judas, 10¹³⁻¹⁸; (b) from Jonathan to Spartans, 12⁶⁻¹⁸; (c) from Areios of Sparta to Onias, 12²⁰⁻²³; ii. (a) from Alexander Balas to Jonathan, 10¹⁸⁻²⁰; (b) from Demetrius I to Jewish nation, 10²⁶⁻⁴⁵; (c) from Demetrius II to Jonathan, 11³⁰⁻³⁷; (d) from Antiochus VI to Jonathan, 11³⁷; (e) from Demetrius II to Simon, 13³⁶⁻⁴⁰; (f) Antiochus VII to Simon, 15²⁻⁹; iii. (a) from Romans, 8²³⁻³²; (b) from Spartans to Simon, 14²⁰⁻²²; (c) from Lucius, Roman consul, to Evergetes II of Egypt, 15¹⁶⁻²¹.
 Letters of Philopator, 3 Macc. 3¹² sq. 7¹ sq.
 Levi, 1Esd. 8⁴⁷ Tob. 1⁷ Bel 1 Jub. 28^{14,17} 30^{4,18} 31^{5,9,12,13,16,31} 32^{1,3,8,9} 33²² 34^{3,20} 38⁶ 44¹⁴ 45¹⁶ T.R. 6^{5,7,8,10} T.S. 5⁴⁻⁶ 7^{1,2} T.L. 1¹ 2^{1,6} 5² 8¹¹ 19⁴ T.Jud. 5² 21¹ 25^{1,2} T.Iss. 5⁷ T.D. 5^{4,6,7,10} T.N. 5³⁻⁵ 6^{6,8} 8² T.G. 8¹ T.Jos. 19¹¹ T.B. 11²⁽⁶⁾ Test. *App.* I 2⁴ 3⁸⁻¹⁰ 4^{5,8,11,12} 5³ 6^{1,4} 11 61, 83 Ass. Mos. 9¹ 4Macc. 2¹⁹; blamed for slaughter of Shechemites, 2¹⁹; *in Jubilees*, Levi blessed by Isaac, given the primacy, Jub. 31¹³⁻¹⁷; chosen for priesthood because of slaughter of Shechemites, Jub. 30¹⁸⁻²³; dream of, at Bethel, 32¹; chosen to priesthood as tenth son, 32^{2,3}; receives books of Jacob, 45¹⁶; receives tithes from Jacob, 32⁴⁻⁹; vision of, sees future on seven tablets from heaven, 32²¹; *in Test. XII Patr.* (in original Testaments) as high priest, T.R. 6^{8,10-12} T.S. 7² T.L. 2¹⁰; as king, T.R. 6⁷⁻¹² T.L. 8¹⁴ 18³; as lawgiver, T.R. 6⁸; as prophet, T.L. 2¹⁰ 8¹⁵ T.B. 9²; as son of God, T.L. 4²; as warrior of God, T.R. 6¹² T.S. 5⁵;

destroys Shechem, T.L. 5^{3,4} 6⁴; ordained by God Himself, 2¹⁰; to new priesthood, 8¹⁴ 18²; with a new name, 8¹⁴; pre-eminence above Judah, T.R. 6⁶⁻¹² T.S. 5⁵ 7^{1,2} T.L. 8¹¹⁻¹⁷ 18² sqq. T.D. 5¹⁰ T.N. 5⁴ 8² T.G. 8¹ T.Jos. 19¹¹; Reuben, Simeon, Dan, will attack, T.R. 6⁵ T.S. 5^{4,5} T.D. 5⁴; visions of, T.L. 2⁵ sqq. 8¹ sqq.; shield given to, 5³ 6¹, *see* Priesthood, Maccabees; (in first century B.C. additions to Testaments), T.L. 10¹⁴⁻¹⁶ T.D. 5⁶⁻⁷; Messiah expected from, Zad. § 12, *see* Aaron, Messiah; priest and king—reflects Maccabean priest-kings, Test. § 10; recognized as priest by Jacob, Test. *App.* II 9; recognized as priest by Isaac, 13.
 Levi, Testament of, original source of, Aramaic and Greek Fragments of, Test. *App.* II; Test. Levi quoted, Zad. 6¹⁰.
 Levi, tribe of, Sir. 45⁶ Bel 1; and Aaron, Zad. 11², *see* Aaron; and Judah, Naphtali bids his sons follow, Test. *App.* I 1⁸; salvation to arise from, T.S. 7¹ T.L. 2¹¹ T.N. 8² T.G. 8¹ T.Jos. 19¹¹.
 Levi, an elder, Arist. 48.
 Leviathan, 1En. 60⁷ 2Bar. 29⁴ n. 4Ez. 6^{49,52}; reserved for Messianic banquet, 6⁵².
 Levis, 1Esd. 9⁴.
 Levitas of Jabneh, P.A. 4⁴.
 Levite, Add. Esth. F¹¹.
 Levites, 1Esd. 13^{7,9,10,14,16,21} 2⁸ 4⁵⁵ 5^{20,46,58,59,63} 7^{6,8,10,12} 8^{5,10,22,42,49,59} 8^{60,63,69,96} 9^{23,37,48,49,53} Jub. 30¹⁸ Zad. 5⁷ 6¹ 15⁶; are they who joined the penitents (= priests), 6¹.
 Levitical laws of purification, Jub. 3⁸⁻¹¹; priests = servers of the Holy One, Sir. 4¹⁴ n.
 Lex talionis, *see* Judgement, Retribution in kind; exemplified in Cain, Jub. 4³¹.
 Liar to be destroyed, Sir. 20²⁴⁻²⁶.
 Libanus, 1Esd. 4⁴⁸ 5⁵⁵ Judith 1⁷ Sir. 24¹³ (*see* Lebanon) T.S. 6².
 Libations on tombs, Ah. 2¹⁰ (Syr. A).
 Libnai, Test. *App.* II 74.
 Libya, Sib. 3^{208,323} 5¹⁹⁷.
 Lies, man of (= Herod?), Zad. § 6, 9³⁰.
 Life, book of memorial of, Test. *App.* II 59, *see* Book; bundle of, *see* Bundle of; = eternal life in heaven, 4Ez. 7^{129,137} 8¹³ n., *see* Eternal; everlasting, 2 Macc. 7⁹; everflowing, 7³⁶; future, *in* 1 *Enoch*, 1En. 5^{5,9} 14¹³ 22¹⁰ 38⁶ 48⁷ 50⁴ 58³ 61^{7,12} 62¹⁶ 67² 96⁶ 98¹⁴ 103^{9,10} 108¹⁰; elect, 94⁴; eternal (= everlasting), 15^{4,6} 37⁴ 40⁹ 58³; eternal (= 500 years), 10¹⁰; long, 25⁶; = a blessed immortality of the soul (not body) after death, Jub. 23³¹; first found in Jubilees in last

two centuries B.C.; next in 1En. 91-104, Jub. § 15; law of, *see* Law; lay up with the Lord, Ps. Sol. 9⁹; of eternity (not in Sadducean sense), Zad. 5⁹; of individual continued in children, Sir. 30⁴ n.; of world to come, P.A. 2⁸, cf. portion in world to come, 3¹⁶; perpetual, Ah. 4¹ (Arab.); rope of, Sib. 3⁴⁵; pious inherit, Ps. Sol. 14⁷; tree of, *see* Tree; trees of = pious, Ps. Sol. 14². *See* Garments.
 Light, creation of, 4Ez. 6⁴⁰; generation of, 1En. 108¹¹; of endless world, 2Bar. 48⁵⁰; of Gentiles, 1En. 48⁴; of the Law, Wisd. 18⁴ n. T.L. 14⁴; of Righteousness, T.Z. 9⁸.
 Lightning, 1En. 14^{11,17} 17³ 41³ 43¹⁻² 44 59^{1,3} 60¹³⁻¹⁵; symbolizes the Messiah, 2Bar. 53³ n.
 Lights, 1En. 59¹³; feast of, 1 Macc. 4⁵² n.; of heaven, righteous shine as, 1En. 104²; prince of (i.e. Uriel?), Zad. 7¹⁹.
 Like consorts with like, Sir. 13¹⁵⁻¹⁷.
 Like thee, those, 2Bar. 13⁵ 24² = righteous surviving in last days, 13⁵ n. 4Ez. 4³⁶ 8⁵¹ n. 62 14^{9,49}.
 Lilin, 2Bar. 10⁸ n.
 Linen, wearing of, urged, Ah. 2¹⁰².
 Lion, which came out of wood, = Messiah whom God has reserved for the End, 4Ez. 10⁶⁰⁻¹² 38²⁰ n.
 Lions, = Babylonians, 1En. 89⁵⁵ n.; den of, Bel 31.
 Lists of sins, in 3Baruch, 3Bar. § 6; in Testaments of Twelve Patriarchs, T.R. 3³⁻⁶ T.Jud. 16¹; in Wisdom, 14²⁵ sqq.
 Live, 1En. 10¹⁷ 98¹⁰; unto God, 4Macc. 7¹⁹, cf. Divine life, 7⁷. *See* Eternal life.
 Liver, the, T.N. 2⁸.
 Living, 1En. 47³, *see* Waters; creatures . . . beneath throne, 2Bar. 51¹¹.
 Locros, Sib. 3⁴³⁸.
 Locusts, law of preparing as food, Zad. 14¹⁴.
 Loddeus, 1Esd. 8^{45,46}.
 Logos doctrine, Wisd. § 5, 9¹ 16¹² 18¹⁵.
 Lomna, Jub. 10¹⁵.
 Lomni, T.L. 12¹.
 Longsuffering, T.D. 2¹ 6⁸ T.G. 4⁷ T.Jos. 17² 18³ 1En. 60⁶ 61¹³ P.A. 4¹ 5^{2,3} 6^{1,6} Zad. 2⁵.
 Lord. *See* God.
 Lord of the word = Moses, Ass. Mos. 11¹⁶.
 Lost. *See* Property.
 Lot, Wisd. 10⁶ Jub. 12^{10,30} 13^{1,14,17,19,23} 16⁷ 17³; wife of, Wisd. 10⁷.
 Lothasubus, 1Esd. 9⁴⁴.
 Love, P.A. 3¹⁹ 5^{4,19} 6¹; God, Zad. 9⁴⁵; God, those that = Jewish people, Sir. 1¹⁰; the Lord, 2^{15,16}; of God for His creatures, 4Ez. 8⁴⁶⁻⁶² n.; to man, Wisd. 11²⁴; to the brethren enjoined, T.R. 6⁹ T.S. 4⁷ T.G. 6^{1,3} 7⁷ T.Jos. 17² T.B. 3^{3,4} Zad. 8¹⁷;

to God and one's neighbour, T.Iss. 5² 7⁶ T.D. 5³; to neighbour, T.B. 3^{3,4}. *See* Fear of God.
 Lowly exalted, Sir. 11^{5,12-13}.
 Lozon, 1Esd. 5³³.
 Lubar, Jub. 5²⁸ 7^{1,17} 10¹⁵.
 Lucifer, Sib. 5^{616,527}.
 Lucius, consul, 1Macc. 15¹⁶.
 Lucus, Sib. 3⁴⁷².
 Lud, Judith 22² Jub. 7¹⁸ 9^{6,10,11}.
 Luminaries, 1En. 17⁸; heavenly, 23⁴ 72^{1,2} 79⁶ 82⁷; objects of worship, Wisd. 13²; renewed for healing, peace, and blessing, Jub. 1²⁰; world of the, 1En. 20⁴.
 Luminary, the great, the sun, 1En. 72^{4,35,36}; the smaller, the moon, 73¹.
 Lunar year, Sir. 43⁶⁻⁸ n. Jub. 6³⁶ 1En. 74; disturbs true order of feasts, Jub. 6³⁶⁻³⁸.
 Lust, sin of, Ah. 2⁶ (Syr. A).
 Lustful passions, warning against, Sir. 6²⁻⁴.
 Luz = Bethel, Jub. 27^{19,26}.
 Lycia, 1Macc. 15²³ Sib. 3^{433,439} 5^{126,129}.
 Lycian, Sib. 4¹⁰⁹.
 Lycians, 3⁶¹⁴ 5⁴⁶¹.
 Lydda, 1Macc. 11³⁴ n.
 Lydia, 1Macc. 8⁸.
 Lydian, Sib. 3⁴⁴⁰.
 Lydians, Sib. 3^{170,515} 5^{288,292,340}.
 Lysias, 1Macc. 3^{32,38} 4^{26,34,35} 6^{6,17,55} 7²; sent to war against Jews, in absence of Antiochus, 3²⁷⁻³⁷; sends army into Judah under Ptolemy. Nicanor, and Gorgias, 3³⁸⁻⁶⁰; defeated by Judas, 4²⁶⁻³⁵; governor of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, 2Macc. 10¹¹ 11^{1,14,13,15-17,23,35} 12^{1,27} 13^{2,4,26} 14²; death of, 14²; and Eupator make terms with Jews, 13¹⁻²⁶.
 Lying condemned, T.Iss. 7⁴ T.D. 2^{1,4} 4⁷ 5¹ 6⁸.
 Lysimachus, brother of Mene-laos the high priest, 2Macc. 4^{29,39,40,41}.
 Lysimachus, son of Ptolemaeus, Add. Esth. F¹¹.
 Maani, 1Esd. 5³¹.
 †Maanisakir (or Amanisakir) i.e. Camps of Shakir, Jub. 34^{4,7}. *See* Makir.
 Maaseas, 1Bar. 1¹.
 Maasmas, 1Esd. 8⁴³.
 Macalon, 1Esd. 5²¹.
 Maccabean army, 2Macc. 10³⁵; family, Zad. § 6; high priests not referred to in Ass. Mos. 5^{3,4}, but in 6¹; kings, Jub. 31¹⁵ n.; denunciation of, Test. § 1; praise of, § 1; policy, change of after Judas' death, 1Macc. 9²² n.; priesthood to be called by new name, T.L. 8¹⁴, *see* High priests, Levi; revolt, commencement of, 1Macc. 2¹⁵⁻²⁸; rising, censured by implication in Ass. Mos. 9¹⁻⁷; times, Azar. § 6; victories, Jub. 29³ sqq.; victories reflected in account of Jacob's wars, 34²⁻⁸ n. 37⁹⁻¹⁰ n.; wars, 24²⁸⁻³² n.

INDEX

Maccabaeans, at zenith of power, Test. § 1; and Pharisees, 4Macc. § 8; later, attacked, T.L. 10*n.* 14-16*n.* T. Jud. 21⁶⁻²³; rise of, 1En. 90^{6*n.*}.
Maccabaeus, 1Macc. 5³⁴ &c. *See* Judas.
Maccabees, 1 Book of, author, a Sadducee, § 3; contents, § 2; date, § 4; Greek MSS., § 8; original language, Hebrew, § 6; sources, § 7; (i) letters of Jewish origin; (ii) letters from Syrian kings to Jewish leaders; (iii) letters from rulers of foreign states, *see* Letters; style, § 5; theology, § 5; title, § 1; versions, Syriac and Latin, § 9. 2 Book of: authorship, § 5; bibliography, § 8; contents and characteristics, § 1; date, § 3; influence on later literature, § 6, MSS. § 2; text, integrity and composite nature of, § 4; theology, § 7; versions, § 2, Greek, Latin, and Syriac; discrepancies in, § 4; less primitive than 1Macc., 2Macc. § 1; letters in, do not belong to Jason source, § 4; parallelisms with 1Macc., 2Macc. § 1; relation of 3Macc. to, 3Macc. § 4, *see* Jason of Cyrene. 3 Book of: bibliography of, § 10; contents of, § 1; date and origin, § 4; historical basis of, § 5; integrity, § 6; MSS., § 3; relation of, to Aristaeas's Letter, § 4, Josephus, § 5, 2Maccabees, § 4, Philo, § 4, Polybius, § 5, Ptolemy of Megalopolis, § 5; style, § 7; theology, § 8; title, § 2; use of, by later writers, § 9; versions, § 3. 4 Book of: account, § 1; authorship, § 7; bibliography, § 10; comparison with 2Macc., § 10 *app.*; date, § 5; influence, § 8; integrity, § 6; MSS., §§ 3-4; theology, § 9; title, § 2; versions, ancient, §§ 3-4.
Macedonia, Sib. 3^{172,190,381} 4^{102,388,373,461}.
Macedonian, 1Macc. 6² Add. Esth. E¹⁰.
Macedonians, Sib. 3^{161,610} 4^{88,96} Add. Esth. E¹⁴; battle at Babylon with Galatians, 2Macc. 8²⁰. *See* Greeks.
Macron. *See* Ptolemy Macron.
Madai, Jub. 7¹⁹ 8⁵ 9⁹ 10^{36,36}. *See* Media.
Macander, Sib. 4^{149,151} 5³²¹.
Maedai, Jub. 8²¹.
Maelus, 1Esd. 9²⁶.
Maecotic sea, Sib. 3³³⁸.
Magdaladraef, Jub. 33¹.
Magian influences in Tobit, non-Zoroastrian, in Egyptian form, Tob. § 8*v.*
Magic art, Wisd. 17⁷.
Magnesia, Sib. 3³⁴⁷.
Magnesians, Sib. 3³⁴⁹.
Magog, Jub. 7¹⁹ 9⁸. *See* Gog.
Mahalalel, Jub. 4^{14,15} 19²⁴ 1En. 37¹ 83^{3,6}. *See* Mahaleleel.
Mahalath, daughter of Ishmael, Jub. 29¹³.

Mahaleleel = Mahalalel, 2En. 33¹⁰.
Mahli, Test. *App.* II 74.
Maiannas, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.
Maitabith, Jub. 38²³.
Maka, Jub. 34²⁰.
Makamaron, king of Canaan, Jub. 46⁶.
Maked, 1Macc. 5^{26,36}.
Maker. *See* God.
†Makir, T. Jud. 6⁹. *See* Maaniasakir.
Makom = God, P.A. § 5. *See* Maqom.
Malchira, Mart. Is. 1^{8*n.*} *See* Sammael.
Mallus, city, 2Macc. 4³⁰.
Maltanneus, 1Esd. 9³³.
Mamдай, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Mammon, Sir. 31^{8*n.*}; worship, perils of, 31(34)⁵⁻¹¹. *See* Gains.
Mamnitanemus, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Mamre, man, Jub. 13²⁹; oak of, 14¹⁰.
Mamre, i. e. Hebron, Jub. 19⁵.
Mamuchus, 1Esd. 9³⁰.
Man, a danger to angels, and to own soul, 2Bar. 56¹⁰; = angelic being, later heavenly Messiah, 4Ez. 13^{1-58*n.*}, *see* Son of Man, White men; creation of, Sir. 17¹; from seven substances, 2En. 30^{8*n.*}; with seven natures, 30^{9*n.*}; with freewill and knowledge of good and evil, 30^{15,16*n.*}; Creator of, is God, Test. *App.* I 10⁶⁻⁹; final abode of, prepared, 2En. 49² 58³; foolish by nature, Wisd. 13¹; freewill of, Sir. 15¹⁴; God's gifts to, 17¹⁻¹⁴; insignificance of, before God, 16¹⁷⁻²³ 18¹⁻¹⁴; senses and powers of, Test. *App.* I 10⁶; Son of, *see* Son; taught good and evil, Sir. 17⁷; time in this world pre-ordained, 2En. 49²; to be judged for his treatment of animals, 58^{3,6*n.*}; works ordained before his creation, 53². *See* Predestination.
Man from the Sea = Messiah, vision of, 4Ez. 13¹⁻⁵⁸.
Man of lies = Jannacus or Herod, Zad. § 6.
Manasseas, 1Esd. 9³¹.
Manasseh, Mart. Is. 1^{1,7,9,11,12} 2^{1,2,4,5} 3^{1,11} 5^{4,8,12} 2Bar. 64^{1,6,7} 65¹; idolatry, prayer and repentance of, P.Man. § 2; repentance of, unreal, and finally unavailing, 2Bar. 64⁷⁻¹⁰ 65¹. *See* Prayer of Manasses.
Manasses, husband of Judith, Judith 8² 10³ 16²²⁻²⁴.
Manasses, son of Asom, 1Esd. 9³³.
Mandrakes, T. Iss. 1^{2,3,8} 2^{2,4}.
Manes, 1Esd. 9²¹.
Mani, 1Esd. 9³⁰.
Manifestation of God. *See* Epiphany, Theophanies.
Mankind, lit. 'creatures', P.A. 1^{12*n.*} 3¹⁴ 4¹ 6²; woes of, Sir. 40¹⁻⁹.
Manlius, Titus, Roman ambassador, 2Macc. 11³⁴.
Manna, Wisd. 16²⁰ 3Bar. 6¹¹; substance remained, but 'accidents' transformed, Wisd.

16^{21*n.*}; to be restored again, Sib. Frag. 3^{49*n.*} 3⁷⁴⁶ 2Bar. 29⁸.
Man-pleaser = Sadducee, Ps. Sol. 4^{10,21}; lays waste houses, 4^{13,23}.
Mansions, 1En. 41². *See* Dwelling-places.
Many created, few saved, 4Ez. 8³; lost, 7^{47,51,61,132} 8^{62*n.*}, *see* Fewness: to be saved, 2Bar. 21^{11*n.*} *Contrast* 4Ezra.
Maqom (rendered by God), P.A. § 5, 2¹⁷ 3^{5,14} 6^{1,6}.
Mardocheus, 1Esd. 5⁸.
Mardocheus = Mordecai, Add. Esth. A^{1,11,12,15-17} C¹ E¹³ F¹. *See* Mordecai.
Mariamne, Zad. § 6ii(c).
Marioch, 2En. 33^{11(B)}.
Marisa, 1Macc. 5^{66*n.*} 2Macc. 12³⁵.
Mark, on forehead, Zad. 9^{11(β)} — of sinners, of destruction, Ps. Sol. 15¹⁰.
Market-place, Tob. 2³.
Marmoth, 1Esd. 8⁹².
Marriage, agnatic, Tob. §§ 6, 9; document, § 6; feast, Tob. 8²⁰ 9^{2,5*sq.*} 10⁷ 12¹⁽¹¹¹⁰⁾; no bar to vision, 1En. 83^{2*n.*}; of daughters, a duty, Sir. 7^{26*n.*}; of elder daughter first, a heavenly ordinance, Jub. 28⁶; restrictions — forbidden with near of kin, uncle or aunt, Zad. 7⁹⁻¹¹; with niece, §§ 2, 9⁴⁰. *See* 7^{11*n.*}.
Marriages, Jewish, Tob. 4¹²; inculcated as opposed to pagan, § 9, *see* Heathen; mixed absolutely prohibited, Jub. § 15, 20⁴ 22²⁰ 25¹⁻¹⁰.
Marsians, Sib. 3⁵¹³.
Martyr stories of 2Macc., §§ 5, 6, 7.
Martyrdom of seven Sons and Mother. *See* Seven Sons.
Martyrs, Maccabean, 4Ez. 8²⁷ 2Macc. §§ 1, 6, 6^{10*sq.*} 18^{5*sq.*} 7^{1*sq.*} 4Macc. 1⁸ 5^{1*sq.*} 8³. *See* Anniversary, Atonement, Competitors, Epitaph, Eternal life, Example, Mother, Painting.
Marvels and portents—signs of Messiah's coming, 2Bar. 29^{6*n.*}.
Marzifan, slave substituted for Ahikar at the execution, Ah. 4¹⁰ (Syr.). *See* Seniqar.
Maseq, son of, Jub. 14².
Masias, 1Esd. 5³⁴.
Massagetæ, Sib. 5¹¹⁷.
Massias, 1Esd. 9²².
Mastema, Jub. 10⁸ 11^{5,11}; angel of, will depart from penitent, Zad. 20²; chief of demons, *see* Demonology; powers of, Jub. 49²; prince, 11^{5,11} 17¹⁶ 18^{9,12} 48^{2,3,12,15}; put to shame, 18¹²; seeks to slay Moses 48¹⁻³; spirits of, 19²⁸; suggests the sacrifice of Isaac, 17¹⁶.
Mastick tree and holm tree, Sus. 54-59*n.*
Matanbuchus, Mart. Is. 2⁴.
Matarat, Jub. 38²³.
Mathelas, 1Esd. 9¹⁹.
Mathusal. *See* Methuselah.
Mattathias, son of Asom, 1Esd. 9³³.
Mattathias, 1Esd. 9⁴³.
Mattathias, 1Macc. 2^{1,14,16,17,19,}

24,27,39,45,49; the real leader of Maccabean revolt, 2Macc. § 1.
Mattathias, son of Absalom, 1Macc. 11⁷⁰.
Mattathias, son of Simon the Maccabee, 1Macc. 16¹⁴.
Mattathias, envoy of Nicanor, 2Macc. 14¹⁹.
Mattathias, an elder, Arist. 47.
Matter, formless, Wisd. 11^{17*n.*}; creation out of, 11¹⁷, *see* Creation; inherently evil (?), weighs down soul, § 9.
Matthanias, 1Esd. 9²⁷.
Matthanias, 1Esd. 9³¹.
Matthia ben Harash, P.A. 4²⁰.
Mauk, sea of, Jub. 8^{22,26}.
Mazitias, 1Esd. 9³⁵.
Meaning, Zad. 8^{12,15} 15⁷.
Meat, sea, Jub. 8^{12,27} 9⁸.
Mebri, mountains, Jub. 9².
Mechembechus, Mart. Is. 5³.
Medaba, city, 1Macc. 9³⁶.
Medan, Jub. 19¹¹.
Medes, Judith 1² 16¹⁰ Mart. Is. 3² T.N. 5⁸ Sib. 3¹⁶⁰ 4^{54,62,63} 5^{23,147,441}.
Media, 1Esd. 3^{1,14} 1Macc. 8⁸ 14¹ Tob. 1^{14,15} 3⁷ 4^{1,20} 5^{2,4,5,6,7,10,11} 6¹⁰ 14^{4,12*sq.*} 15¹⁵ Jub. 10³⁶. *See* Madai, Persia.
Mediation of angels, Jub. 12^{7*n.*} 3Bar. § 10, 2.
Mediator between God and man, T.D. 6², *see* Intercession; Moses as, Ass. Mos. 1^{14*n.*}.
Medicament, Tob. 2¹⁰ 6⁵ 11^{12,13}.
Medicines, a gift of God, Sir. 38⁴.
Meedda, 1Esd. 5³².
Mefusailom. *See* Methuselah.
Megiddo, battle of, 1Esd. 1²⁰.
Meir, Rabbi, P.A. 3¹¹ 4¹² 6¹.
Melca, Jub. 19¹⁰.
Melcha, T.L. 1¹¹. *See* Melka, wife of Levi.
Melchias, 1Esd. 9²⁶.
Melchias, 1Esd. 9³².
Melchias, 1Esd. 9⁴⁴.
Melchizedek, priesthood of, § 15, 13^{26*n.*}.
Melejal, 1En. 82¹³.
Melka, Jub. 8⁵.
Melka, daughter of Kaber, Jub. 11⁷.
Melka, wife of Levi, Jub. 34²⁰. *See* Melcha, Milcah.
Melkejal, 1En. 82¹⁵.
Memeroth, 1Esd. 8².
Memmius, Quintus, Roman ambassador, 2Macc. 11³⁴.
Memorial, 1En. 103⁴, *see* Testimony; = name, 1Bar. 4^{9*n.*}; of God in heart, Ps. Sol. 16⁶; stone, 4Macc. 17^{8*n.*}.
Memphian woman, T. Jos. 12¹ 14^{1,5(β)} 16¹.
Memphis, Judith 1¹⁰ T. Jos. 3⁶ Sib. 5^{16,17,60,63,180}.
Men, children of, Sir. 17³⁰ Judith 8¹² &c.; of war, Zad. § 6, ii; white, = angels, 1En. 87².
Menedemus of Eretria, Arist. § 1, 201.
Menelaus, high priest, 2Macc. 4^{23,24,27,29,32,34,39,43,45,46,50} 5^{6,13,33} 11^{29,32} 13^{3,7} Ass. Mos. 5^{3,4*n.*}; intrigues of, 2Macc. 4²³⁻⁵⁰; put to death at Beroea, 13⁷.

INDEX

Menestheus. *See* Apollonius.
Merari, Judith 8¹ 16⁷.
Merari, Jub. 44¹⁴ T.L. 11⁷ 12³
Test. *App.* II 69, 74.
Merchant, liable to sin, Sir.
26²⁹.
Mercy, 1En. 61¹³; and fraud,
T.A. 2⁵; and perjury, 2⁶;
enjoined, T.Z. 5^{1,3} 7^{2,3} 8¹, to
both man and beast, 5¹; no,
1En. 5⁶ 50⁵; of God, P.Man.
6-7, 14; -seat, the, 2Bar. 6⁷.
Merit, P.A. 1⁶ 2² 6⁶; doctrine
of, Sir. 3³ⁿ 15; of the fathers,
Sir. 47¹²ⁿ. P.A. 2² 2Bar. 14⁷ⁿ.
84¹⁰; doctrine of, repudiated,
1Bar. 2¹⁹ⁿ; of good works,
even of dead, avails for nation,
2Bar. 14⁷ 84¹⁰.
Merits of righteous, 3Bar. 11⁹
12²; of no avail for sinners in
Israel, 4Ez. 8²⁰⁻⁴⁰; presented
by Michael to God, 3Bar. 14²;
= treasures of faith, won by
righteous, 4Ez. 6⁵.
Meropea, Sib. 3³⁴⁶.
Merran, 1Bar. 3²³.
Mesaloth, place, 1Macc. 9²ⁿ.
Mesech = Meshech, Test. *App.* I
9⁴.
Meshech, Jub. 7¹⁹ 9¹².
Mesopotamia, Judith 2²⁴ 5^{7,8}
8²⁶ Jub. 9⁵ 27^{10,12,13} 29^{12,18} 44¹⁸
T.Jud. 9¹ 10¹.
Messenger of God, 1Esd. 15^{50,51}.
Messiah, coming of, signs of,
Jub. 31¹⁸⁻¹⁹ⁿ. *In* 2 *Baruch*:
29³ 30¹ 41¹; and the Law,
15⁵ⁿ; in A¹ has passive rôle,
29²ⁿ; in A² and A³ has active
rôle, 29³ⁿ. 40¹ⁿ. 72⁴⁻⁶ⁿ; prin-
cipate of, revealed, 39⁷ⁿ; re-
turn of, to heaven, 30¹; whence
revealed, 29²ⁿ; will summon
all nations, and slay some and
spare some, 72². *In* 1 *Enoch*:
doctrine of, § 11⁽⁶⁾ 38²ⁿ. 46^{2,3n}.
48¹⁰ⁿ. 90³⁷ⁿ; titles of, § 11;
Anointed (God's), 52⁴; Elect
One, 45^{3,4} 49^{2,4} 51^{5,13} 52^{6,9} 55⁴
61^{3,8,10} 62¹; of righteousness
and faith, 39⁶; Righteous One,
38²; and Elect One, 53⁶; Son
of Man, 46^{2,3,4} 48² 62^{5,7,9,14}
63¹¹ 66^{26,27,29} 70¹ 71^{14,17}, *see*
Son; Son, My (God's), 105².
In 4 *Ezra*: death of, in common
with all men, 7⁸⁰; earthly,
12³²ⁿ; gathers together peace-
able multitude, 13¹²ⁿ; God's
Son, 7^{28,29} 13⁵² 14³ⁿ; hea-
venly, 12³²ⁿ; heavenly pre-
existence of, 7²⁶⁻³⁰ⁿ; immortal
companions of, 62⁶ⁿ. 7²⁸ 13⁵²
14⁴³; = Baruch, Elijah, Enoch,
Ezra, Jeremiah, 6²⁶ⁿ; = Lion,
12³²; = Man from the Sea,
13²⁵; not meant by son of Dis-
consolate Woman, 10²⁹⁻⁵⁷ⁿ; pre-
existence of, in heaven,
12³²ⁿ. 14³ⁿ. 2Bar. 30¹; rule of
400 years, 7²⁸. *In* *Jubilees*:
no rôle of importance assigned
to, 31¹⁸; expected from Judah,
§ 15, *see* Hyrcanus, Judas
Maccabaeus, Simon. *In* *Ps.*
Sol.: anointed of the Lord,
17²⁶; conceived as in Psalm 2,
17²³⁻²⁷; gathers dispersed of
Israel, 17²⁸⁻³¹; judges tribes,

17⁴⁸; pure from sin, 17⁴¹;
purges Jerusalem, 17^{32,34}; rules
heathen, 17³³; wise, 17⁴². *In*
Sib. Or.: a holy prince, 3⁴⁹;
advent of, 3^{552,599}; comes from
heaven to assume kingdom,
5⁴¹⁴⁻⁴³³; intervenes to save
Jerusalem from Nero redivivus,
5¹⁰⁸. *In* Test. *XII Patr.*:
from Judah, Test. § 16 T.Jud.
24⁵⁻⁶ T.L. 8^{14(a)}; from Levi,
Test. § 16, T.R. 6⁷⁻¹² T.L. 8¹⁴
18 T.Jud. 24¹⁻³ T.D. 5¹⁰ T.Jos.
19⁵⁻⁹ⁿ; delivers Beliar's cap-
tives, T.Z. 6⁸ T.D. 5¹¹; free
from sin, T.Jud. 24¹; opens
Paradise to righteous, T.L.
18¹⁰ T.D. 5¹²; walks in meek-
ness and righteousness, T.Jud.
24¹; wars against Beliar, T.L.
18¹² T.D. 5¹⁰; prerogatives
and powers of, in Testaments,
full summary of, Test. § 16;
to be free from sin; a priest,
T.L. 8; prophet, T.L. 8¹³;
king, T.R. 6^{11,12} T.L. 8¹⁴; to
war against Israel's foes, T.R.
6¹². *In* *Zad. Frag.*: 2¹⁰ⁿ, *see*
1⁷ⁿ; from Aaron and Israel,
expectation of, §§ 6, 9⁴⁵ 12,
9¹⁰⁽⁸⁾ 9²⁰⁽⁸⁾ 15⁴ 18⁸, so not of
pure Levitic or priestly de-
scendant, but partly from Levi
and partly from another tribe,
i.e. the sons of Herod and
Mariamne, Alexander and Aris-
tobulus, §§ 6ii(c), 12; hope
of, abandoned in Ass. Mos.,
Zad. § 10v; militant Messiah
expected, § 10v; = prince of
all the congregation, Zad. 9⁹;
= sceptre, 9^{8,9}; through him
God will make the 'remnant'
know His Holy Spirit, 2¹⁰; to
destroy faithless, 9¹⁰⁻²⁰; true in-
terpretation of name (Zadok?),
2¹⁰; will know punishment,
Zad. 18⁹; will teach Remnant,
2^{9,10}.
Messianic banquet, Behemoth
and Leviathan reserved for,
4Ez. 6⁵²; bliss, 2Bar. 73^{1-74⁴};
element absent in 1 *Baruch*,
1 Bar. § 11; hymns to John
Hyrcanus, Test. § 1 T.L. 18²⁻¹⁴
T.Jud. 24¹⁻⁶ T.D. 5¹⁰⁻¹³;
kingdom, —in Ass. Mos. § 9;
ushered in by day of repen-
tance—to include Ten Tribes
as well as Two—Israel finally
exalted to heaven, § 9. *In*
2 *Baruch*: hope of with Messiah,
A¹ A² A³; without Messiah
in B¹; no hope of either
in B² B³. § 10; temporary,
2Bar. 73^{1,2,7} 74¹; at close
Messiah returns to heaven, 30¹;
righteous rise to blessed life,
30² 54¹⁵ 59²; unrighteous cast
into fire, 54¹⁴ 55⁷ 59^{2,10}. *In*
1 *Enoch*: 5⁶⁻⁹ 10¹⁶⁻¹¹² 27⁴⁻⁶
38^{1-39⁸} 45³⁻⁶ 46^{4-52⁵} 53^{6,7} 58,
61, 62, 69²⁶⁻²⁹ 71¹⁴⁻¹⁷ 90³⁸ 91
12-15; doctrine of, 1En. § 11⁽⁶⁾;
eternal, on earth, after final
judgement, 1-36; temporary
on earth, followed by final
judgement, 91-104; eternal,
on earth and in heaven, ini-
tiated by final judgement, 37-

71. *In* 4 *Ezra*: ends in death
of all for seven days, 4Ez.
7²⁹⁻³¹; initiated by overthrow
of Rome, 12³⁴; initiated by
revealing of Messiah and his
immortal companions, 7²⁶⁻²⁸;
lasts 400 years, 7²⁸; no room for
in 4Ez. 6⁷⁻¹⁰; placed in Pales-
tine, 9³ⁿ. *In* *Jubilees*: imme-
diately expected in Jub. §§ 1,
15, 12³ 23^{30,31}; limited to elect
of Israel, 1²⁹; ruled by a Levite,
see Messiah; to be gradually
realized on earth by an ethical
and physical transformation,
see Heaven, New. Then all
sin and pain disappear. Men
have long life—1,000 years,
and after death, *spiritual* im-
mortality; regarded as already
set in, § 15, cf. 1En. 83-90;
when set up, Satan no longer
able to injure mankind, Jub.
§ 15, 23²⁹; when at close, final
judgement to be held, *see*
Judgement. *In* *Sib. Or.*: § 8,
3⁷⁰⁷⁻⁷⁸⁴ 5⁴¹⁴; coming of, 3⁴⁰⁻⁸²;
peace and plenty in, § 8,
5²⁶⁰⁻²⁸⁵; prophets take away
sword in, 3⁷⁰⁷⁻⁷⁸⁴. *In* *Sirach*:
hope of, Sir. 44²¹ 45²⁵ 47^{11,22}
48^{10,24,25} 49¹² 50²⁴ 51¹² 1-xv¹.
In *Tobit*: on earth of pious,
Tob. 14⁷. *In* *Wisdom*: view
of, Wisd. § 9; saints rule in,
Wisd. 3⁵ 5¹⁶,—teaching of O.T.
absent from 2 Enoch, 2En. § 3;
woes, 2Bar. 27¹ⁿ. Jub. 23¹¹⁻²⁵
4Ez. § 10, 4⁵² 5¹³ 6¹⁸⁻²⁴; and
bliss, Sib. 3⁴⁸⁹⁻⁵⁰⁸.
Metabedzaab, Jub. 38²³.
Methusalam, 2En. 56¹ &c. *See*
Methuselah.
Methuselah, Jub. 4^{20,27} 7³⁸ 1En.
76¹⁴ 81⁵ 82¹ 83^{1,9} 85² 91^{1,2}
106^{1,4,8} 107³ 2En. 1^{1,10}; awaits
return of Enoch, 38¹⁻³; wishes
to prepare food for Enoch,
56^{1,2}; is bidden to summon
his brethren, 57¹⁻³; erects
altar, 68⁵.
Metonic cycle. *See* Cycle.
Micaiah the prophet, Mart. Is.
2⁹; son of Amada, 2^{12,13,16}.
Michael, A. & E. 13² 14^{1,2} 15²
21² 22² 25¹ 28^{3,4} 29¹ 41¹ 43²
45¹ 46² 48^{1,4,6,7} 51¹ S. A. & E.
31¹ Apoc. Mos. 3² 13² 22¹ 37^{4,6}
40¹ 43^{1,2} 1En. 9¹ 10¹¹ 20⁵ 24⁶
40⁹ 54⁶ 60^{4,5} 67¹² 68^{2,3,4} 69^{14,15}
71^{3,8,9,13} T.L. 5⁶ⁿ. T.D. 6²
Test. *App.* I 8⁴ 9^{1,5} En. 22^{6,8,9}
33¹⁰ 3Bar. 11^{2,4,6,7,8,9} 12^{1,7,8}
13^{2,3,9} 14^{1,2} 15⁴; functions of,
3Bar. 11²ⁿ; guardian of Israel,
'advocate of the Jews', Sir.
17¹⁷ⁿ; holds keys of King-
dom of Heaven, 3Bar. 11²;
leads Israel against foes, Ass.
Mos. 10²; presents merits of
righteous to God, 3Bar. 14²;
receives prayers of men, 11⁴.
See Angels, Archangels.
Michael, priest, 1Esd. 8³⁴.
Michmash, rival centre of
government under Jonathan,
1Macc. 9⁷³ⁿ.
Middle of earth = Jerusalem
or Palestine, Test. *App.* I 8¹.
See Jerusalem, centre of earth.

Midian, Jub. 19¹¹ 38¹⁹ 48¹;
children of, Judith 2²⁶.
Midianites, T.B. 10¹⁰; = asses,
1En. 89^{13,16}.
Midrash of the Law, Zad. 9³³.
Midrash Wajissau, T.Jud. 3-9
notes.
Mighty, avoid quarrels with,
Sir. 8¹. *See* Rulers.
Migraim, Test. *App.* I 9⁴.
Migration of the penitents (= *Zadokites*) from Judah to
Damascus, Zad. 6¹ 8⁶; from
Jerusalem, 9⁴⁶.
Milcah, wife of Levi, Test.
App. II 62. *See* Melka.
Miletus, Sib. 5³²⁵.
Milkieil, 1En. 89¹³.
Millenarianism, 2Bar. 29⁵.
Millennial day, Millennium,
2En. 33^{1,2n}.
Minim = Christians, formula
against, P.A. 3¹⁶ⁿ.
Miracle, Jews saved by, 3Macc.
2²¹ 6¹⁸.
Miriam, Jub. 47⁴ 2Bar. 59¹.
Misael, 1Esd. 9⁴⁴.
Misael, Azar. 66. *See* Mishael.
Mishael, 4Macc. 13⁹ 16^{3,21} 18¹².
See Hananiah, Three Children.
Mishnah, the, P.A. § 1; origin
and growth of, P.A. § 2.
Misur, Jub. 29¹⁰.
Mithradates, treasurer of King
Cyrus, 1Esd. 2¹¹.
Mithradates, a Samaritan, 1Esd.
2¹⁶.
Mitzvah, Sir. 8⁹ⁿ. *See also*
Commandment.
Mizpeh in Gilead, 1Macc. 5³⁵.
Mizpeh, near Jerusalem, 1Macc.
3⁴⁶.
Mizraim, Jub. 7¹³ 9¹ 10³⁰.
Moab, Judith 1¹² 5^{2,22} 7⁸ Jub.
37^{6,10} 38⁶; field of, 38¹⁹.
Moabites, 1Esd. 8⁶⁹.
Mochmur, Judith 7¹⁸.
Modin, 1Macc. 2^{1,15,22,70} 9¹⁹
13^{25,30} 16⁴ 2Macc. 13¹⁴; Maccabae-
an sepulchre at, 1Macc. § 4.
Moeth, 1Esd. 8⁶³.
Moloch, Jub. 30¹⁰.
Mondis, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Money, Tob. 4¹ 5^{3,19}; love of,
warnings against, T.Jud. 17¹
18² 19^{1,2}.
Monotheism, Sib. Frag. 1¹⁻³⁵;
Frag. 3³⁻⁴⁶ Sib. 3¹¹⁻¹⁶. *See*
God, titles of.
Month, 1En. 74^{4,5}; first =
Nisan (?), 1Macc. 9³.
Months. *See* Ab, Adar, Dystrus,
Epiphi, Pachon, Xanthicus, &c.
Mooli, 1Esd. 8⁴⁷ T.L. 12³.
Moon, Sir. 43⁶⁻⁸ 1En. 8³ 41^{5,7}
60¹² 66²⁰ 72³ 72^{37-74¹⁷} 75^{3,6}
78²⁻⁶ 80^{1,4} 82³ 83¹¹ 100¹⁰;
course of the, 2En. 16⁵⁻⁷ 3Bar.
9¹⁻⁸; Feasts determined by,
Sir. 43⁷; names of, 1En. 78²;
punished, 3Bar. 9⁷; signs in,
at last day, Ass. Mos. 10⁵.
Moors, Sib. 3⁵¹⁶.
Moossias, 1Esd. 9⁸¹.
Mordecai, day of, 2Macc. 15³⁶;
discovers eunuchs' plot, Add.
Esth. A¹²⁻¹⁷; dream of, A¹⁻¹¹,
interpreted, F¹⁻⁸; prayer of,
C¹⁻¹⁰. *See* Mardocheus.
Moses, 1Esd. 1^{6,11} 5⁴⁹ 7^{6,9} 8³ 9³⁹

INDEX

2Macc. 1²⁹ 2^{4,10,11} 7^{8,30} Tob.
1⁸ 6¹³ 7^{11,12sq.} Sir. 24²³ 45¹⁻⁵
46^{1,7} Wisd. 10¹⁶ 1Bar. 1²⁰ 2^{2,28}
Jub. *Prologue*, 1^{1-4,19,22,27} 2¹
23³² 30¹¹ 33^{13,18} 49²² Arist.
144 (*see* Lawgiver) Mart. Is.
3^{6,9} 1En. 89^{16-18,29-38} T.S. 9²
T.Z. 3⁴ Sib. 3²⁵³ Ass. Mos.
1^{1,4,5} 3¹¹ 11^{1,2,4,14,17,19} 12^{1,2}
2Bar. 3⁹ 4⁵ 17⁴ 59¹ 84^{2,5} 4Ez.
7^{106,120} 14³ 4Macc. 2¹⁷ 9² 17¹⁹
18¹⁸ P.A. 1¹ Zad. 7¹⁹ 9²³ 20⁷;
burial of, opposed by Satan,
performed by Michael, Ass.
Mos. § 2*n.*, twofold presenta-
tion of, after, § 2*n.*; 'Greatness
of', relation of, to 2Enoch, 2En.
§ 4. *In Ass. Mos.*: intercessor
for Israel in spiritual world,
12⁹; mediator, 1¹⁴ 3¹²; pre-
existent, 1¹⁴; unique relation
of, to Judaism, § 9. *In 2 Bar.*:
revelations made to Moses,
2Bar. 59⁴⁻¹¹; functions of
Enoch transferred to, 2Bar.
59^{5-11*n.*} *In Jubilees*: receives
tables of Law, and also a
special revelation = Jubilees,
on Mount Sinai, Jub. 1^{4sqg.},
and a revelation of Messianic
bliss at the end of time, 1²⁶;
regarded as taught by God
the later as well as the earlier
history, 1⁴. *In Zad.*: and
Aaron, 7¹⁹; commandments of
God through, 8²; covenant
that M. established with Israel,
19⁸; delivered Israel, 7¹⁹; Law
of, 19^{2,9,11,14} 20²; speak against
M., 18¹⁰;—law of, 2Macc. 7³⁰
Sus. 3, 62, &c.; other books
of, Ass.Mos. § 3; song of,
2Macc. 7⁶ 4Macc. 18¹⁹; Testa-
ment of, Ass.Mos. § 2.
Moses, Assumption of, account,
§ 1; author, a Pharisaic Quiet-
ist, § 8; bibliography, § 11;
date, § 7; influence on N.T.,
§ 10; not really Assumption,
but Testament, of Moses, § 2;
other books of Moses, § 3;
theology, § 9; version, Latin
from Greek, Greek from He-
brew, §§ 4, 5, 6; relation of, to
1Enoch, § 10(a).
Mosollamus, 1Esd. 844.
Mosollamus, 1Esd. 914.
Mother of the Maccabaeen mar-
tyrs, 4Macc. 8³ 15^{14sq.}; speeches
of, 12⁷ 16^{6,16} 18⁶; death, 17¹.
Mount (Sinai), Jub. 1^{1,2,4}; the,
Jub. 4²⁵; of the East, Jub. 4²⁶;
of the fathers, 4Macc. 4²⁰.
Mourners, duty to, Sir. 7³⁴.
Mourning for dead, Sir. 38¹⁶⁻²³.
Mouses, T.L. 12³.
Mozarabic Psalter contains P.
Man. § 13*n.* (text given).
Muak, Jub. 8⁶.
Mualeleth, Jub. 4¹⁴.
Muppim, Jub. 44²⁵.
Muratorian Fragment, Wisd.
§ 7; ? refers to Sirach, Sir. § 8.
Murine, Sib. 3³⁴⁴.
Mushai, Test. *App.* II 74.
Muzaloth, the eighth heaven,
2En. 21^{6*n.*}.
Mycenae, Sib. 3³⁴⁷.
Myndos, 1Macc. 15²³.
Myra in Lycia, Sib. 4¹⁰⁹.

Mysian commander, 2Macc. 5^{24*n.*}.
Mysian(s), 3^{170,483,514}.
Mysteries, Wisd. 2²² 6²² 14²³
1En. 7¹ 8^{1,3} 16³ 106¹⁹; syn-
cretism of Greek philosophy
and Hebrew religion among
Alexandrian Jews, Wisd. 6^{22*n.*}.
Mystery, 1En. 103² 104¹⁰; cult
= secret sins, Wisd. 17^{3*n.*}.
Naaman, son of Benjamin, Jub.
44²⁶.
Naathus, 1Esd. 9³¹.
Nabarias, 1Esd. 9⁴⁴.
Nabataeans, 1Macc. 5²⁵ 9³⁵.
Nabuchodonosor, i. e. Nebu-
chadnezzar, 1Esd. 1^{40,41,45,48}
2¹⁰ 5⁷ 6^{15,18,26} 1Bar. 1^{9,11,12} Ep.
Jer. 2 Add.Esth. A³. *In 1Bar.*
= Vespasian, 1Bar. § 7.
Nabusemakh, executioner, Ah.
4^{6,7ac.} 5^{8,9,10} 7²³ (Syr.).
Nabušumiškun, name of execu-
tioner in Papyrus of Ahikar,
Ah. 4¹ *et passim* (II, p. 778).
Nadab, Tob. 11¹⁸ 14¹⁰.
Nadabath, city, 1Macc. 9³⁷.
Nadan, adopted son of Ahikar
(Syr. and Arab.), Ah. 1⁶ *et*
passim.
Nadin, adopted son of Ahikar
in Papyrus of Ahikar, 1¹⁸ *et*
passim.
Nahor, Jub. 11⁸ 12^{11,31} (II,
p. 778) 19¹⁰.
Nahum, prophet, Tob. 14⁴.
Naidus, 1Esd. 9³¹.
Name, called by the, Zad. 6²;
good name, P.A. 2⁸ 4¹⁷; men,
called by, Zad. 2^{9,10}, numbered
by their names, 17², recorded
by, 17³; of God, profaning of,
Jub. 30¹⁶ P.A. 1¹¹ 4⁵ 5¹¹,
supernatural efficacy ascribed
to, P.Man. § 8, 3; to profane,
Zad. 19³; to think upon, 9⁴⁵;
to trust in, 9⁶⁴; of Heaven,
P.A. 2^{2,16} 4^{5,14} 5²⁰; of the
Lord, deny, 1En. 4¹² 45² 46⁷;
saved in, 48⁷; swear by, 1Esd.
1⁴⁸; Holy, Sir. 50^{20*n.*} Wisd.
10²⁰; incommunicable, 14²¹;
of Messiah, Zad. 2¹⁰, = person
(of Enoch), 1En. 6^{5,12} 70^{1,2}.
See Righteous.
Names, 1En. 5⁶; blotted out of
book of life, 108³; call by, 43¹
69²¹; play on, T.S. 2² T.L. 6¹
11^{2,5-6,7,8} T.Jud. 1⁸ T.Iss. 1¹⁵
5⁸ T.Z. 1³ T.N. 1^{6,12} T.A. 1²
T.B. 1⁶; written, 1En. 104¹.
Nanaca, temple of, 1Macc. 6^{2*n.*}.
2Macc. 1^{13*n.*} 14¹⁴.
Naphidim, sons of Watchers,
Jub. 7²².
Naphil, Jub. 7²².
Naphisi, 1Esd. 5³¹.
Naphthali, Tob. 1^{1,4} 7³ Jub. 28¹⁹
33²² 38⁵ 44^{27,30} T.Jud. 2⁵²
T.N. 1^{1,5,6} 9³ Test. *App.* I
1¹ 10¹⁰; Testament of, late
Hebrew, *see* Appendix I to
Testaments of Twelve Patri-
archs.
Naphtha, Azar. 23. *See* Neph-
thai.
Narel, 1En. 82¹³.
Nasi, 1Esd. 5³².
Nathan, 1Esd. 844.
Nathan, Tob. 5¹⁴.

Nathan, Sir. 47¹.
Nathan, adopted son of Ahikar,
Ah. 1⁶ *et passim* (Arm.).
Nathanael, captain over a thou-
sand, 1Esd. 1⁹.
Nathanael, 1Esd. 9²².
Nathanael, Judith 8¹.
Nathanias, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Natthaeus, Arist. 49.
Nations have angelic patrons,
Sir. 17^{1*n.*}; three abhorred,—
Seir, Philistia, and Sichem, Sir.
50^{25,26}.
Natives, rank of (*λαογραφία*),
3Macc. 2^{28*n.*}.
Natural phenomena, angels of,
see Angels; obedience of, Ep.
Jer. 61-63; personified under
names of gods, Wisd. 13².
Nature, changes not, T.N. 3²,
cf. 1En. 2; God as Lord of,
see Praise; on the side of the
righteous, Wisd. 5¹⁷ 16¹⁷⁻²⁴
(18²⁴) 19³; worshipped, 13².
Nazarites, 1Macc. 3⁵⁰.
Nebaioth, Jub. 17¹⁴.
Nebrod, Jub. 8⁷.
Nebuchadnezzar, 1Esd. 1^{40,41,45,48}
Tob. 14¹⁵ Judith § 6, 1^{1,5,7,11,12}
2^{1,4,19} 3^{2,8} 4¹ 6^{3,4} 11^{1,4,7,23} 12¹³
14¹⁸ 2Bar. 79¹ 3Bar. 1¹ Zad. 1⁵;
wild condition of, parallel to,
in Ah. 5¹¹. *See also* Nabu-
chodonosor.
Nebuhai, servant of Ahikar,
Ah. 7²⁷ (Arab.).
Nebuzardan, Nadan's younger
brother, Ah. 3⁵ (Syr.). *See*
Benzardan, Boudan.
Neck, branding of, Ps.Sol. 2^{6*n.*}.
Necromancy, Zad. 14⁶.
Neelatamauk, city of Ham,
Jub. 7^{14,17}.
Negeb, the, Ps.Sol. 8².
Nehemiah, 1Esd. §§ 1, 4 iii., 5⁸
(*see* Nehemias) 2Macc. 1¹⁸,
20^{21,23,31,33,35} 21¹³ Sir. 49¹³ 1En.
89^{72*n.*}; memoirs of, 2Macc.
2¹³; overshadowed by Ezra,
1Esd. § 1; praised, but no
mention of Ezra, Sir. 49^{13*n.*}.
Nehemiah, 1Esd. 5⁴⁰. *See*
Atharias.
Nehemiah, an elder, Arist. 47.
Nehemias, 1Esd. 5⁸. *See* Nehe-
miah.
Nehorai, P.A. 4¹⁸.
Nehunia ben ha Kanah, P.A. 3⁷.
Nekodan, 1Esd. 5³⁷.
Nemean flower, Sib. 5⁴⁵.
Nemesis, Sir. 27²⁵⁻²⁹. *See* Re-
ward.
Nephtalim, Tob. 1⁵.
Nephtai or Nephthar =
Naphtha, 2Macc. 1^{36*n.*}.
†Nequael, 1En. 69².
Neria, 1Bar. 1¹ 2Bar. 1¹ 78¹.
Nero, deeds and impieties of,
Sib. 5^{28-34,137-152,203,218}; redi-
vivid, 3^{63*n.*} 4^{119-122,139} 5⁹³⁻¹⁰⁷,
363-377, destroyed at gates of
Jerusalem, 5¹⁰⁸.
Nestag, Jub. 119.
Net, Zad. 67¹⁰ 20¹¹; three nets
of Belial, Zad. 6¹⁰.
Netophas, 1Esd. 5¹⁸.
New Covenant, Zad. 8¹⁵. *See*
Covenant.
New Creation, Wisd. 19⁶. *See*
Creation, Heaven, House.

New Jerusalem, Tob. 13⁷⁻¹⁸⁴.
New Testament, influence of
1 Enoch on, 1En. § 10(b),
§ 11; parallels with Ahikar,
Ah. § 3 *e.*; relation of, to
2 Enoch, 2En. § 4.
New world, 2Bar. 44¹².
Next of kin, Zad. 8¹⁸ 9¹⁷.
Nicaea, Sib. 3³⁴³.
Nicanor, 1Macc. 3³⁸ 7^{26*n.*} 31,32,33,
39,43,44,47, 9¹ 2Macc. 8^{9,10,12,14,23},
24,34 6³ 14^{12,14,15,17,18,23,26-28,30},
37,39 15^{1,6,26,28,30,32,33,35,37}; son
of Patroclus, 2Macc. 8⁹;
governor of Cyprus, 12²;
threatens Temple, 14³³; in-
trigues and threats of, 2Macc.
14¹⁻⁴⁶; death of, 1Macc. 7⁴³
2Macc. 15²⁶.
Nicanor's day, 2Macc. § 1,
1Macc. 7^{49*n.*}.
Nicanor, an Egyptian, Arist.
182.
Nicanor, = Seleucus N., 4Macc.
3²⁰.
Niman, Jub. 34²⁰.
Nile, Sir. 24²⁷ 39²² 47¹⁴ Arist.
116 Sib. 4⁷⁴ 5^{56,92,484}.
Nimrod the wicked, Test. *App.*
I 9³.
Nineveh, Tob. 1^{3,10,17,19,22} 7³
11^{1,15sq.} 18 14^{1,4,8,15} Judith 1^{1,16}
2²¹ Jub. 9³ Ah. 1¹ 3^{8,9} &c. *See*
Asorestan, Assyria, Athur.
Niphis, 1Esd. 5²¹.
Nisan (month), 1Esd. 5⁶ Add.
Esth. A¹ (Nisa) Ah. 6^{13,14} (Syr.)
6^{22,26} (= April) &c. (Arab.).
Nisrin, a plain near Nineveh,
Ah. 3^{8,9,11,14,15} (Arab.). *See*
Eagles' Dale, Sis.
Nittai the Arbelite, P.A. 1⁶⁷.
Noah, Tob. 4¹⁵ Sir. 44¹⁷ Wisd.
10⁴ Jub. 4^{28,33} 5^{19,21,22} 6^{2,10,15},
18,24,27 7^{1,8} 10^{16,19,20} 84^{8,9,11,18}
9¹⁴ 10^{1,2,10,12,13,15,32} 11² 14²⁰
19^{24,27} 22¹³ 1En. 10² 65^{1,2} 67¹
106¹³ 107³ T.B. 10⁶ Sib. 3⁸²⁴
2En. 35^{1*n.*} 3Bar. 4¹⁵ 4Ez. 3¹¹
4Macc. 15³¹; prays against
demons, Jub. 10³⁻⁶; sons of,
Zad. 4¹; words of, Jub. 21¹⁰.
Noah, book of, Test. *App.* II
57; Book of, = 1En. 6-11,
54⁷⁻⁵⁵² 60, 65-69²⁵ 106-107
1En. §§ 1, 6; date of frag-
ments in 1En. § 7.
Noam, Jub. 4¹³.
Nobles of the people, Zad. 8^{5,9}.
Noeba, 1Esd. 5³¹.
Nooma, 1Esd. 9³⁵.
Note of hand, Tob. 5³.
North, land of the = Damascus,
Zad. 9⁴.
Number, definite, of created,
2Bar. 23^{4-5*n.*}; of Kasbeel,
1En. 69¹³; of mankind, 2Bar.
21¹⁰ 23^{4,5}; of righteous, 1En.
47⁴ 4Ez. 4^{36*n.*}, cf. 2Bar. 21¹⁰
48⁴⁰; of stars, 1En. 93¹⁴; of
those who pass away, cared for,
2Bar. 48⁶; without number—
angels, 1En. 71⁹, cf. 71⁸; days
of holy, 58³; fountain of
righteous, 65¹²; times, 108¹³;
weeks, 91¹⁷.
Numbers used for names
(number = value of initial
letter of name), Sib. 5¹² &c.
Numenius, son of Antiochus,

INDEX

1 Macc. § 7iii(c) 12¹⁶ 14^{22,24} 15¹⁵.
 Nun. *See* Joshua.
 Oabdius, 1Esd. 9²⁷.
 Oak, the, 2Bar. 6¹ⁿ. 77¹⁸; where Ezra received inspiration, 4Ez. 14¹ⁿ.
 Oath, 1En. 60^{13-21,25} Zad. 9²⁸ 10⁶ 19¹; binding, 20⁵; of the covenant, 19^{6,8}; of cursing, 10⁷; of the woman, disallowing of, 20⁷.
 Oaths, false, Wisd. 14²⁹.
 Obdia, 1Esd. 5³⁸.
 Obedience to Law and Rabbis enforced, 2Bar. 46⁵.
 Obeth, 1Esd. 8⁸².
 Ocean, Sib. 3²²³ 5^{26,530}; stream, 1En. 17⁶ⁿ.
 Ochielus, captain over a thousand, 1Esd. 1⁹.
 Ocidelus, 1Esd. 9²².
 Ocina, Judith 2²⁸.
 Odoares. *See* Odomera.
 Odomera, 1Macc. 9⁶⁸.
 Offering, none offered for three thousand years in Sion, 4Ez. 10⁴⁵.
 Offerings, Sir. 7³¹. *See* Sacrifice.
 Office, Zad. § 4 [2⁸] 6³ 9³².
 Officials, titles of, at Philopator's court, 3Macc. 5^{1,14} 6³⁰ 7¹.
 Ohad, Jub. 44¹³.
 Oil, given by Michael to angels with full baskets, 3Bar. 15²; holy, T.L. 8⁴; of fragrance, Apoc.Mos. 40²; life, A. & E. 36²; mercy, A. & E. 40¹; of mercy *or* of glory, 2En. 22^{8,9} 56².
 Ointment, sweet, 2En. 22⁸, cf. Apoc. Mos. 9³ 13¹.
 Olamus, 1Esd. 9³⁰.
 Old age, Wisd. 4⁸. *See* Aged.
 Old Testament, attitude of Zadokites to, Zad. § 8; relation of Tobit to, Tob. § 8iv.
 Olives, Mount of, T.N. 5¹.
 Onan, T.Jud. 10⁴ Jub. 41^{4,5} 44³⁴.
 Onias I, high priest, 1Macc. 12^{7n,8,21}. *See* Spartans.
 Onias III, high priest, 2Macc. 3^{1,5,31,33,35} 4^{1,3,33,34,35,36,38} 15^{12,14}; killed, 4³⁵; Judas sees in vision, 15¹²⁻¹⁴ 1En. 90⁶ⁿ. 4Macc. 4^{1,13,15}.
 Onias IV, temple of, at Heliopolis, Sib. 5⁶⁰¹ⁿ.
 Onus, 1Esd. 5²².
 Onyx, Sir. 24¹⁵ⁿ.
 Ophannim, 1En. 61¹⁰ 71⁷ 2En. 29³⁽⁸⁾.
 Ophir, gold of, Sir. 7¹⁸ 2Bar. 10¹⁹.
 Opportunity, judgement according to. *See* Judgement.
 Oppressed, cry of, God hears, Sir. 35¹²⁻²⁰ (35¹⁴⁻²⁰). *See* Poor.
 Opus Imperfectum in Matthaum, Mart.Is. §§ 5, 6, 1-2¹ⁿ; uses Testaments, T.Jud. 10¹.
 Ora, Jub. 11¹.
 Oracle of God, Arist. 97.
 Oral. *See* Tradition.
 Orders of Angels. *See* Angels.
 Ordinances, Zad. 8²¹ 9¹; (or Foundations) of the covenant, 12¹; of the Gentiles, 10¹.

Orgies, heathen, Wisd. 12⁵ 14²³.
 Origen, Sir. § 8 T.R. 2¹ⁿ. 1En. 10(c) 10³ⁿ; Hexapla of, 1Esdras in, 1Esd. § 2.
 Original sin, in 2Baruch and 4Ezra, 2Bar. 18²ⁿ. 23⁴ⁿ. 54¹⁵ⁿ. 4Ez. 3²⁰. *See* Evil, Free-will, Inclination.
 Orioch, an angel, 2En. 33^{11(B)}.
 Orion, Sib. 5^{520,524}.
 Orjares, 1En. 78¹.
 Ornaments, wearing of, forbidden, T.R. 5⁵, cf. 1En. 8¹.
 Ormas, Arist. 47.
 Orphans and widows, care of, Tob. 1⁸ Sir. 4¹⁰, cf. Zad. 18⁵.
 Orthosia, 1Macc. 15⁸⁷.
 Osaias, 1Esd. 8⁴⁸.
 Ostanim, shining station of, 2En. 20^{1(B)}. *See* Ioanith.
 Othonias, 1Esd. 9²⁸.
 Ouranos, Sib. 3¹¹¹.
 Overcometh, he that, 4Ez. 7^{115,128}, cf. 'Contest', 7¹²⁷.
 Overthrow, i.e. Babel, Jub. 10²⁶ 12²⁵.
 Ox, son of Joseph, Judith 8¹.
 Oxus, 1En. 77¹ⁿ.
 Oxyrhynchus Greek Fragment of 2 Baruch, given in 2Bar. 12¹⁻¹⁴ 14³.
 Ozeel, T.L. 12².
 Ozias, 1Esd. 5³¹.
 Ozias, 1Esd. 8².
 Ozias, son of Micah, a Simeonite, ruler of Bethulia, Judith 6^{15,16,21} 7^{23,30} 8^{9,11,28,30} 10⁶ 13¹⁸ 14⁶ 15⁴.
 Oziel, Judith 8¹.
 Pachon, month, 3Macc. 6³⁸.
 Painting, suggested by the martyrdoms, 4Macc. 17⁷.
 Palaea Historica of Vassiliev, Ass. Mos. § 2.
 Palestine, description of, Arist. 107-120; = Eternal Land, Sib. 5⁴¹. *See* Holy Land.
 Pallu, Jub. 44¹².
 Pamphylia, 1Macc. 15²³.
 Pamphylians, Sib. 3^{109,209,515} 5^{340,460}.
 Pandonia, Sib. 3³⁴³.
 Paphos, Sib. 4¹²⁸.
 Papyrus, 3Macc. §§ 1, 4. Arist. 12ⁿ.
 Papyrus, Aramaic, of Ahikar, Ah. § 4 (II p. 777^{sg.}).
 Parable, 1En. 12³ 38¹ 43⁴ 45¹ 57³ 58¹ 60¹ 68¹ 69²⁰.
 Parables, the, 1En. 37-71; first, 38¹; second, 45¹; third, 58¹; the Book of, 68¹.
 Parables, Sir. 47¹⁷ⁿ. Ah. 81-41; and proverbs, Sir. 39^{3,9}; of N.T., parallels to in Ahikar, *see* Fig-tree, Prodigal Son, Unfaithful Steward; of wicked servant and unfruitful fig-tree, relation of to Tobit and Ahikar, Tob. § 11 B i.
 Paradise, A. & E. 1¹ 3^{1,2} 4¹ 9⁴ 10⁴ 25^{1,3} 28³ 31¹ 32¹ 36¹ 37¹ 40¹ 48⁸ S.A. & E. 31² 33³ Apoc. Mos. 1⁶ 2⁶ 9³ 13¹ 15² 16³ 17^{1,3,5} 22^{2,3} 26³ 27¹ 28¹ 29¹⁻⁴ 37⁶ 40^{2,7} 42³ 1En. 20⁷ Sib. Frag. 3⁴⁸ 2Bar. 4^{3,6} 59⁸ 4Ez. 3⁶ 4^{7,8} 7^{36,123} 8⁶²; the earthly, 2En. 8^{5n,6(A)} 81^{3,8(B)}; = Garden of Eden,

earthly, created before world, 4Ez. 3⁹ⁿ; heavenly, 2En. 81^{1-4,6n}. 42³ 65¹⁰ 4Ez. 4^{7,8} 7¹²³ 82^{0n,52n}; of delight, 7³⁶, *see* Refreshment; opened for the righteous, 8⁶²; its unfailing table, 9¹⁹ⁿ; in third heaven, Apoc. Mos. 40² 2En. 81¹⁻⁴; of the Lord = trees of life = His pious ones, Ps.Sol. 14²; of righteousness, A. & E. 25³; to be opened to righteous, T.L. 18¹⁰; of vision, A. & E. 28³.
 Paran, wilderness of, Jub. 17¹² 20¹².
 Pardon (of God only), Zad. 2³ 5⁵ 6^{4,6} 9⁵⁴ 18⁸.
 Parents and children, 4Macc. 13¹⁹ 14¹³ 15^{1sg.} 16⁶; duty to, Sir. 7^{27,28}.
 Paronomasiae in 2 Baruch, 2Bar. § 6³⁰. *See* Names, play on.
 Parthian land, Sib. 4¹²⁴.
 Parthians, Sib. 5⁴³⁸; and Medes, 1En. 56⁵.
 Party. *See* Pharisees, Sadducees, Zadokite Party.
 Passions, 4Macc. 1^{3sg.}; classified, 120ⁿ. 215^{sg.} 20ⁿ.
 Passover, 1Esd. 11-22 (*see* Josiah) Wisd. 18⁹; regulations regarding, Jub. 49¹⁻²³; wine drunk at, 49⁶ⁿ; time of sacrifice, 49¹²ⁿ.
 Patara, Sib. 3⁴⁴¹ 4¹¹².
 Path to future life, narrow and difficult, 4Ez. 7¹⁻⁹. *See* Ways.
 Pathens, 1Esd. 9²³.
 Paths, good, 1En. 91⁴; of death, 94⁴; peace, 94⁴; righteousness, Jub. 120 1En. 91^{18,19} 92³ 94¹ 99¹⁰ Zad. 11¹, *see* Ways; unrighteousness, 1En. 91¹⁹ 94¹; uprightness, 91¹⁴ 104¹³ 105²; violence, 91^{18,19}; wickedness, 94³.
 Patience, T.Jos. 27 10^{1,2}.
 Patriarchs, immortal life of, 4Macc. 7¹⁹ 13¹⁷ 16²⁵ 18²².
 Patristic literature, influence of 1 Enoch on, 1En. § 10(c).
 Patroclus. *See* Nicanor.
 Pattern, heavenly. *See* Heavenly.
 Paul, Saint, referred to (?), T.B. 11^{1,2n}; relation of, to Wisdom, Wisd. §§ 5, 8.
 Paul, Apocalypse of, relation of to 3 Baruch, 3Bar. § 5; uses 2 Enoch, 2En. § 4.
 Peace, 1En. 57⁹ 10¹⁷ 11² 58⁴ 71^{16,17} 92¹ P.A. 1^{12,18} 3²; no peace, 1En. 1⁸ 5⁴ 11² 12⁶ 13¹ 16⁴ 94⁶ 98^{11,15} 99¹³ 101⁸ 102³ 103⁸.
 Pedias, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
 Peleg, Jub. 8⁸ 10¹⁸. *See* Phaleg.
 Peleg, house of, Zad. 9⁴⁶.
 Peleus, Sib. 3⁴²⁷.
 Pella, Sib. 5⁴.
 Peneius, Sib. 3¹⁴⁶ 5¹³⁵.
 Penemue, 1En. 69⁸.
 Penitence, 1Bar. *passim*; a sacrifice, Azar. 16, 17.
 Penitent, respect for, Sir. 8⁵.
 Penitents of Israel (=Zadokites), Zad. 61 8⁹ 9²⁴; all called princes, 8⁶; leave Judah, 61 8⁶; sojourn in Damascus, 8⁹. *See* Repent.

Pentapolis = cities of plain, Sib. 5¹⁰⁶; = Cyrenaica, Wisd. 10⁶.
 Pentecost, feast of, 2Macc. 12³² Tob. 2¹. *See* Feast of Weeks.
 Pentephri, T.Jos. 12¹ 13^{1,3,4,5} 15⁶.
 Perez, Jub. 41²¹ 44¹⁵.
 Perfection of holiness, walk in, Zad. 8²¹; men of, 9^{30,32,33}.
 Pergamus, Sib. 5¹¹⁹.
 Period, Zad. § 4, 1⁵ⁿ. [2⁸] 6^{3,5,7} 8¹ [9⁴⁰] 9⁴⁸; of the destruction of the land, 8¹; of the visitation, 9^{10,11}; of the wickedness (i.e. till Messiah arises), § 10 iv, 8^{9,12} 15⁴ 19⁷; [of the wrath, 1⁵].
 Periods. *See* Hours.
 Perizzite, Judith 5¹⁶.
 Perizzites, Jub. 14¹⁸ 30²⁵ 1Esd. 8⁶⁹.
 Perjury, Wisd. 14²⁹. *See* Oaths.
 Persecution, of Jews by Antiochus, 4Macc. 4^{23sg.}; of the righteous, Wisd. 2¹⁰. *See* Antiochus Epiphanes.
 Persepolis, city, 2Macc. 9².
 Perseus, of Macedonia, 1Macc. 8⁵.
 Persia, 1Esd. 3^{1,9,14} 5⁶ 8⁸⁰ 1Macc. 3³¹ 6^{1,5} (and Media 6⁶⁰) 14² 2Macc. 11^{2,19} 9^{1,21} Judith 17¹ Sib. 3⁴⁴⁹ Ah. 3⁷ (Arab., Syr.).
 Persian, Add. Esth. E¹⁰ Bel i Arist. 13 Sib. 5^{39,113,247}; rule, Arist. 119, 120.
 Persians, 1Esd. 157 21^{2,3,11,16,30} 56^{6,71} 7⁴ 8¹ 2Macc. 138 Judith 16¹⁰ Add. Esth. E^{14,23} Arist. 35 T.N. 5⁸ Sib. 3^{159,169,207,291} 4^{62,63,65,87} 5^{22,101,116,147,441} 4Macc. 18⁵; and Medes, 1Macc. 1¹ & c.
 Pessimism, 4Ez. § 10, 320ⁿ. 427 712 936²; of 2 Baruch B² B³, 2Bar. § 10.
 Pestilence, Ps. Sol. 7⁴ⁿ. 15⁸.
 Petasus, use of, 2Macc. 4¹².
 Peter, Apocalypse of, 1En. 106¹⁰ⁿ.
 Phaath Moab, 1Esd. 5¹¹ 8³¹.
 Phacareth, 1Esd. 5³⁴.
 Phaisur, 1Esd. 9²².
 Phakorites, Jub. 14¹⁸.
 Phalaris, 3Macc. 5^{20,42}.
 Phaldeus, 1Esd. 9⁴⁴.
 Phaleas, 1Esd. 5²⁰.
 Phaleg = Peleg, Test. *App.* I 8².
 Phalerum, Arist. 9.
 Phalias, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.
 Phaltiel, captain of the people, 4Ez. 5¹⁶.
 †Phamael = Phanuel, angel, 3Bar. 2⁵.
 Phanuel (only in Parables), 1En. 40⁹ 54⁶ 71^{8,9,13}, *see* Angels, Archangels; = Ramiel(?), 3Bar. 2⁶ⁿ.
 Pharakim, 1Esd. 5³².
 Pharaoh, 1Macc. 4⁹ 3Macc. 2⁶ 6⁴ Sir. 16¹⁵ Jub. 13^{13,15} 34¹¹ 39^{2,14}, 17,18 40^{1,3-6,8,9,11} 41²² 43^{19,21} 45^{6,8} 46¹⁴ 47^{2,5,9} 48^{4,9} 49² T.Z. 3⁶ T.Jos. 21 8⁴ 13⁵; daughter of, Jub. 47^{5,9}; (=Neco) fights with Josiah at Megiddo, 1Esd. 12⁵.
 Pharathon, city, 1Macc. 9⁵⁰.
 Phares, 1Esd. 5⁵.
 Pharida, 1Esd. 5³³.
 Pharisaeic affinities of, 2Macc. § 5; exclusiveness, 1En. 97⁴

INDEX

- 104⁶; insertions in Sirach, Sir. § 4; Quietist, early type of = Chasid, Ass. Mos. § 1; recension of Sirach, Sir. § 4; teaching of Judith, Judith § 9; —Law, strict observance, Sabbath and new moon and eves kept, fasting (§5⁶), tithings, future life, § 9.
- Pharisaism, Apocalyptic or spiritual side of, directed its studies to the Prophets, Zad. §§ 8, 9.
- Pharisees, attacked in *Zad. Frag.* §§ 2, 9, 10, 12; as a party, § 5, see Zadokite Party; = builders of the wall, § 9⁴⁰, see Wall; = they that remove the landmark, § 12, see Landmark; breach of with John Hyrcanus, Test. §§ 1, 10; = 'children of heaven', 1En. 101¹; positive work of, Sir. § 4; referred to, 2Bar. 42⁹ⁿ; religious and literary strife with the Sadducees or Hellenistic party, 1En. 98¹⁶ⁿ. 102⁴-104¹³; = righteous in Ps. Sol. § 5; struggle of against Jannaeus, Sus. § 7; varying relations with the Maccabees, see Chasidim; views of, are reflected in Test. § 11; watchwords of almsgiving, repentance and prayer, Sir. § 4 (1, p. 283).
- Pharnak, Jub. 9².
- (Pharos, Arist. 301.)
- Phaselis, 1Macc. 15²³.
- Phasiron, children of, 1Macc. 9⁶⁶.
- Phassurus, 1Esd. 5²⁰.
- Pherezites, 1Esd. 8⁶⁹. See Perizzites.
- Phicol, Jub. 24²⁶.
- Philadelphus II, Arist. 115ⁿ.
- Philip, bosom friend of Antiochus, 2Macc. 9²⁹; chancellor in Antioch, 13²³ (? 1Macc. 6⁶⁰); courtier ('Friend') of Antiochus, 1Macc. 6^{14, 58, 63}.
- Philip the Macedonian, 1Macc. 1¹.
- Philip V of Macedonia, 1Macc. 8⁵.
- Philip, a Phrygian, 2Macc. 5²²; governor of Jerusalem, 6¹ 8⁸.
- Philip, Sib. 5⁶.
- Philistia, Jub. 37^{6, 10}; abhorred, Sir. 50²⁰.
- Philistines, 1Macc. 3^{24, 41} 4^{22, 30} 5^{66, 68} Sir. 46¹⁸ 47⁷ Jub. 24^{8, 14} 16, 16, 18, 28, 28 38⁷ (see Caphtorim) 4Macc. 3⁷; = dogs in, 1En. 89⁴²⁻⁴⁹; fierce hatred of, in Maccabean wars, Jub. 24²⁸⁻³²ⁿ; final rooting out, and punishment in Sheol of, 24²⁸⁻³².
- Philo, and 3 Macc., 3Macc. § 4; quoted, Wisd. 19¹⁸ⁿ. 2Bar. 21⁴ⁿ; relation of, to Letter of Aristeas, Arist. § 9; to Wisdom, Wisd. §§ 5, 7; views of, 2En. 23⁶ⁿ. 24²ⁿ. 30⁸ⁿ.
- Philocrates, Arist. 1, 120, 171, 295, 322.
- Philopator. See Ptolemy IV.
- Philosophy, 4Macc. 1¹ 5^{4sg}. 7^{7, 21}.
- Phineas, the zealous priest, 4Macc. 18¹². See Phinehas, Phinees.
- Phinees, i. e. Phinehas, 1Esd. 5⁵ 8^{2, 28}.
- Phinees, a priest, 1Esd. 8⁶⁸.
- Phinehas, son of Eleazar, Sir. 45²³ 50²⁴ 1Macc. 2^{26, 64}; obtained covenant of everlasting priesthood, Sir. 50²⁴ 1Macc. 2⁶⁴. See Phineas.
- Phinoe, 1Esd. 5³¹.
- Phoebus, Sib. 4⁴ 5^{324, 326}.
- Phoenix, Sib. 5¹²⁵.
- Phoenicia, 1Esd. 2^{17, 24, 25, 27} 4⁴⁸ 6^{3, 7, 27, 29} 7¹ 8^{19, 23, 67} 2Macc. 3^{5, 8} 4^{4, 22} 8⁸ 10¹¹ 3Macc. 3¹⁵ Arist. 12, 22 Ass. Mos. 1⁸ Sib. 5⁴⁵⁶ 4Macc. 4². See Coelestria, Syria.
- Phoenicians, Sib. 3^{168, 492, 597}.
- Phoenix, belief in, 3Bar. 6^{4n, 10} 7⁵.
- Phoenixes, 2En. 12¹ⁿ. 15¹ 19⁶.
- Phogor, Tob. 1².
- Phoros, 1Esd. 5⁹ 880 9²⁶.
- Phurrai, i. e. Purim (?), Add. Esth. F¹¹.
- Phrygia, Sib. 3^{140, 401, 407}.
- Phrygians, Sib. 3^{169, 205, 514} 4⁷¹ 5¹³⁰.
- Phua, Jub. 44¹⁶.
- Phylarches, 2Macc. 8³².
- Physcon stories, 3Macc. § 5.
- Physician, Sir. 10¹⁰ 18¹³; ordained by God to be resorted to in sickness, Sir. 38¹⁻¹⁵.
- Physicians, Tob. 2¹⁰.
- Pious, Ps. Sol. 3¹⁰ 4^{1, 7, 9} 8^{28, 40} 9⁶ 10⁷ 12^{5, 8} 13^{9, 11} 14^{2, 7} 15⁹ 17¹⁸.
- Pirkē Aboth, account, short, P.A. § 1; bibliography, § 6; historical and critical account, § 2; influence on later literature, § 4; MSS., § 3; theology, § 5; relation of, to Sirach, Sir. § 7(b).
- Piscas, Sib. 5⁵²³.
- Pisidians, Sib. 5³⁴⁰.
- Pison, Sir. 24²⁶.
- Pit, Ps. Sol. 16¹ⁿ. (see Destruction) Sir. 4¹⁰ 9⁹ 48⁶ 51², see Hades, Sheol; children of, see Children; snares of, Zad. 16¹²; of destruction, P.A. 5²²; of Hades, Sir. 21¹⁰; of torment, 4Ez. 7³⁶. See Gehenna.
- Pitane, Sib. 5¹²⁰.
- Pithon, Jub. 46¹⁴. See also Python.
- Place. See High, Holy.
- Place prepared for repose of each soul, 2En. 49². See Chambers.
- Planets, 2En. 27⁸ 30³ⁿ.
- Plant (= Israel or the righteous), of righteousness and truth, 1En. 10¹⁶ⁿ; of righteousness, 93⁵, = Israel, Jub. 16²⁶ⁿ. 36⁶; of righteousness, the eternal, 1En. 93¹⁰; of righteous judgement, 93⁵; of uprightness, 93², = Israel, Jub. 1¹⁸; of the eternal seed, 1En. 84⁶.
- Planting of pious, rooted for ever, Ps. Sol. 14³; root of God's (= Zadokites), Zad. 1⁶.
- Platonism, influence of, in Wisdom, Wisd. § 9.
- Pleiad, Sib. 5⁵²².
- Pluto, Sib. 3¹⁴³.
- Political problems, Arist. § 6, 5.
- Pollute, one's holy spirit, Zad. 7¹², cf. 8²⁰; sanctuary, 7⁸ 9⁴⁸, cf. 6¹¹; wealth, 8¹².
- Pollution, of holy things, i. e. Temple, Ps. Sol. 1⁸ 2⁸ 8¹³; of the nations, 1Esd. 1⁴⁹; of the sacrifices, T.L. 16¹ⁿ.
- Polybius, relation of 3 Macc. to, 3Macc. § 5.
- Polygamy denounced, Zad. 7¹⁻⁴.
- Pompey, Zad. § 6; invades Judaea, 1Bar. § 7; the foreign conqueror in Ps. Sol. § 5; alien, 17⁹; boasting of, 2³⁸⁻³⁵; comes from West, 17¹⁴; desecrates Temple, 2² 7²; enters Jerusalem in peace, 8¹⁸⁻²⁰; lawless one, 17¹³; slain dishonourably in Egypt, 2^{30sgg}; the insolent one, 2³⁰; = the dragon, 2²⁹.
- Poor and oppressed, right conduct towards, Sir. 4¹⁻¹⁰; anxieties of, 31 (34)¹⁻⁴; cannot associate with rich, 13¹⁸⁻²⁰; duty to, Sir. 7^{32, 33}; how treated by world, 13²¹⁻²³; of the flock = they that give heed to God, Zad. 9¹⁰⁽⁹⁾; robbery of, Zad. 8¹³ brings pestilence, P.A. 5¹²; strengthen hand of (almsgiving), Zad. 8¹⁷ 18³.
- Portents in Nature, signs of the end, 4Ez. 5⁴⁻⁹ 6^{21, 22}.
- Porters at temple-gates, 1Esd. 1¹⁵.
- Poseidon, Sib. 3¹⁴² 5¹⁵⁷. See Thunderer.
- Posidonius, 2Macc. 14¹⁹.
- Potiphar, Jub. 34¹¹ 39² 40¹⁰ 44²⁴.
- Potter and clay, T.N. 2²⁻⁴.
- Power, angels of. See Angels.
- Powers, of heaven, 1En. 82⁸; on earth, 61¹⁰; over water, 61¹⁰.
- Powers = angels, 3Bar. 1⁸ⁿ; of the Lord, Azar. 39.
- Praise of Fathers of old, see Fathers; of God, see God; of Simeon, high priest, son of Jochanan, Sir. 49^{16b-50²⁴}; of wisdom, Sir. 24¹⁻³⁴, see Wisdom.
- Pravuil, an archangel, 2En. 22^{11, 12(A)} 23². See Vretil.
- Prayer, Tob. § 10 B (2) 3¹⁶ 12⁸ Sir. 51¹⁻¹² Arist. 196-197 P.A. 2¹⁷; almsgiving and fasting, Tob. § 10 B (2); and fasting, T. Jos. 3⁴ 4⁸ 10^{1, 2} T.B. 1⁴; at dawn, Wisd. 16²⁸; for deliverance, 3Macc. 5^{6sg}. 6^{1sg}; for Israel, a, Sir. 36¹⁻¹⁷ (33^{1-13a} 36^{16b-22}); for sanctity of Temple, 3Macc. 2^{sg}; for sins, Sir. 21¹; hours of, 2En. 51⁴; memorial of, Tob. 12¹²; need of, in all things, Sir. 37¹⁵; of Ezra, see Confessio Esdrae; of the poor, efficacy of, Sir. 35¹⁴⁻¹⁷; of righteous, 1En. 47^{1, 2, 4} 97^{8, 5} 99³ Zad. 14¹, heard by God, Ps. Sol. 6⁸; prominence of, in Test. XII Patr.; Jacob's, for Reuben, T.R. 17⁴; Judah, T. Jud. 19²; Gad, T.G. 5⁹; Benjamin, T.B. 10¹; ten eldest sons, T.B. 3⁶; Levi's, T.N. 6⁸; Rachel's, T.B. 1⁴; Simeon's, T.S. 2¹³; Simeon's mother's, T.S. 2²; Joseph's, T. Jos. 3³ 6⁷ 7⁴ 8¹.
- Prayer of Manasses, date of composition, § 6; description, § 1; history, literary, of, § 3; language, original, of, § 7; MSS., Latin, of, § 13ⁿ; origin of, § 2; preservation, § 4; summary, § 13; text, § 12; theology, § 8; title, § 5; versions of, §§ 9, 10, 11, 13—English, § 13; Greek and Latin, § 9; other, § 11, Syriac, § 10.
- Prayers, for dead, 2Macc. 12⁴², 42ⁿ; of Judith, Judith 9²⁻¹⁴ 13⁷; of men, received by Michael, 3Bar. 11⁴.
- Precept, P.A. 2¹ 4^{2, 13}; reward of, P.A. 2^{1, 2, 18, 20} 3⁴ 4².
- Precepts, on right-doing, Sir. 4²⁰⁻²⁸; for everyday life, 4²⁹⁻⁵⁵, see Duty; for conduct, 7¹¹⁻¹⁷.
- Predestination, Sir. 33 (36)⁷⁻¹⁵ Ass. Mos. 1^{13, 14} 12¹³ (see Pre-existence) 2En. 49² 50¹ (see Man, works of) Zad. §§ 9⁴⁰ 13, 26¹⁰, see Election; and Free-will in Judaism, 2Bar. 54¹⁵, 19ⁿ; in 4 Ezra, of duration of age and time of end, 4³³⁻⁴³ 61¹⁻⁶; of harvest of evil, 4²⁸⁻³¹; of number of righteous, see Number; Judgement, 7⁷⁰.
- Pre-existence, Wisd. 8¹⁰ⁿ; heavenly, of Messiah, 4Ez. 13²⁰ⁿ. 1En. 48², see Messiah; of Moses, Ass. Mos. 1¹⁴ⁿ; of souls, 2En. 23⁶ⁿ, see Souls.
- Preferences, God's, in Man and Nature, Sir. 33⁷⁻¹⁵. See Predestination.
- Pre-Maccabean elements in 1 Enoch, 1En. § 1; high priests, Ass. Mos. 5^{3, 4n}.
- Preparedness, need of, Sir. 18¹⁹⁻²⁰. See Foresight, Forethought.
- Presence, angels of, see Angels; presences, the four, 1En. 40¹⁻⁸, see Angels.
- Present, enjoy the, Sir. 14¹⁴⁻¹⁶.
- Presumptuously, acting, Sir. 3¹⁶.
- Priam, Sib. 3⁴²⁷.
- Pride, ruinous in rulers, Sir. 10⁶⁻¹⁸.
- Priest, Zad. 15^{5, 7} 17⁵; confess to, 10⁸; duty to, Sir. 7²⁹⁻³¹; of God, purity required in, Ah. 2⁶³ (Syr. A); of Most High God, title claimed by Maccabean high priests, Jub. 32¹ Ass. Mos. 6¹.
- Priesthood, above the kingdom, T. Jud. 21^{3, 4}; robes, staff, diadem, anointing, &c. of, T.L. 8²⁻¹⁰; rules of, Test. App. II 15-57—purity, 16-22, 53-55; wood for sacrifice, 23-25; sacrifice, method of, 25-47; salt, 26, 29, 37, 52. See Melchizedek.
- Priests, Jewish, in Egypt, 3Macc. 6¹ 7¹³.
- Prince, Zad. 7⁴; no prince, 9⁴⁰; of all the congregation = the sceptre, 9⁹; of lights, see Lights.
- Princes = the penitents of Israel, Zad. 8⁵; digged a well, 8⁵; of Judah, 9¹³ⁿ, see 8⁵; of old,

INDEX

i. e. angels, who fell, Sir. 167. *See* Giants.
 Prodigal Son, parable of, parallel phrasing in Ah. 8²⁴ (Arm.).
 Profane. *See* Holy, Name, Sabbath, Sanctuary.
 Profane man, Ps.Sol. 4¹ⁿ. *See* Pollution.
 Property, lost, law as to, Zad. 10⁷⁻⁹; of camp, 10⁷.
 Prophecy, Sir. 24³³ⁿ; of heaven, T.B. 3⁸; of Moses in Deuteronomy, Ass. Mos. 1⁵.
 Prophecy a lie, Zad. 8².
 Prophet, Zad. 5⁶ 6⁹ 9², *see* Ezekiel, Isaiah, Zechariah; expected, to decide on polluted altar, 1 Macc. 4⁴⁶; Messianic, T.B. 9²; no longer any, implied in 1 Macc. 9²⁷ⁿ; of God, the, = Moses, Ass. Mos. 11¹⁶; of the Most High, i. e. John Hyrcanus, T.L. 8¹⁵.
 Prophets, 1 En. 108⁶ P.A. 1¹; books of = Chiun your images, Zad. 9⁷, ten times quoted in Zad. §§ 8, 9³⁰, 10, *see* Halachoth, Law and Prophets; Job among, Sir. 49³ⁿ; made by Wisdom, Wisd. 7²⁷ⁿ; shall take away sword, be judges, Sib. 3⁷⁸¹; the Twelve, Sir. 49¹⁰. *See* Law and Prophets.
 Prophets, works of, pulled down, 1 Macc. 9⁶⁴.
 Propitiation = forgiveness, Sir. 18²⁰ⁿ.
 Propontis, Sib. 3⁴⁴².
 Proselyte, Zad. 17².
 Proselytes, Tob. 1⁸ 2 Bar. 41⁴ⁿ. 42⁵ 48¹⁹.
 Proselytizing, 2 Bar. 1⁴.
 Proseuche, place of prayer, in Egypt, 3 Macc. 7²⁰.
 Prosperity of wicked, Sir. 11¹⁸⁻²⁴.
 Proverbs, the Book of, relation of to Wisdom, Wisd. § 5; of Ahikar, Ah. 2¹⁻¹⁰⁵; various, Sir. 8⁸ 13²⁴⁻¹⁴ 18²⁰.
 Providence, Arist. 201. *See* God, titles of.
 Provinces, one hundred and twenty-seven, Add.Esth. B⁴ⁿ.
 Prudence, evil sort of, Sir. 19²³.
 Psalms of Solomon, account, short, § 1; character, § 5; date, § 5; MSS., Greek, § 2; origin, § 5; original language, Hebrew, § 4; references to, § 5; relation of Ps. Sol. 11 to 1 Bar. 4³⁶⁻⁵⁹, 1 Bar. § 6; Syriac version, from Greek, § 3.
 Psalter, Canticles appended to contain P. Man., P. Man. § 4.
 Psammetichus, Arist. 13.
 Pseudepigrapha, 1 En. § 1; implied in Zad. Frag. 9²⁸ (A), (Jeremiah's word to Baruch, Elisha's to Gehazi); recognized largely until A.D. 70, Zad. § 8.
 Pseudo-Cyprian, 1 En. 1⁹ⁿ.
 Pseudonymous publication, 1 En. § 1.
 Psychology, Arist. § 4 (6), 155-156, 160, 213-216, *see* Heart, Inclination, Senses; heart be changed and converted to a different spirit, 4 Ez. 6²⁶; of

mind, sprung from dust, 7⁶²; mind grows with us, 7⁶⁴; heart and understanding, 8⁶.
 Ptolemaeus, Add.Esth. F¹¹. *See* Lysimachus.
 Ptolemais, 1 Macc. 5^{15,21,56} 10¹, 39, 56-58, 60 11^{22,24} 12^{45,48} 13¹² 2 Macc. 13^{24,25} Arist. 116; 'at the harbour,' 3 Macc. 7¹⁷.
 Ptolemy I, son of Lagus, Arist. 13, 14.
 Ptolemy II, Philadelphus, Arist. 35, 41 Arist. § 1.
 Ptolemy IV, Sir. 10⁹⁻¹¹ⁿ 3 Macc. §§ 1, 5, 1¹ⁿ *et passim*.
 Ptolemy VI, Philometor, 1 Macc. 1¹⁸ 10⁶¹ⁿ, 55, 57 (11¹) 11^{3,8,13,15-18} 2 Macc. 4²¹ 9²⁹ 10¹³ Sib. 3¹⁹²ⁿ, 316ⁿ, 388-400ⁿ, 608ⁿ. 4 Macc. 4²².
 Ptolemy VII, Euergetes II Physcon, 1 Macc. 15¹⁶.
 Ptolemy, king, *See* Aristobulus.
 Ptolemy VIII (Lathyrus) and Cleopatra, Add.Esth. F¹¹ⁿ.
 Ptolemy Macron, son of Dorymenes, 1 Macc. 3³⁸ⁿ 2 Macc. 4^{45,46} 6⁸ 8⁸; governor of Coele-syria and Phoenicia, 8⁸ 10¹²; suicide, 10¹³.
 Ptolemy of Megalopolis, history of, 3 Macc. § 5.
 Ptolemy, son of Abubus, son-in-law of Simon, murders Simon, 1 Macc. 16¹⁴ⁿ, 15, 16, 18.
 Punishment, P.A. 5¹¹; after death, no mention of in Sirach, Sir. § 9v, *see* Future; appropriate, Wisd. 11¹⁶; differentiated, 6⁶ 11¹⁰; eternal, *see* Destruction. In 1 En., 41²ⁿ. 60⁶ 80⁸ 106¹⁷; earth cleansed from all, 10²²; of kings, 1 En. 56⁷; on the earth, great, 106¹⁷; of (from) Lord of Spirits, 54⁷ 60²⁵; (? Messiah shall know, Zad. 18⁹); mild recommended, Arist. § 6, 188, 208; of Jerusalem, 4 Macc. 4^{21sg}; place of, Adam and Eve in, 2 En. 41¹ⁿ; remedial, Wisd. § 9; temporal, Sir. 9^{8,12,13}. *See* Angels, Chastisement, Eternal, Future, Judgement, Wrath.
 Pupils, class of, i. e. Yeshibah, Sir. 51²⁰ⁿ; rules for, by schools of Shammai and Hillel, Sir. 51²³ⁿ.
 Purgatory, belief in, 4 Ez. 7¹³⁷ⁿ.
 Purification, Levitical laws of, Jub. 3⁴⁻¹⁴; of Jerusalem, by martyrs, 4 Macc. 1¹¹ 18¹¹.
 Purim, feast of, Add.Esth. F¹¹ⁿ.
 Purity, exclude from Zad. 10¹³, 14. *See* Excommunication.
 Put, Judith 2²³ Jub. 7¹³ 9¹ Test. App. I 9⁴.
 Pyramus, Sib. 4⁹⁷.
 Python = Pithom, Sib. 5¹⁸²ⁿ.
 †Qafratef, Jub. 34¹⁵.
 Qelt, Jub. 8²⁶.
 Quarrels, warnings against, Sir. 28⁸⁻¹²; with powerful, rich, and boastful, warnings against, 8¹⁻³. *See* Disputes.
 Quarters, the Four, 1 En. 77¹⁻³.
 Quietism, Ass. Mos. § 9.
 Quotations from O.T., how introduced in Zad. Frag., Zad. § 8; include Law, Prophets, and

Hagiographa, § 8; from an apocryph, 'Jannes and Jambres,' § 8.
 Raaboth, Jub. 38²¹.
 Raamses, Jub. 46¹⁴.
 Rabael, i. e. Arbela, T.Jud. 7⁹. *See* Robel.
 Rabbi = Judah the Prince, or the Holy, P.A. 2¹ⁿ. 4²⁷ 6⁹.
 Rabbinic citations of Sirach, Sir. § 3 ii.
 Rabbinites attacked in Zad. Frag. § 2.
 Rabbis, party among, favourable to apocalyptic, 4 Ez. 14ⁿ.
 Rabshakeh, Sir. 48¹⁸.
 Rachel, Jub. 28^{1,3-5,8-10,12,16,17,19,20,24} 29^{1,2} 31² 32^{3,33,34} 33^{2,22} 34¹⁰ 36²³ 44^{23,26,27,32} T.Iss. 1³, 6-8, 10, 14 (β-δ) 21, 2, 4 T.N. 1⁶⁻⁹.
 T.Jos. 20⁸ T.B. 1⁸⁻⁵ Test. App. I 1¹; death of, Jub. 32³⁴.
 Rafa, mountain range, Jub. 81^{2,16,28}.
 Ragau, Judith 15¹⁵.
 Rages, Tob. 4^{1,20} 5⁶ 6¹³ 9².
 Raguel, Tob. 1¹.
 Raguel, Tob. 3^{7,17} 6^{11,13} 7^{1,6}.
 Raguel, an angel, 1 En. 20⁴ 23⁴.
 Raguil, an angel, 2 En. 33⁶ (A, 'Rasuil' B), cf. Raguel, 1 En. 20⁴.
 Rahab, monsters of, Sir. 43²⁵.
 Rakeel, Jub. 43⁸.
 Ram = Chasidim, 1 En. 90^{10,11}; David, 89⁴⁶⁻⁴⁹; Elijah, 90³¹; Judas Maccabaeus, 90¹³⁻¹⁶; Saul, 89⁴³⁻⁴⁷.
 Ramathaim, 1 Macc. 11³⁴ⁿ.
 Rameses, Judith 1¹⁰ Jub. 45⁶.
 Rameel, 1 En. 6⁷.
 Ramiel, 1 En. 6⁷.
 Ramiel = Remiel, 2 Bar. 55³ⁿ 63⁶.
 Ransom for sin, martyrs' death as, 4 Macc. 17²².
 Raphael, Tob. 3¹⁷ 5⁴ 6^{10,14,18} 9⁵ 12¹⁵ 1 En. 9¹ 10⁴ 20² 22^{3,6} 32⁶ 40⁹ 54⁶ 68^{2,3,4} 71^{8,9,13}, *see* Angels, Archangels; functions of, in Tobit, later attributed to Michael, Tob. § 10.
 Raphael, Tob. 1¹.
 Raphaim, Judith 8¹.
 Raphia, battle, 3 Macc. 1¹⁻⁶.
 Raphon, city, 1 Macc. 5³⁷.
 Rassas, children of, Judith 2²³.
 Rasueja, Jub. 8¹.
 Rasuil. *See* Raguil.
 Rasujal, Jub. 4¹⁶.
 Rasuj, Jub. 34²⁰.
 Rathumus, the story-writer, a Samaritan, 1 Esd. 2^{16,17,26,30}.
 Ravenna, Sib. 5²⁰⁶.
 Ravens = Syrians, 1 En. 90⁸⁻¹².
 Ravine, deep and dry (= valley of Hinnom), 1 En. 26^{4,6}; deep and narrow (= Kedron or valley of Jehoshaphat), 1 En. 26⁹. *See* Abyss, Chasm, Valley.
 Razis, an elder at Jerusalem, commits suicide, 2 Macc. 14³⁷.
 Reason (Inspired), in 4 Macc. 1^{1sg}. 2^{2sg}. 3^{1sg}. 5³¹ 6^{31sg}. 13^{1sg}. 16^{1sg}. definition of, 4 Macc. 1¹ⁿ. 1¹⁵; as master-gardener of the mind, 1²⁹; compared to a harbour-mole, 13⁶; guide of the virtues, 1³⁰; not extirpator, but antagonist of the

passions, § 1, 1⁶ 3⁵; not master over forgetfulness, &c., 1⁵ 2²⁴ 3¹; is a spark, Wisd. 2²ⁿ.
 Rebecca, Jub. 19^{10,12,16,26,31} 22⁴ 23⁴ 25^{1,4} 26^{3,5,7,9,10,11} 27^{1,6,7,8,12,13,18} 28¹ 29¹⁶ 31^{3,5,6,80} 32^{30,31} 33²¹ 35^{1,18} 36²¹ T.L. 6⁸.
 Rebellion. *See* Israel.
 Rebuke, in righteousness, Zad. 9⁴⁰; one's brother, 81⁹; neighbour, 10^{2,5}. *See* Reproof.
 Recensions, two—of Daniel—of Hebrew Psalm, Ps.Sol. 11 and 1 Bar. 4⁵⁻⁵⁹—of Zadokite Fragments (A and B), 1 Bar. § 6n. 5².
 Reckoning up of sins, Wisd. 4²⁰.
 Recompense, of God to those who serve Him, Sir. 17¹⁵⁻²⁴; of the wicked, Zad. 9².
 Record, Zad. 4^{2,3} 16⁵ 17³.
 Rectitude (ἀπλότης), T.R. 4¹ T.S. 3²ⁿ. 4⁵ &c. *See* Singleness.
 Red Sea, 1 Macc. 4⁹ Judith 5¹³ Jub. 82¹ 9^{2,4} Ass. Mos. 3¹¹.
 Reelias, 1 Esd. 5⁸.
 Reem, the, Test. App. I 3¹.
 References, in Zad. Frag. to 'Book of the Hagu', Zad. 11² &c., *see* Hagu; 'Jannes and Jambres,' 7¹⁹; Jubilees, 20⁴; 'Ordinances of the Covenant,' 11²; Testaments of XII Patriarchs, 61⁰. *See* § 8.
 Refreshment, place of, 4 Ez. 7^{36,38}. *See* Paradise.
 Regim, 2 En. 1¹⁰ 57².
 Register, Zad. 9²⁹ (B).
 Registration of Egyptian Jews, 3 Macc. 2³² 4^{14sg}. 1²².
 Regulation, in Zad. Frag.: as to almsgiving, Zad. 18¹⁻⁵; as to judges, 11¹⁻⁴; for the many, 18¹; of Censor of camp, 16⁴; of dwellers in cities of Israel, 15^{1,4}; of dwellers of all the camps, 17¹.
 Reins, the, T.N. 2⁸.
 Remembrance. *See* Book.
 Remiel, 1 En. 20⁸ 2 Bar. 55³ 3 Bar. 2⁵ⁿ, *see* Ramiel; = Jeremiel, angel, 4 Ez. 4³⁶ⁿ.
 Remnant, Zad. 1⁴ 2^{5,9}; to be taught by Messiah, 2^{9,10}.
 Remorse of ungodly, Wisd. 4²⁰⁻⁵¹⁴.
 Renew. *See* Creation, Earth, Heaven, Luminaries.
 Repay evil with good, Ah. 2²¹ (Syr. B).
 Repent, 1 En. 50² 55¹; of transgression, Zad. 2⁹ 9⁴¹, cf. 9¹⁵. *See* Penitents, Return.
 Repentance, Sir. § 4 Wisd. 12¹⁹ P.A. 4^{13,22} 5²¹, and confession, Sir. 4²⁶ⁿ. 17²⁵⁻³² 18²¹; appointed by God for some (as Manasseh), P.Man. 7, and not for others (as Abraham), § 8; call to, Wisd. 11²³ 12^{10,19}; cleansed through, Zad. 10¹⁶; covenant of, Zad. 9¹⁵ (B); day of, Ass. Mos. 1¹⁸; example of, Sir. 44¹⁶ⁿ; exhortation to, Sir. 17²⁵⁻³²; God's mercy leads to, Wisd. 11²³; meritorious, Sir. 17²⁴ⁿ. 18²¹ⁿ; of individual, T.R. 1⁹ 2¹ T.S. 2¹³ T.Jud. 15⁴ T.G. 5⁶⁻⁸ T.Jos. 6⁶ T.B. 5⁴; of nation, T.Jud. 23⁵ⁿ. T.Z. 9⁷

INDEX

T.D. 6⁴; necessary to coming of kingdom, Ass.Mos. 1¹⁸*n.*; one day before death, i.e. at once, P.A. 2¹⁴*n.*; place of, Wisd. 12^{10,20} 4Ez. 9¹²; place of, no, 2Bar. 85¹²; = return to Law, 4Ez. 7¹³³, cf. Zad. 19^{9,11,14} 20²; unto hope, 1En. 40⁸. Contrast 'No place of repentance', 1En. 65¹¹, and 63¹⁻¹¹.

Rephaim, Jub. 14¹⁸ 29⁹.

Reproof of friend, duty of, Sir. 19¹³⁻¹⁷ Zad. 10¹⁰.

Resaias, 1Esd. 5⁸.

Resignation to God's Will, Sir. 24⁶⁻⁶.

Rest, a, 4Ez. 8⁸²; for souls of righteous, not of wicked, 4Ez. 7^{80,91,95}.

Restitution, Zad. 10⁸ 19⁵.

Resurrection, 2Macc. 12⁴³ 1En. § 11(c), 51¹*n.* 5⁷ 22¹³ 51¹ 61⁵ 90³³ 91¹⁰ 100⁵ T.Jud. 25^{1,4} T.Z. 10² T.B. 10⁶⁻⁸ 2En. 50²*n.* 65⁶; at close of temporary Messianic kingdom, 2Bar. 30²; belief in, 2Macc. 7⁹*sq.* 12⁴⁴; for judgement, 2Bar. 50⁴; in 1Enoch, differing conceptions of: (a) to earthly Messianic kingdom of eternal duration of soul (spirit) and body, 1En. 6-36, 83-90; (b) to spiritual kingdom, in which the righteous have a spiritual body, 37-71; (c) resurrection of spirit only, 91-104, cf. 91¹⁰ 100⁵; not referred to in 1Bar. § 11; of body, 2En. 65⁶ 2Bar. 50-51*n.*, not expected in Jubilees, Jub. § 15, nor in 4 Ezra, § 9; of godly, Sib. 4¹⁸⁷⁻¹⁹¹; of good and evil deeds, 4Ez. 7³⁰; of life and spirit, 2Macc. 14⁴⁶; of martyrs to life everlasting, 7^{9,11,14}, see Life; of patriarchs, then of righteous, Test. § 16 T.B. 10⁶⁻⁸; postulated for participation of pious dead in blessedness of final age, 4Ez. 54¹*n.*; of righteous only with bodies, 2Macc. 7^{11,23} 14⁴⁶; to life eternal, i.e. participation in Messianic kingdom on earth, 2Macc. § 7; spiritual, of righteous, Jub. 23³¹.

Retribution, P.A. 1⁷ 2¹⁸⁻²⁰ 4¹², 13¹⁹ 5^{1,2,11,20} 6⁵; doctrine of, in Sirach, Sir. § 9v, 21¹⁰*n.*; confined to this life, 41^{3,4}; individual, 28¹¹ 91² 11²⁶ 12²; continued in fortunes of descendants, 11²⁸*n.* 23²⁴⁻²⁶ 40¹⁵ 41⁶ 44¹¹⁻¹³, see Sheol; future, Wisd. 19¹⁶*n.*; in kind, § 1, 11^{5,16}; national and individual, 1 En. § 11; on the sinner, Sir. 3²⁶⁻²⁸ 16⁶⁻¹⁴, see Punishment, Wrath; theory of, 2Macc. 6¹²⁻¹⁶. See Judgement.

Return, from corrupt way, Zad. 19⁷; to law of Moses, 19^{9,11,14} 20².

Return to Jerusalem, first, under Cyrus, 1Esd. 2⁸⁻¹⁵ (Sheshbazzar); second under Darius, 5¹⁻⁴³ (Zerubbabel), register of, 5⁷⁻⁴⁶; under Artaxerxes, 8¹⁻⁴⁰ (Ezra).

Reu, Jub. 10¹⁸ 11¹.

Reuben, Jub. 28^{1,17} 33^{2,4,7,8,9,15,22} 34²⁰ 38^{7,8} 42¹⁸ 44¹² T.R. 1^{1,25} 3⁹ 7¹ T.S. 2^{9,10} T.L. 6³ T.Jud. 5² 6⁷ 13³ 25² T.Iss. 1^{3,4} T.Z. 2⁷ 4^{5,7} T.G. 1⁶ Test. App. II 3; defiles Jacob's bed, T.R. 1⁶ 3¹⁴; punished, T.R. 1⁷.

Reveal, hidden things wherein all Israel had erred, Zad. 5¹; salvation and righteousness, 9⁴³.

Revealed, everything that was of the law, Zad. 19¹².

Revelation. See Apocalyptic, Apocrypha.

Revelations, gained by Adam after eating of tree, A. & E. 29²⁻¹⁰; of Enoch, to be handed down, 2En. 33³; and kept till the end of time, 33¹¹; revealed to faithful in due time, 35²; preceded by fasting, see Fasts; to be kept secret = Apocrypha, 1En. 82¹ 104¹¹⁻¹³ Ass. Mos. 1¹⁶ 10¹¹ 11¹ 4Ez. 12³⁷*n.* 14^{26,46,47}. See Faithful.

Revenge forbidden, Ah. 2^{17,18,21} (Syr. B). See Forgiveness.

Reward, P.A. 2^{1,2,19,20} 3⁴ 4¹ 5¹⁶; for faithful, 4Ez. 7⁸²; laid up with Most High, 13³⁶; of filial duty, Sir. 3¹⁻¹⁸; of loyalty to the law, 33(36)¹⁻³; of righteousness and sin, 27⁸⁻¹⁰; of righteous, 32⁹⁻³¹ 11²² 16^{13,14}; of those who seek Wisdom, 4¹¹⁻¹⁹; of wise, 20^{27,28}. See Nemesis, Recompense, Retribution.

Rewards of precepts, P.A. 2¹*n.*

Rhea. Sib. 3^{122,132,135,138,143,148,150,402} 5¹³¹.

Rhodes, 1Macc. 15²³ Sib. 3⁴⁴⁴.

Rhodians, Sib. 4¹⁰¹.

Rhodocus, a traitor, 2Macc. 13²¹.

Rhodophorus, title of Ptolemais, 3Macc. 7¹⁷.

Rhvndacus, Sib. 3⁴⁴³.

Rich, avoid quarrels with, Sir. 8²; avoid associating with, 13²⁻⁸; and poor cannot associate, 13¹⁸⁻²⁰; how treated by world, 13²¹⁻²³; anxieties of, 31(34)¹⁻⁴; fool, parable of, 11¹⁹*n.*; Lord of. See God, titles of.

Riches, Tob. 12⁸ 1En. 46⁷ 94⁸ 96⁴ 97¹⁰ 100⁶, cf. 98³ 103⁵. See Mammon, Wealth.

Right-doing, precepts on, Sir. 4²⁰⁻²⁸.

Righteous, 1En. 1⁸*n.* 5⁶ 10^{17,21} 25⁴ 38⁹⁻⁵ 39⁴ 43⁴ 45⁶ 47^{1,2,4} 48^{1,7,9} 50² 53⁷ 56⁷ 58^{3,5} 60² 61⁸ 62³ 82⁴ 91¹⁰ 94^{3,11} 95^{3,7} 96^{1,8} 97^{1,3,5} 98¹²⁻¹⁴ 99³ 100^{6,7,10} 102^{4,10} 103¹ 104^{1,6,12,13} Ps.Sol. 2³⁸ 3^{3-8,14} 4⁹ 10³ 13⁵⁻⁸ 14⁶ 15⁸ 16¹⁰; good name of, lasts for ever, Sir. 41¹¹⁻¹³, see Reward; observed faithfully the law, 4Ez. 7^{89,94}; One, see Messiah; only seem to die, Wisd. 3²; = Pharisees or Chasidim in Ps. Sol. § 5, hope in future life, 13⁹⁻¹¹ 14³ 15¹⁵ 17¹⁻³, Messianic expectation, spiritual, 17²³ 18⁶, oppose non-Davidic, i.e. Hasmonaean monarchy, 17^{7,8}; pious, § 5, 3¹⁰ &c.;

political Quietists, 12⁶; poor, 10⁷ 15² 18³; prayer of, 1En. 47^{1,2,4} 97^{3,5} 99³ Zad. 14¹; risen, the, 2Bar. 51¹⁰*n.*; soul of, attacked, Zad. 1¹⁵; to shine as light of stars, 2Bar. 51¹⁰ 4Ez. 7⁹⁷.

Righteousness, Tob. 4^{5,6} 12⁸; = almsgiving, Sir. 7¹⁰*n.*; by the Law, 2Bar. 67⁶; imputed, denied, 4Ez. 7¹⁰²⁻¹¹⁵*n.*, see 820-40*n.*; Messiah and, 1En. 39⁶ 46³ 53⁷ 61⁴ 62³ 71^{14,16}; various conceptions of, 2Bar. 24¹*n.*; week of, 1En. 91¹². See Paths, Statutes, Teacher.

Rim. See Riman.

Riman, 2En. 57² (A, 'Rim' B).

River = Euphrates, 4Ez. 13^{43,44,47}.

River, fiery, 2En. 10²*n.*, cf. 1En. 14¹⁹.

Rivers, the seven, 1En. 77⁵⁻⁷.

Robe, of priesthood, T.L. 8²; of righteousness from God, 1Bar. 5².

Robel, i.e. Arbela, Jub. 34⁸.

Rock of Isaac, i.e. God, Sir. 51^{128,1}.

Roimus, 1Esd. 5⁸.

Roman, Sib. 4²²; conquest of Judaea, 1Bar. § 1; destruction of Jerusalem, Jews suffer terribly in, 1Bar. § 7; emperors, history of, Sib. 5¹²⁻⁵⁰; Empire = eagle of 4Ez. 10⁶⁰⁻¹²³; doom of, 11⁴¹⁻⁴⁵.

Romans, 1Macc. § 7iii (a)(c) (letters to, 81-32*n.*, see Letters) 81^{23,27,29} 12¹⁶ 14⁴⁰ 15¹⁶ 2Macc. 4¹¹ 81^{0,36} 11³⁴; letter of, 11³⁴, historicity of, § 1. See Gabinus, Judaea, Pompey.

Rome, 1Macc. 1¹⁰ 7^{18,17,19,24,26,28} 12^{1,3} 14^{16,24} 15¹⁵ Sib. 3^{46,52,161,350,352,356,364} 4^{123,138,146} 5^{139,443,463}; already feared in Sib. 3¹⁷⁵⁻¹⁹³; conquest of Greece by, 3⁵²⁰*sqq.*; doom of, 5³⁸⁶⁻⁴⁰²; great disaster to, in Asia, 3³⁰⁰⁻³⁰²; wickedness concentrated in, in Eagle Vision, 4Ez. 11-12, § 10; will fall under Messiah, 12³².

Root. See Planting.

Rosh, Jub. 44²⁵.

Rothaus, T.N. 1¹⁰.

Royal treasury, Tob. 1²⁰.

Rude man, i.e. *bōr*, P.A. 2⁶*n.* 5¹⁰.

Rufinus, Sir. § 8.

Rule, i. e. halachah, P.A. 3^{16,23} 5^{10,11}.

Ruler of Zadokites, to be Priest or Levite, Zad. 15⁴⁻⁶. See Judges.

Rulers, need of wisdom in, Sir. 9¹⁷⁻¹⁰; pride in, ruins nations, 10⁶⁻¹⁸; avoid associating with, 13⁹⁻¹³. See Mighty.

†Rumael, 1En. 69².

Rumjal, 1En. 69².

Rust, of wickedness, Sir. 12^{10,11}; treasures not to, 29¹⁰.

Sabanneus, 1Esd. 9³³.

Sabannus, 1Esd. 8⁶³.

Sabateus, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸.

Sabathus, 1Esd. 9²⁸.

Sabbateus, 1Esd. 9¹⁴.

Sabbataeus, an elder, Arist. 48.

Sabbataeus, an elder, Arist. 49.

Sabbatarianism, 2 Macc. 8²⁶*sq.* 12³⁸ 15⁴.

Sabbath, 2Macc. 5²⁵ 6^{5,11} 8²⁸ 15^{1,3} Jub. 2^{1,17-21,24,28-31} 4¹⁸ 2En. 32²; carefully observed by Judas Maccabaeus, 2Macc. 8²⁶⁻²⁹; day, 1Macc. 2^{32,35,38}; massacre of faithful Jews on, 2³³⁻³⁸ 9^{34,43} 10³⁴; by Apollonius, 2Macc. 5²⁴⁻²⁷. In Jubilees: § 15, 2¹⁷⁻³¹; appointed as a sign for all God's works, not observed by lower orders of angels, as by higher, § 15, 2^{1,17,32}; observed by highest angels, 2¹⁸; by Israel also later, 2^{20-24,27-33}; fasting on, 50¹⁴; journey on, 50⁸*n.*; laws regarding, 50⁸⁻¹³; strict observance of, 50⁸*n.*; war on, 50¹², see 1 Macc. 2³¹⁻³⁸ 2Macc. 6¹¹ 15¹. In Zad. Frag.: holy, Zad. 13¹ 14³; journey, limit to, 13^{7,14}; laws regarding, 13^{1-11,13-27}; observe, 8¹⁵ 13¹; profane, 14⁶; keeping of, permitted by Demetrius I, 1 Macc. 10³⁴; meaning of, in Lev. 23^{15,16}, (i) = feast day, (ii) = seventh day of unleavened bread, (iii) = weekly Sabbath, Jub. 15¹*n.*; mourning on, forbidden, Apoc. Mos. 43³*n.*; not to be kept, 2 Macc. 6⁵; profaning of, 1Macc. 1^{43,45} 2³⁴*n.*; profaning of, tolerated, 1Macc. § 3, 2⁴¹*n.*; sign of resurrection and rest of age to come, A. & E. 51²; strict observance of, leads to massacre of Jewish fugitives, 1Macc. 2²⁹⁻³⁸.

Sabbaths, Jub. 1^{10,14} 23¹⁹ 50¹⁻³, 6^{7,9,10-13}; and festivals, God's holy, Zad. § 9⁴⁵, 5².

Sabbatical year, 1 Macc. 6⁴⁰*n.*

Sabbeus, 1Esd. 9³².

Sabi, 1Esd. 5²⁸.

Sabias, 1Esd. 1⁹.

Sabie, 1Esd. 5³⁴.

Sacrifice, acceptable, Sir. 35¹⁻¹¹ (32¹⁻¹³), and unacceptable, 34¹⁸⁻²⁰ (31²¹⁻³¹); animal, abhorred, Sib. 4^{29,30}; Jews compelled to, 3Macc. 2²⁸; penitence as a, Azar. 17; to the dead, Tob. 4¹⁷.

Sacrifices, animal, T.L. 9^{7,13}; ceased, 1Macc. 14⁶ Azar. 15; depreciated, 2En. 45¹⁻³; directions as to, 45³*n.* 59^{2,3}*n.* 61^{4,5}*n.* 66²; in heaven, T.L. 3⁶; of righteousness, Sir. 7³¹; polluted, 1En. 89³⁷; to idol, vain, 30^{18,19}; unclean, offered, 1Macc. 14⁷. See Pollution.

Sacrificial system. See Offering.

Sadducee, Ass. Mos. § 8. See Sceptic.

Sadducees, Wisd. 1¹*n.* 1En. 38⁵ 94⁵ 95³ 98¹⁵ 103^{14,15}; accepted O.T. but not tradition and scribe law, Sir. § 4; = 'children of earth', 1En. 100⁶; devourers of goods of poor, Ass.Mos. 7⁶, cf. Ps.Sol. 4¹¹ &c.; had set up non-Davidic, i.e. Hasmonaean monarchy, Ps.Sol. 17^{7,8}*n.* § 5; in control of law-courts, Sus. § 7; referred to, in Ass.Mos.

INDEX

7³⁻¹⁰; severity of, in judgement, Ps.Sol. 4¹ⁿ; Sirach expresses standpoint of, Sir. § 4; support O.T. view of Sheol and of retribution in this life, 1En. 102⁴⁻¹⁰⁴. *See* Sceptic. Sadduceism, unreformed, Zad. §§ 9³⁰ 101. *See* Zadokite Party. Sadduk, 1Esd. 8². Saints and meek-hearted, Azar. 65; of the Most High, 9³³; whom God pardoned, Zad. 6⁴. Salamiel, Judith 8¹. Salamis in Cyprus, Sib. 4¹²⁸ 5⁴⁶². Salasada, Judith 8¹. Salathiel, 1Esd. 5^{5,48,56} 6². Salathiel, 4Ez. § 6; [= Ezra, 4Ez. 3¹]. Salathiel-Apocalypse. *See* Ezra, 4 Book of. Salem, 1Esd. 8². Salem, Jub. 30¹; valley of, Judith 4⁴. Salimoth, 1Esd. 8⁸⁶. Sallumus, 1Esd. 9²⁵. Salman, Jub. 38^{20,21}. Salmanasar, 2Bar. 62⁹, 4Ez. 13⁴⁰. *See* Alagar Zagar, Leba Nasr. Saloas, 1Esd. 9²². Salom, 1Bar. 17. Salt of the covenant, Jub. 21¹¹. Salt Sea, Jub. 13²². *See* Siddim, Vale of. Salum, 1Esd. 5²⁸. Salvation, Zad. 9^{43,54}; in temporal sense, Sir. 3¹; security of righteous dead in intermediate state, 4Ez. 8³⁹ⁿ; to arise from Levi and Judah, *see* Levi and Judah, Works. Samaias, 1Esd. 1⁹. Samaias, 1Esd. 8³⁹. Samaias, 1Esd. 8⁴⁴. Samaria, 1Esd. 21^{6,25} 1Macc. 3¹⁰ 10^{30,38} 11⁸⁴ (added to Judaea 10^{30,38}) 2Macc. 15¹ Tob. 14⁴ Judith 1⁹ 4⁴ Arist. 107 Mart. Is. 2^{12,13,14,16n} 3^{2,3}. *See* Sebaste. Samaritan, Mart. Is. 3¹. Samaritans, 1En. 90⁷⁹ⁿ; hospitality of, 2Macc. 6²; oppose rebuilding of temple, 218⁻²⁴ 5⁶⁶; relations with returning Jews, 1Esd. § 5(a). *See* Zadokite Party. Samatus, 1Esd. 9³⁴. Samellius, 1Esd. 21^{6,17,26,30}. Sameus, 1Esd. 9²¹. Samians, Sib. 3⁴⁶². Samjaza, 1En. 69². *See also* Semjaza. Sammael, Angel of Death, Sir. 25²⁴ⁿ. Sammael, angel, 3Bar. 4⁸ 9⁷; led Adam astray, 4⁸; planted vine, 4⁸; used serpent as disguise, 9⁷. Sammael Malchira, Mart. Is. 1^{8n,11} 2¹. Sammus, 1Esd. 9⁴³. Samon, Jub. 44²⁸. Samos, 1Macc. 15²³ Sib. 3³⁶³ 4⁹¹. Sampsames, 1Macc. 15²². Samsapeel, 1En. 6⁷. *See also* Shamsiel and Simapesiel. Samuel, the prophet, 1Esd. 1²⁰

Sir. 46¹³⁻²⁰ 1En. 82^{41,44n} 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁸. Samuel, an elder, Arist. 47. Samuel, an elder, Arist. 49. Samuel, an elder, Arist. 50. Samuel, the Small, P.A. 4²⁴. Samuil, an angel, 2En. 33⁶ (A, 'Semil' B). Sanaas, 1Esd. 5²⁴. Sanabassar, Sanabassar, governor of Judaea. *See* Sheshbazzar. Sanasib, 1Esd. 5²⁴. Sanctification, angels of. *See* Angels. Sanctified, *see* Holy Land: peoples, tribes, Ps. Sol. 17^{48,49}. Sanctuary, Sir. 50⁵ 51¹² 71¹; the, P.A. 5⁸ 6¹¹, *see* Temple; built by God, will be, Jub. 1¹⁷; built unto all ages, 12⁷ 25²¹; burnt, rebuilt, A. & E. 20^{5,6}; desecrated by Antiochus, 1Macc. 1²¹, by Apollonius, 13⁷; idols in, Ass. Mos. 2⁸. *In Zad. Frag.*: 1³ⁿ 5⁷ 6¹¹ 7⁸ 8^{11,12} 9⁴⁷ 14⁴; city of the, 14⁴; entering, conditions of, 8¹¹; of God, 13⁵ 5⁷; of Zadokites, § 5; pollution of, 6¹¹ 7⁸ 9⁴⁷; wealth of, 8¹²; keys of, cast up to the Lord, 2Bar. 10¹⁸; of the Lord, in world to come, Wisd. 3¹⁴; pollution of, 1Macc. 1⁴⁶ 3^{45,51,58}, *see* Pollution; profaning of, Jub. 30¹⁶; tower of, Ass. Mos. 2⁴, *see* Tower. Sanhedrin, 2Macc. 1¹⁰⁶ (*see* Senate) Judith 11¹⁴ⁿ. *See* Council. Sanherib. *See* Sennacherib. Sanir mountains, Jub. 82¹ 9⁴. Saphat, 1Esd. 5⁹. Saphat, 1Esd. 5³⁴. Saphatias, 1Esd. 8³⁴. Sapphuthi, 1Esd. 5³⁴. Sarabias, 1Esd. 9⁴⁸. Sarah, Tob. 3^{7,17} 6^{11,59} 7⁸. Sarah, Jub. 15^{15,17,19,21} 16^{1,2,12} 15^{16,19} 17^{4,6} 19^{2,7,11} 23⁷ 35^{20,21,27} 36²¹ T.L. 6⁸. Sarai, Jub. 12⁹ 13^{1,13,15} 14²¹⁻²³; name changed to Sarah, 15¹⁵. Saraias, i.e. Seraiah, 1Esd. 5⁶. Sarapis, Sib. 5⁴⁸⁷. Saraqael, 1En. 20⁶. Sarasael, angel, 3Bar. 4¹⁵. Sardis, Sib. 5²⁸⁹. Sardo, Sib. 3⁴⁷⁷. Saregan or Seragan, Jub. 34^{4,7}. Sarhadum, Ah. 1^{1,13} (Syr. Arab.); father of Sennacherib in Syr. Arab. Versions for most part; but rightly son of Sennacherib in Papyrus 1⁸ (= Esarhaddon), *passim*. Sariel, 1En. 6⁷ 8³. Sarothie, 1Esd. 5³⁴. Satan, Mart. Is. 2^{2,7} A. & E. 9¹ Apoc. Mos. 17¹ 1En. 5⁴ T.D. 3⁶ 5⁶ 6⁴ T.G. 4⁷ T.A. 6⁴⁽⁹⁾ Ass. Mos. 10¹ (= Satomail, Sotona, 2En. 29^{4,5n} 31⁴⁻⁷); (= the Serpent), 4Macc. 18³; and the Satans, 1En. § 11(d); appears as angel, Apoc. Mos. 17¹, as serpent, 17⁴; chief of demons, Jub. § 15, *see* Demonology; no Satan, or evil one, 23²⁹ 40⁹ 46² 50⁶ Ass. Mos. 10¹.

Satanail, 2En. 18⁸ⁿ 29^{4,5n} 31⁴. Satans, 1En. 6⁵; accuse as in O.T., 40¹; punish, 53³ 56¹ 62¹¹ 63¹; tempt, 69^{4,59}. Satarel, 1En. 6⁷. Sathrabuzanes, i.e. Shethar-bozenai, 1Esd. 6²⁷ 7¹. Satomail. *See* Satan. Saul, 1En. 89⁴³ⁿ 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁸. Saul of Raaboth, Jub. 38^{21,22}. Saved, many to be, 2Bar. 21¹¹. *See* Fewness, Many. Savias, 1Esd. 8². Scales, the, constellation, Sib. 5⁵²⁰. Scalping, 2Macc. 7⁴. Sceptic denies God's intervention, Sir. 16²⁰⁻²³, cf. 1En. 98⁷; disbelieves in angels, 16²²ⁿ. Sceptre = Messiah, prince of all the congregation, Zad. 9⁹; to rise out of Israel, 9⁹. Schatzhöhle, Die, A. & E. §§ 4, 8. Schedia, 3Macc. 4¹¹. Scornfulness, Tob. 4¹³. Scorpio, Sib. 5⁵²⁵. Scribe, ideal, described, Sir. 39¹⁻¹¹; = reader, *Prologue*, 3n.; superior to labourer and artisan, 38²⁴⁻³⁰, of the knowledge of the Most High, 4Ez. 14⁵⁰, cf. Enoch. *See* 1Esd. 8⁸. Scribes, activity of, Sir. *Prologue* 4, 9 notes; degeneracy of, § 4; 'handlers of the Law', 15⁴ⁿ; position and character of, in time of Sirach, Sir. 38²⁴⁻³⁹ 11ⁿ; = teachers of Law, 4Ez. 8²⁹. Scriptures, Arist. 56, 154, 168. Scythed chariots, 2Macc. 13². Scythian cruelty, 3Macc. 7⁵; fashion, 4Macc. 10⁷. Scythians, 2Macc. 4⁴⁷ 4Macc. 10⁷. Scythopolis = Bethshan, Judith 3¹⁰ 2Macc. 12^{29n,30}. Sea, a great, in heaven, T.L. 2⁷; Great, = the Mediterranean, Jub. 9⁶; 1En. 77^{5,7,8} Test. *App.* I 4²; man from the, *see* Man; † of the heap, Jub. 29¹⁴; power which came up from, = Rome, 4Ez. 11¹ⁿ. Seal of Sion, reference to coinage (?), 4Ez. 10²⁸; of truth, 7¹⁰⁴ⁿ. Sealing, of righteous, 4Ez. 6⁵ⁿ; = closing, of the age, 6²⁰. Seasons, Angels or Spirits of, Jub. 2². *See* Angels. Sebaste = Samaria, Sib. 3⁶⁸; or = Augustus' family, 3⁶⁸ⁿ. Sebat, month, 16¹⁴ⁿ. Sechenias, 1Esd. 8²⁹. Sechenias, 1Esd. 8³². Secret revelation, 4Ez. z. 12³⁷ⁿ, *see* Apocrypha; sins = mystery cults, Wisd. 17⁸ⁿ. Secrets, betrayal of, Sir. 27¹⁶⁻²¹ 1En. 41³ 65¹¹ 68^{1,2} 71³, cf. 40² 46² (evil) 69⁸; eternal . . . in heaven, 9⁶, cf. 10⁷ 16³; of angels, 65^{8,11}; clouds, 41³; depths, 61⁶; of God, 63³; the heavens, 41¹; ends of heaven, 71⁴; the holy, 106¹⁹, *see* Mysteries; lightning, 59³, *see* Thunder; the righteous, 38²; righteous-

ness, 49² 58⁵ 71³; of sin, 83⁷; thunder and lightning, 41³ 59¹⁻³; winds, 41³; wisdom, 51³ 69⁸. Secularization of Pharisaism, Ass. Mos. § 1. Sedekias, king, 1Bar. 1⁹ 1Esd. 1⁴⁶. *See* Zedekiah. Sedekias, 1Bar. 1¹. Sedeqetelebab, city, Jub. 7^{16,17}. Seir, abhorred, Sir. 50²⁶ T. Jud. 9³; land of, Jub. 29¹³; mount, 29¹⁸; mountains of, 36¹⁹ 38^{9,10}. Selemias, 1Esd. 9³⁴. Selemias, an elder, Arist. 49. Seleucia, port of Antioch, 1Macc. 11⁸. Seleucid era. *See* Greek kingdom. Seleucidae, 1En. 90²ⁿ; empire of, Sir. 10⁸ⁿ. Seleucus. *See* Demetrius I. Seleucus IV, king of Asia, 2Macc. 3³ 4⁷ 5¹⁸; Nicanor, 4Macc. 3²⁰ⁿ 4^{3,4,13,15}. Self-control, need of, Sir. 18³⁰⁻¹⁹ 22²⁷⁻²³ 23⁶. *See* Tongue. Self-esteem, right and wrong kind of, Sir. 10²⁶⁻²⁹. Sellasar, Jub. 13²². Selo = Shiloh, Jub. 34^{4,7}. Semei, son of Asom, 1Esd. 9³³. Semei, T.L. 12¹. Semeias, Add. Esth. A¹. Semeis, 1Esd. 6²³. Semelias, Tob. 5¹⁴. Semiazaz, 1En. 6⁷. Semil. *See* Samuil. Semitic original of 1 Esdras, 1Esd. § 2. Semjaza, 1En. 6³ 8³ 9⁷ 10¹¹. *See also* 6⁷ 69² and Samjaza, Semiazaz. Senate = Sanhedrin, 2Macc. 1¹⁰⁶, Judith 11¹⁴; of Rome, description of, 1Macc. 8^{15,19}. Senegereim = Sanherib in Ah. 1¹ *et passim* (Arm.). Seneser, 1En. 13⁹. Seniqr, criminal substituted for Ahikar, Ah. 4^{10,11} (Arm.). *See* Marzifan. Sennacherib, 2Macc. 8¹⁹ 15²²; 3Macc. 6⁵ Tob. 1^{15,18,22} Sir. 48¹⁸ 2Bar. 63^{2,4} 4Ez. 7¹¹⁰; or Sanherib, king of Assyria, Ah. 1¹ *et passim*. Senses, seven, T.R. 2³⁻⁹ Sir. 17⁴ *crit. n.*; five, T.N. 2⁸ Sir. 17⁵ⁿ. Cf. 2En. 30⁹. Separate according to the Law, Zad. 7⁸. Sephantiphans = Zaphnath-paaneah, Jub. 40¹⁰. Seragan or Saregan, Jub. 34^{4,7}. Serah, Jub. 44²¹. Seraphim, Apoc. Mos. 33³ 1En. 61¹⁰ 71⁷ 2En. 12¹ⁿ 19⁶ 29³ (B). *See* Angels. Serar, 1Esd. 5⁸². Sered, Jub. 44¹⁷. Serial, 2Bar. 5⁵. Sermon, in synagogue(?), 4Macc. = a, 4Macc. § 6. Seroh, Jub. 11^{1,5}. Seron, 1Macc. 3^{13,23}. Serpent, Ps. Sol. 4¹¹; bites Seth, A. & E. 37¹; tempts Eve, Jub. 3¹⁷ 4Macc. 18⁸; punished, 3²³. *See* Satan.

INDEX

Serpent worship, Wisd. 11¹⁵
15¹⁸ Bel. § 2.
Serpents, the, 1En. 20⁷.
Serug, Jub. 11⁶.
Servant and slave, duty to, Sir.
7²⁰⁻²¹; how to treat, 4⁸⁰ 33²⁴⁻³¹
(30³³⁻⁴⁰).
Servants of the Lord = Levites(?),
Azar. 63.
Serve the Holy One, used of
Levitical priests, Sir. 4¹⁴ⁿ.
Service, the, P.A. 1².
Sesis, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Sesthel, 1Esd. 9³¹.
Seth, Sir. 49¹⁶ Jub. 4^{7,11} 19²⁴
1En. 37¹ A. & E. 23³ 24² 25¹ 29²
31^{1,3} 36¹ 37¹ 39^{1,2} 40¹ 41³ 43¹⁻³
44¹ 46^{1,2} 48^{1,9} 49¹ 51^{1,3} Apoc.
Mos. 4¹ 5⁸ 6^{1,3} 9³ 10¹ 12^{1,2}
13^{1,2} 14^{1,2} 34^{1,2} 35^{1,3} 36^{1,3} 37¹
38^{4,5} 42³ 43^{1,2} 2En. 33¹⁰; =
'a great white bull', 1En. 85⁹; =
seed of Seth (or Sheth?),
Jub. 22¹²ⁿ.
Seven, 1En. 18⁶ⁿ. 61¹¹ⁿ. 77⁸ⁿ.
&c.; brethren and mother
martyred, 2Macc. 7¹⁻⁴²; days
of creation, 4Macc. 14⁸ⁿ, *see*
Heavens; men, i.e. angels, or-
dain Levi, T.L. 8^{2sqg}; natures,
2En. 30⁸ⁿ; powers of man,
30⁹; senses, *see* Senses; sons
and mother, martyrdom of,
4Macc. 83⁻¹⁸²³; spirits of de-
ceit, *see* Spirits; substances,
man formed from, 2En. 30⁸ⁿ;
ways of souls of righteous and
wicked, 4Ez. 7⁸¹⁻⁹⁹; orders,
i.e. emotions, 7⁹¹ⁿ.
Seventh-year periods, 4Macc.
2⁸ⁿ.
Seventy—and seven years' cap-
tivity, Ass.Mos. 3¹⁴ⁿ; nations,
have seventy languages and
seventy ministering angels,
Test. *App.* I 8^{5,6}; weeks, T.L.
16¹; years' captivity, reinter-
preted as seven generations,
cf. Ep. Jer. § 2, 3ⁿ. *See* Gen-
tile.
Shah, father of king of Persia,
Ah. 3⁷ (Arab.).
Shallum, son of Naphtali, Jub.
44³⁰.
Shalmaneser, Tob. 12^{12,15,16}.
Shame, moral duties inculcated
under category of, Sir. 41¹⁴⁻⁴²
8; right and wrong, 4²¹.
Shamin, a god, Ah. 1⁴ (Arm.).
See Bel.
Shammai, P.A. 11^{2,15} 2⁹ 5²⁰;
school of, views on after-life,
4 Ez. 7¹⁸⁷ⁿ.
Shamsiel, 1En. 8³. *See* Sam-
sapecl.
Shaul, son of Simeon, Jub.
44¹³.
Shebet. *See* Sebat.
Shechem, city, Jub. 13¹ 30^{1,3-5,24,26} 31² 34^{1,7,10} T.S. 2⁹ T.L.
2¹ 6^{8(β)} 7² T.Jud. 4¹ Test.
App. II 3.
Shechem, person, Jub. 30^{1,2,3,24}
Test. *App.* II 78.
Shechemite, Judith 5¹⁶.
Shechemites, Jub. 30^{5,12,17} Test.
App. II 1-3, 4Macc. 2¹⁹; slaugh-
ter of, Judith 9³, ordained in
heaven, Jub. 30⁵, reckoned for
righteousness to Simeon and

Levi, 30¹⁷; circumcision of,
not referred to, 30²⁻⁶ⁿ.
Shechinah, the, 4Ez. 7¹¹²ⁿ.
P.A. 3^{3,8}; a mode of referring
to God, P.A. 3⁸ⁿ; 'the divine
dwelling', 4Ez. 10⁴⁷.
Shedim, 2Bar. 10⁸ⁿ.
Sheep, blinded, 1En. 90²⁶;
white (= Jacob), 80¹²; Lord
of, *see* God, titles of.
Shem, Sir. 49¹⁶ Jub. 4³³ 7^{9,11,12,16}
8^{10,12,17,18,21,30} 9² 10^{13,31} 19^{24,27}
T.B. 10⁵ Test. *App.* I 8⁶; lot of,
Jub. 8¹²; seed of, Jub. 19¹⁷.
Shema, the, P.A. 2¹⁷ⁿ.
Shemaiah, P.A. 1¹⁰.
Shemoneh Esreh, relation of, to
Sirach, Sir. § 7 iv.
Sheol, Tob. 3^{6,10} 4¹⁹ 13² Sir.
14¹⁶ 41⁴ 48⁵ 51^{2,5,6,19} Jub. 5¹⁴
7²⁹ 22²² 24³¹ 2Bar. 11⁶ⁿ. 52²ⁿ.
56⁶ⁿ. 83¹⁷ Ps.Sol. 4¹⁵ 14⁶ 15¹¹
16², *see* Hades, Pit; abode of
souls of wicked dead, 4Ez.
4⁴¹ⁿ; and darkness and de-
struction, Ps.Sol. 14⁶; concep-
tion of, *in* 1 *Enoch*: 1En. 22⁽ⁿ⁾.
51 56⁸ 63¹⁰ⁿ. 99¹¹ⁿ. 102⁴ⁿ.
104⁶ⁿ; (i) O.T. conception—
the goal of all, involving
social, not moral distinctions,
63¹⁰ⁿ. 102¹¹; (ii) the inter-
mediate state of the righteous
and the wicked involving moral
distinctions, 22 51¹ 63¹⁰ⁿ.
102⁹, cf. 100⁵; three hollow
places in, 22; (iii) the inter-
mediate state of the wicked,
63¹⁰ⁿ; (iv) the final abode of
the wicked = hell, 63¹⁰ⁿ. 99¹¹ⁿ.
103⁷ⁿ, *see* Gehenna. *In*
Sirach: Sir. 21¹⁰ⁿ; eternal
rest, 31¹⁷; life in, no organic
connexion with life on earth—
no account of past life on earth—
no reproaches in, 41⁴; no de-
light of life, 14¹⁶; no light for
those who dwell there, 22¹¹;
no recognition of God, 17²⁸,
see Hades; gates of, Ps.Sol.
16²; life in, O.T. teaching of
reproduced in 1 Bar. 2^{16,17};
New Testament meaning of,
first found in 1En. § 11(c);
Old Testament doctrine of,
opposed in 102⁴⁻¹⁰⁴.
Shepherd, censor as, Zad. 16³;
smite the . . . &c., 9(B).
Shepherds of Israel perished,
2Bar. 77¹³; to be found in the
Law, 77¹⁶; the Seventy, 1En.
82⁵⁹ⁿ.-90¹ 90^{13,17,25}.
Sheshbazzar, governor of Judaea,
1Esd. 2^{12,15} (Sanabassar) 6^{18,20};
return of, § 1, § 6(a) 2¹⁵ⁿ.
Shelah, Jub. 8^{5,6}.
Shelah, Jub. 41^{6,7,20} 44¹⁵ T.Jud.
10⁶ 11⁸.
Sheth. *See* Seth.
Shetharbozenai. *See* Sathra-
buzanes.
Shield of Abraham, i.e. God,
Sir. 51^{12x}.
Shiloh. *See* Selo.
Shimei, Test. *App.* II 74.
Shimil, a god, Ah. 1⁴ (Arm.).
See Bel.
Shimron, Jub. 44¹⁶.
Shinar, Jub. 9³ 10^{18-20,25-27}
13²².

Ships, Jews to help Romans
with, 1Macc. 7²⁶.
Shuah, Jub. 19¹¹.
Shuni, Jub. 44²⁰.
Shur, Jub. 16¹⁰; wilderness of,
49²³.
Sibyl, the, Sib. § 2, 3⁸¹⁵ 4²²;
daughter of Gnostos, 3⁸¹⁵;
daughter-in-law of Noah, 3⁸²⁷;
prophetess of the Mighty God,
3⁸¹⁸ 4⁶.
Sibylline Oracles, the (Jewish),
account of, § 6; bibliography,
§ 9; MSS., § 7; Sibyl, the,
§ 2; Sibylline verses, earliest,
§ 3, general character of, § 1;
Jewish, § 4, in later history,
§ 5; Roman collection of, §§ 3,
5; theology of, § 8.
Siccuth = the tabernacle, Zad. 9⁶.
Sichem, foolish nation that
dwelleth in, Sir. 50²⁶; abhorred,
50²⁶.
Sicily, Sib. 4⁸⁰ 5¹⁶.
Sick, duty to, Sir. 7³⁵. *See*
Visiting.
Sickness. *See* Physician.
Sicyon, 1Macc. 15²³ Sib. 3⁴⁸⁷.
Siddim, Vale of, Jub. 13²².
Side, 1Macc. 15²³.
Sidon, 1Esd. 5⁵⁵ 1Macc. 5¹⁵
Judith 2²⁸ Sus. 56 Mart.Is. 5¹³.
Sidonians, Sib. 3⁴⁵¹ 5²⁰³.
Sign, 1En. 55².
Signs of Zodiac, 1En. 48³ 72^{13,19}
75³; of the days, 82^{16,19}.
Signs of the End, 4Ez. 4⁵¹⁻⁵³
620-24 8⁶³⁻⁹ 12.
Silence, P.A. 1¹⁷ 3¹⁸; primeval,
2Bar. 3⁷, return to, for seven
days, 4Ez. 7⁸⁰; times for, Sir.
20¹⁻⁸.
Siloah, 1En. 26².
Simapesiel, 1 En. 69². *See*
Samsapeel.
Simeon ben Eleazar, P.A. 4²³.
Simeon ben Gamaliel, P.A. 1¹⁸.
Simeon ben Hillel(?), P.A. 1¹⁷.
Simeon ben Johai, P.A. 3⁵ 4¹⁷
6⁸.
Simeon ben Judah, P.A. 6⁸.
Simeon ben Menasia, P.A. 6⁹.
Simeon ben Nathaniel, P.A.
2^{10,12,13,17}.
Simeon ben Shetach, P.A. 1^{8,9}.
See Simon ben Shetach.
Simeon the Just, P.A. 1².
Simeon, Jub. 28^{13,17} 30⁴ 33²²
34²⁰ 38⁸ 42^{6,9,10,22} 44¹³ 4Macc.
2¹⁹ T.S. 1^{1,2} 2^{1,2} 8¹ 9¹ T.L. 2²
6⁴ T.Jud. 6⁹ 25^{1,2} T.Z. 2¹ 3²
4^{2,11} T.G. 2^{8(β)}; jealous of
Joseph, T.S. 2^{6,14}; tribe of, to
be dispersed, 5⁶; and Levi,
see Shechemites, slaughter of.
Simeon, 1Macc. 2¹.
Simeon, 1Macc. 2⁶⁴. *See* Simon
Maccabaeus.
Simeon, son of Jeshua, called
Ben Sira—son of Jeshua, son
of Eleazar, son of Sira, Sir.
51³⁰.
Simeon, son of Jochanan, the
priest, Sir. 49¹⁵ⁿ.-50²⁴; whether
Simon I or II, Sir. § 6 ii.
Simon, an elder, Arist. 47.
Simon, an elder, Arist. 48.
Simon, an elder, Arist. 49.
Simon II(?), high priest, 3Macc.
2¹ⁿ.

Simon ben Shetach, Sus. §§ 6, 7
Zad. § 9^{30,40}. *See* Simeon ben
Shetach.
Simon, a Benjamite, 2Macc.
34¹¹ 4^{1,2,4,6,28} 4Macc. 4^{1,5};
and Jason, intrigues of, over
high-priesthood, 2Macc. 3⁴⁰⁻⁴².
Simon Chosameus, 1Esd. 9⁸².
Simon Maccabaeus, called Thas-
sis, 1Macc. § 4, 2⁸ 5^{17,20,21} 5⁵⁵
9^{19,33,37,62,65,68} 10^{74,82} 11^{59,64,65}
12^{33,38} 13^{1,13,14,17,20,27,33-35,42},
45,47,50,53 14^{4,17,20,23-25,28} 29,32,
35,40,41,48,49 15^{1,17,21,24,26,32,33,36}
16^{1,2,13,14,16} 2Macc. 8²² 10^{19,20}
14¹⁷; = heaven-sent king, Sib.
3⁶⁵²ⁿ; panegyric on, 1Macc.
§ 7i(d); prosperity of Jews
under, Sib. 3⁶⁷³ⁿ; regarded
as Messiah, Jub. § 15, *see*
Messiah; history of, elected
leader, 1Macc. 13³; defeats
Tryphon, 13¹²⁻²⁴; treaty of,
with Demetrius II, 13³¹⁻⁴²;
captures Gazara and the citadel
of Jerusalem, 13⁴³⁻⁵³; ode in
praise of, 14⁴⁻¹⁵; renews alliance
with Rome, 14¹⁶⁻²⁴; hereditary
high-priesthood conferred on,
14²⁵⁻⁴⁹; three titles of, 14⁴¹ⁿ;
asked to help Antiochus VII,
15¹⁻⁹; alliance of, with Rome
renewed, 15¹⁵⁻²⁴; covenant
with, broken by Antiochus
VII, 15²⁶⁻⁴¹; sons of, defeat
Cendebaeus, 16¹⁻¹⁰; murder
of, by Ptolemy, son of Abubus,
16¹¹⁻²⁴; threefold title bestowed
on: prince of people of God,
14²⁸ⁿ; leader and high-priest
for ever, 14⁴¹; captain and
governor, 14⁴⁷; victory of, in
Galilee, 5⁹⁻²³.
Simon Magus, Sib. 5²¹⁷. *See*
Beliar.
Sin, Tob. 4⁵ P.A. 1¹⁷ 2^{1,2,6} 3¹ 4²
5²¹ 6¹; author of 4Ez. conscious
of, 7^{48,64,118,126} 8^{17,31}; bear,
Zad. 10⁵; confession of, 3Macc.
2¹³ 6¹⁰, *see* Cleansed, Con-
fession; consists in alienation
from God, 4Ez. 7⁴⁸, unfaith-
fulness to Law, 9³⁶; doctrine
of, in Sirach, Sir. § 9 iv; due
to demons, 1En. 15^{8,9,11} 16¹;
to fall of angels, and the know-
ledge they imparted to man-
kind, 1En. § 11, 7⁵ 9^{1,6,8} 10⁸ⁿ.
16³, cf. 69¹¹; to man, 98⁴; to
Satans, 40⁷ 69⁹; God the
cause of, 15¹¹ⁿ; man of him-
self has created, 1En. 98⁴;
nature of, Sir. 21¹⁻¹⁰; no
doctrine of, in Arist. § 6, 3;
of Adam, 1En. 32⁶; of Eve,
69⁹; of fornication, Zad. 7¹⁻⁴;
of polluting Sanctuary, 7⁸⁻¹⁸;
original, 2Bar. § 10, *see* Ori-
ginal; originated with Eve,
Sir. 25²⁴; Stoic doctrine of,
4Macc. 5²⁰; to come to an
end, T.L. 18⁹; traced to evil
heart of Adam, 4Ez. 3²⁰⁻²²
4³⁰ 7¹¹⁶⁻¹²⁰; transmitted to
descendants, 3²⁵⁻²⁶, *see* Yetzer;
unconsciousness of, T.Iss. 7¹
T.Z. 14⁵; universal, 4Ez. 3^{35,36}
7¹¹⁶⁻¹³¹ 8³⁵, cause of ills of this
age, 4^{27,28} 7⁴⁸ 8³¹.

INDEX

Sina, Mount, Sib. 3²⁶⁶. *See* Sinai.
Sinaar, Jub. 10¹⁸.
Sinai, Judith 5¹⁴ Sir. 48⁷ Jub. *Prologue* 1⁵ 4²⁶ 8¹⁰ 48² 50^{1,2} 1En. 1⁴ 80^{28,32,38} 4Ez. 3¹⁷ 14⁴; centre of desert, Jub. 8¹⁹; desert of, 50¹.
Singers. *See* Asaph, sons of.
Single-minded man, T.Iss. 4²⁻⁵.
Singleness, T.Iss. 3¹*n*, *see* Rectitude; of heart, Wisd. 1¹ T.R. 4¹*n*. T.Iss. 3¹*n*.
Sinners, danger of associating with, Sir. 8¹⁰⁻¹¹. *In* 1 En.: 5⁶ 22^{10,13} 38¹⁻³ 41² 45^{2,5,6} 50² 53^{2,7} 62^{2,13} 69²⁷; caused to pass away, 69²⁷; destroyed by sword, 91¹¹; judged for sins, 38¹; judgement impending for, 45⁶; shall not set foot on new earth, 45⁶; tempt men to evilly entreat wisdom, 94⁵. *In* Ps.Sol. = Sadducees, Ps.Sol. § 5; charged with sensual sins, Ps.Sol. 2¹³⁻¹⁵ 4⁴ 8^{9,24}; profanation of sanctuary and sacrifices, 1⁸ 2³ 8^{12,26}, so connected with the Temple services; hypocrites, Ps.Sol. 4^{7,22}; wealthy, 12⁴ 15⁷. *See* Righteous, Poor.
Sinope, Sib. 3³⁴⁴.
Sins, great and small, equally heinous, Stoic view, 4Macc. 5²⁰*n*.; of ignorance, T.L. 3⁵; chastening of, Ps.Sol. 13⁶ 18⁵; cleansed by confession, 9¹²; fasting atones for, 3⁵; lists of, *see* Lists; three cardinal, fornication, uncleanness, iniquity, Jub. 7²¹ 1En. 7¹.
Sion, i.e. Zion, 1Esd. 8³¹ 1Macc. 4^{37,60} 5⁵⁴ 6^{48,61} 7³⁸ 10¹¹ Sir. 36¹⁴ 1Bar. 4^{9,14,24} Jub. 18¹³ 4Ez. 3^{2,28,31} 5²⁵ 6⁴ [6¹⁹] 10^{7,20,23,44} 12^{44,48} 13^{35,36} 14³¹; footstool of, 6⁴; mother of us all, 10⁷*n*.; new, 10⁴⁴; seal of, i.e. independence of, 10²³*n*. *See* Zion.
Sira. *See* Ben Sira, Jeshua.
Sirach, Zad. §§ 4, 9³⁰; Book of, abbreviations, Sir. § 10; account, short, § 1; authorship, § 6i; canonicity and use in Early Church, § 8; date, § 6ii; influence on later literature, § 7: (a) on N.T., (b) Tobit, (c) Jewish non-Rabbinic literature, (d) Rabbinic literature; original Hebrew text, § 3: (a) recovery of lost Hebrew original, (b) value and authenticity of fragments, relation to each other and to versions, (c) secondary Hebrew recension, (d) reconstruction of original Hebrew text; symbols used in notes, § 10; theology, § 9: (i) doctrine of God, (& § 4), (ii) the Law, (& § 4), (iii) Wisdom, (iv) Sin, (v) Future Life; title, § 2; versions, Greek, and secondary Greek text, Pharisaic recension, § 4; versions, other ancient, § 5: (i) Syriac, (ii) Old Latin, (iii) Syro-Hexaplaric, (iv) Sahidic, (v) Ethiopic, (vi) Aramaic, (vii)

Slavonic, (viii) Arabic; relation of Tobit to, Tob. § 8iv.
Sirens, 1En. 19² 2Bar. 10⁸*n*. 4Macc. 15²¹; as spirits of lamentation, Sib. 5⁴⁶⁷ 2Bar. 10⁸.
Sirion. *See* Aspis.
Sirocco, Sir. 34¹⁶.
Sis, a rock near the plain of Nisrin, Ah. 3¹¹ (Syr.). *See* Nisrin.
Sisnnes, i. e. Tattenai, 1Esd. 6^{3,7,27} 7¹.
Sivan, month, 1Bar. 1⁸ 2En. 48² 68^{1,9}.
Slave-trade, 2Macc. 8¹¹.
Slay, 1En. 60²⁶ 62² 98¹² 99¹⁵; slain in Sheol, 99¹¹; spirits not slain, 22¹³; spirits slain, 108⁹.
Sleep, meaning of, Sir. 47²³*n*.; not, those who, *see* Watchers.
Sloth despicable, Sir. 22¹⁻².
Smyrna, Sib. 3^{344,365} 5^{122,306}.
Social problems, Arist. § 6, 5.
Sodom, Jub. 13^{17,28,28} 16^{9,9,9} 20⁶ 22²² 36¹⁰ Mart.Is. 3¹⁰ T.L. 14⁶ T.N. 3⁴ 4¹ T.A. 7¹ T.B. 9¹ 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁶; destruction of, 3Macc. 2⁵; fruit of, Wisd. 10⁷; = Jerusalem, Mart.Is. 3¹⁰; men of, punished in the judgement, Wisd. 19¹⁵*n*.; punished, Sir. 16⁸.
Sodomites, Jub. 16⁶ 20⁵.
Solar year, Jub. 6^{29,30} 1En. 74; necessary to right observance of feasts, Jub. 6³²⁻³⁴. *See* Year.
Solomon, 1Esd. 1^{3,5} 5^{33,35} 2Macc. 2^{8,12} Sir. 47¹³⁻²³ A. & E. 51³ *Appendix* Sib. 3^{167,214} 2Bar. 61¹ 77²⁵ 4Macc. 18¹⁶ 4Ez. 7¹⁰⁸ 10⁴⁰*n*. (*read* David). *See* Psalms of.
Solyma = Jerusalem, Sib. 4^{115,125}.
Someis, 1Esd. 9³⁴.
Son, Ahikar's prayer for a, Ah. 1^{4,5}; [of Man], in Son of Man Vision, 4Ez. 13:—destroys enemies without labour by the Law, 13³⁸; restoration of lost Ten Tribes under, 13⁴¹ *sgg.*; of Man, *in* 1 Enoch:—1En. 46² 48²; all judgement committed to, 69²⁷; pre-existence of, 48²*n*.; to sit on God's throne, 51³; universal dominion of, 62¹; various phrases for, 1 En. §§ 9(b), 11(b), *see* Messiah; of man = Enoch, 1En. 60¹⁰.
Son of God [A. & E. 42^{2,3,5}]; Messiah as, 1En. 105² (contrast 'Sons of God'); 4Ez. 7^{28,29} 13^{32,37,62} 14⁹.
Son of the Law, 2Bar. 46⁴*n*.
Sons of (battle) din, Zad. 9¹⁰(A). *See* Seth, seed of.
Sons of God, 1En. 69^{4,5} 71¹, *see* Angels; of the God of heaven, 1En. 106⁶; of heaven, 13⁶; Jacob, Zad. 4⁴; man, 14⁶; Noah, 4¹; of Watchers, 1En. 10¹² 14⁶, *see* Children; Zadok, Zad. 5⁷.
Sorites, Wisd. 6¹⁷.
Sorrow, and care, to be dismissed, Sir. 30²¹⁻²⁵; three things that cause, 26²⁸.

Sosibius of Tarentum, Arist. 12, 19.
Sosipater, Maccabean leader, 2Macc. 12^{19,24}.
Sostratus, 2Macc. 4^{27,29}.
Sotona, 2En. 31⁴. *See* Satan.
Soul, active, Wisd. 15¹¹, *see* Spirit; a good, fell to lot, Wisd. 8¹⁰; external, belief in, Sir. 6¹⁶*n*.; greatly vexed, 1Bar. 2¹³; hungry, 2¹⁸; in anguish, 3¹; lent to man, Wisd. 15⁸, cf. 15¹⁶; individual, personal responsibility of, 4Ez. 7¹⁰²⁻¹¹⁰*n*.; = influence, Sir. 47¹⁰*n*.; invisible, 1En. 93¹²; living, and pure spirit given by God to man, Test. *App.* 1 10⁸; of man 'a transient individualization of the one primitive substance or force', Wisd. 2²*n*.
Souls, created before the foundation of the world, 2En. 23⁶*n*.; God the giver of, 4Macc. 13¹³ 18²³; disembodied (= *inspirations*), state of, 4Ez. 7⁸⁰⁻¹⁰¹; holy, Wisd. 7²⁷; of dead, 1En. 91⁰ 22³; of flesh, 16¹; of men, 9³; of righteous, 102⁴, cf. 102¹¹, in chambers, *see* Chambers, in fourth heaven, 3Bar. 10⁶; pure and immortal, received from God, 4Macc. 18²³; pre-existence of, Wisd. § 9, 8^{19,20} 2En. 23⁶*n*. 4Ez. 4⁴¹*n*. 4Macc. 18²³; treasures of, 2Bar. 21²³, *see* Chambers; unborn, 4Ez. 4⁴¹*n*.
Spain, 1Macc. 8³.
Spartans, 1Macc. 12^{2,5,6,20,21}*n*. 14^{16,20,23} 15²³; league with, 12²; letter of, to Onias, 12²¹*n*.; Jews brethren of, stock of Abraham, 12²¹. *See* Letters.
Speculations, Greek, Sir. 3²⁴*n*.
Speech, need of straightforwardness in, Sir. 5⁹⁻⁶¹; times for, and silence, 20¹⁻⁸; unseasonable, 20¹⁸⁻²⁰; varieties of, 27¹¹⁻¹⁵; of wise and foolish, 27¹¹⁻¹³.
Speeches composed to suit characters, 4Macc. 5⁵*n*.
Spheres, orderly ministration of, 1En. 2¹ 2En. 30^{2,3} 2 Bar. 48⁹ Ps.Sol. 18¹²⁻¹⁴; a witness to men, 2Bar. 19³. *See* Heavenly Bodies.
Spirit, and soul, 1En. 22³; each judged according to his, Zad. 9⁴⁸; evil, *see* Demons; God's—His sweet, Sib.Frag. 1⁵; Holy, Wisd. 6¹⁷ [A. & E. 42⁴]; Mart.Is. 5¹⁴ 4Ez. 14²² Ps.Sol. 17⁴², of God, Test. *App.* 1 10⁸ Zad. 2¹⁰, (of man, Jub. 12^{1,23} Zad. 7¹² 8²⁰); My, Jub. 5⁸; of God, T.S. 4¹ T.B. 8² (c⁸S¹) [9⁴] Sib. 3⁷⁰¹ P.A. 3¹⁴; of the Lord, Wisd. 1⁷ 1En. 67¹⁰; which speaketh in me, Mart.Is. 1⁷. *In* 1 Enoch: 1En. 13⁶ 15¹⁰ 22^{6,7,9-13} 39^{3,12} 60^{4,14,16,17} 67^{8,9} 68² 70² 71^{1,5,11} 91¹ 92² 93¹² 98^{3,7,10} 102¹¹ 103^{8,9} 106¹⁷ 108^{3,7}; evil, 15^{8,9,12} 16¹ 20⁶ 69¹²; of Abel, 22⁷; angels, 19¹; dead, 22^{6,9}; dew, 62⁰ 75⁶; earth, 15¹⁰; faith, 61¹¹; giants, 15^{11,12} 16¹; good, 108¹¹; good-

ness, 61¹¹; of hail, 60¹⁷; heaven 15¹⁰; hoar-frost, 60¹⁷; insight, 49³; judgement, 61¹¹; life, 61⁷; light, 61¹²; lightning and thunder, 60^{14,16}; man, 98⁷; men, 20³ 22⁵ 41⁸; mercy, 61¹¹; mist, 60¹⁹; patience, 61¹¹; peace, 61¹¹; power, 71¹¹; rain, 60²¹; reprobate, 10¹⁶; righteous, 22⁹ 41⁸; righteousness, 62²; sea, 60¹⁶; sinners, 22¹³ 108⁶; snow, 60¹⁷; souls of dead, 22³; those who died in righteousness, 49³ 103^{8,4}; thunder, 60¹⁴; understanding and might, 49³; water, 69²²; winds and zephyrs, 69²²; wisdom, 49³ 61¹¹. *In* Test. *XII Patr.*: of deceit (to be trodden under foot), T.S. 6⁶ T.L. 18¹² T.Z. 9⁸; desire, T.Jud. 16¹; envy, T.S. 3¹ 4⁷; fighting, T.R. 3⁴; filthy lucre, T.Jud. 16¹; fornication, T.R. 3³; hatred, T.G. 1⁹ 3¹; injustice, T.R. 3⁶; insatiable-ness, 3³; jealousy, T.Jud. 13³ T.S. 2⁷ T.D. 1⁶; lust, T.Jud. 16¹; lying, T.R. 3⁵; obsequiousness, 3⁴; pride, 3⁵; profligacy, T.Jud. 16¹; sleep, T.R. 3^{1,7}; truth, T.Jud. 20^{1,5}; understanding, T.L. 2⁸ 18⁷ T.Jud. 20²; vain-glory, T.D. 1⁶; wickedness, T.D. 5⁶, *see* T.S. 5¹ T.N. 2²; (= angel) of firmament, 4Ez. 6⁴¹; of man, borrowed, Wisd. 15¹⁶; vital, 15¹¹, *see* Soul; of wisdom, a, 7⁷ Ps.Sol. 18⁸; †perturbed of, Zad. 6²²; = principle of life, Sir. 34¹³*n*.; punishment of, 1En. 67⁸; sacred, = Moses, Ass. Mos. 11¹⁶; slaying of, 1En. 22¹³ 108³; troubled, 1Bar. 3¹; upright, Jub. 1²⁰.
Spirit(s) of Beliar, T.Iss. 7⁷ T.D. 1⁷ T.Jos. 7⁴ T.B. 3^{3,4}. *See* Beliar, Mastema, Satans.
Spirits, and souls of the righteous, i.e. the living, Azar. 64; evil, haunt desert, 4Macc. 18⁸*n*.; four evil, T.Jud. 16¹; invisible, T.L. 4¹; of the retributions (i.e. plagues), 3²; over natural phenomena, 1En. 60¹²*n*., *see* Angels, Powers; seven, of deceit, T.R. 2¹⁻²*n*. 3³⁻⁶ T.L. 3³; which serve before God (= angels), created on first day, Jub. 2².
Spleen, T.N. 2⁸.
Spring, bright, of water, for righteous, 1En. 22⁹. *See* Water.
Star, a, out of Jacob, Zad. 9⁸; is he who studied the Law, who came to Damascus, 9⁸; = leader and lawgiver of Zadokites, § 10ii. *See* Leader.
Stars, Sir. 43⁹⁻¹⁰; = angels (?), 2En. 30¹⁴*n*.; battle of, Sib. 5⁵¹²⁻⁵⁸¹; conscious existence of, 1En. 41⁶*n*.; obedience of, 1Bar. 3³⁴, *see* Spheres; punished (the seven), 18¹³⁻¹⁶ 21¹⁻⁶; shooting, 44<sup>n.; symbolize angels, 86^{1,3}; men, 43⁴ 46⁷.
Statute, Zad. 1¹⁵ 2⁴ 7¹² 9²(B), 12^{37,51,62} 10¹⁴ 15².</sup>

INDEX

Statutes of righteousness, Zad. 9^{37,53}.
Stoic doctrine taught, T.R. 2³⁻⁹; ideas in Wisdom, Wisd. 1ⁿ. 2ⁿ. 7²⁷ⁿ. 18¹⁹ⁿ; philosophy, influence of, in Wisdom, § 9; teaching of five senses, Sir. 17⁶ⁿ.
Stoicism, 4Macc. §§ 8, 9; doctrine of sin, 5²⁰.
Strangers, intercourse with, danger of, Sir. 11³⁴.
Strangling of animals forbidden, 2En. 59⁴.
Stubbornness of heart, Zad. 3⁴ⁿ. 4^{5,10} 6^{16,27,34}.
Study, P.A. 1¹⁷ 3^{10,11} 6^{2,6}.
Stygian stream, Sib. 3¹⁴⁶.
Styx, 1En. 17⁶ⁿ.
Sua, 1Esd. 5²⁹.
Subai, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
Subas, 1Esd. 5³⁴.
Submission to foreign conqueror inculcated in 1Bar. 1-3⁸, 1Bar. § 7.
Subscription to Sirach, by Jeshua, Sir. 50²⁷⁻²⁹.
Substance, Wisd. 16²¹ⁿ.
Substitute for sins, Sir. 3¹⁴. *See* Merit.
Sud, river, 1Bar. 1⁴.
Sudhana Avadana, story of, Ah. § 4.
Sudias, 1Esd. 5²⁶.
Suffering, undeserved, problem of, Wisd. § 9; deserved, remedial and chastening, § 9.
Suicide, morality of, 4Macc. 17¹ⁿ; of Ptolemy Macron, 2Macc. 10¹³; of the elder Razis, 14⁴².
Sun, the, Sir. 43^{2-E}.
Sun's course, 1En. 72²⁻⁷³ 2En. 13ⁿ. 14ⁿ. 16² 3Bar. 61-87; crown of fire, 61 84; defilement by beholding earth's sins, 8⁵; orb, Zad. 13⁷.
Sur, Judith 2²⁸.
Suretyship, Sir. 81²⁻¹³ 29¹⁴⁻²⁰.
Susa, Add.Esth. A² E¹⁸ Sib. 4³⁶.
Susan, Jub. 81.
Susan, land of, Jub. 82¹ 9².
Susanna, account, short, § 1; author, § 7; bibliography, § 10; composite nature or integrity of text, § 6; date, § 7; influence on later literature, § 8; MSS., § 3; original text, § 5; theology, § 9; title, § 2; versions, ancient, § 4.
Susanna, Sus. 2 n., 7, 22, 24, 27-31, 42, 63.
Swearing condemned, 2En. 49¹ⁿ.
Sword, Zad. 13^{12,16} 49^{3(B)} 4, 10, 11; given to sheep, 1En. 90¹⁹ 91¹²; period of, 38⁵ 98¹² 99^{4,6}; used figuratively, 62¹² 63¹¹.
Syene, Sib. 5¹⁰⁴.
Synagogue, the Great, P.A. 1ⁿ.
Synagogues of the pious, Ps.Sol. 17¹⁸. *See* Congregation, Council.
Syncellus, 1En. 6²ⁿ.
Syria, 1Esd. 2²⁵ 6^{3,7,27} 8^{19,23} 1Macc. 3^{13,41} 7³⁹ 3Macc. 3¹⁵ Judith 1¹² 8²⁶ Arist. 22 Sib. 4¹²⁵ 5^{125,204} 4Macc. 4². *See* Coelesyria.

Syriac, 2Macc. 15³⁶.
Syrian, Jub. 27¹².
Syrians, T.N. 5⁸; = ravens, 1En. 90⁸⁻¹².
Tabaet, 1En. 60¹².
Tabaoth, 1Esd. 5²⁹.
Tabellius, a Samaritan, 1Esd. 2¹⁶.
Tabernacle, Sir. 24¹⁵, *see* Tent; of the King = books of Law, Zad. 9⁵; of David, 9⁵.
Tabernacles, feast of, 1Macc. 10²¹ⁿ. 2Macc. 1¹⁸ⁿ. Jub. 32²⁷⁻²⁹, instituted, Jub. 16²⁰⁻³¹.
Table, behaviour at, Sir. 31 (34)¹²⁻²⁴. *See* Banquet.
Tablets of brass, treaties preserved on, 1Macc. 8²²; heavenly, 1En. 81^{1,2} 93² 103² 106¹⁹, cf. 47³ⁿ. T.L. 5⁴ T.A. 7^{6(B)}; *in Jubilees*, record laws Levitical and criminal, 3⁸⁻¹⁴ 4⁵ 6¹⁷⁻¹⁸, 30, 35 15²⁵ 16^{9,16-29}. 18¹⁸⁻¹⁹ 24³³ 28⁶ 30⁹ 32²⁻¹⁵ 33¹⁰ 49 50⁶⁻¹³; a contemporary event, 18¹⁸⁻¹⁹ 19⁹ 30^{9,20} 31³² 32²²; predictions, 5¹³ 23³⁰⁻³² 30²¹⁻²². *See* 1En. 47³ⁿ.
Tabshelim, one of the flying boys, Ah. 6⁶ (Syr.). *See* Ubael.
Tahpanhes, Judith 1¹⁰.
Talking, avoid overmuch, Sir. 19⁴⁻¹².
Talmudic citations of Sirach, Sir. § 3.
†Tamaini, 1En. 82¹⁵.
Tamar, Jub. 41^{1,6,9,16,19} T.Jud. 10^{1,2} 12¹ 13³ 14⁶.
Tamar, P.A. 5¹⁹.
Tamiel, 1En. 67.
Tamnatares = Timnath, Jub. 34⁸.
Tanagra, Sib. 3³⁴⁶.
Tanais, Jub. 13¹².
Tanis, Judith 1¹⁰.
Taphu (= Tephon, 1Macc. 9⁵⁰), king of, Jub. 34^{4,7}. *See* Tephon.
Tappuah, T.Jud. 3² 5⁶.
Tarentum, Arist. 12.
Targum Ps. Jonathan, borrows from Testaments, T.Z. 3²ⁿ. 4⁶ⁿ.
Tarphon, P.A. 21⁹⁻²⁰.
Tarsus, 2Macc. 3⁵ 4³⁰. *See* Apollonius.
Tartarus, 1En. 20² Sib. 4¹⁸⁶. *See* Hell.
Tattenai. *See* Sisinnus.
Tauri, Sib. 5¹³².
Taurus, Sib. 5^{208,518,519}.
Taxo = Eleazar the scribe, Ass. Mos. 9¹ⁿ.
Tazon = Gozan, Mart.Is. 3²ⁿ.
Teacher, i.e. God, Sir. 51¹⁷; of Righteousness, Zad. § 10iv, 17 81⁰, relation to Messiah, 17ⁿ; Unique, 9⁶³, gathered in, 9^{29(B)} 30^(B); voice of, 9⁵⁰. *See also* 47.
Tebon in Gilead, Mart. Is. 2¹⁴.
Tekoah, wilderness of, 1Macc. 9³³ⁿ.
Teman, Jub. 38¹⁸; wisdom of, 1Bar. 3²².
Temperance, a gift of God, Arist. 237, 248.
Temple, Tob. 1⁴ 14⁵ Sir. 36¹⁴ 49¹² 50^{1,7} Wisd. 9⁸ Arist. 53, 88 Sib. 3^{294,302,703,718} 4^{116,118,125}

5¹⁵⁰, *see* Holy Place, House, Tower; altar and vessels lately sanctified after profanation, Judith 4³ⁿ; and altar, Add. Esth. § 7; beauty of, 3Macc. 1¹⁰; cleansing of, 2Macc. 10^{3sg}; deposits in, 3^{5sg}; description of, Arist. 84-99; desecration by Antiochus, 1Macc. 1²⁰⁻²⁴ (*see* Vessels) Sib. 3³²⁷; by Pompey, due to Israel's sin, P.Sol. 2¹⁻¹⁵; destroyed by fire, 1Bar. § 7; destruction of, Sib. 5^{398,401n}. 4^{116,119,125} 5¹⁵⁰; earthly, to be restored, and so sacred vessels preserved, 4Ez. 10²²ⁿ; furniture hidden by Jeremiah, 2Macc. 2⁴⁻¹²; honoured by heathen kings, e.g. Seleucus, 2Macc. 3¹⁻⁴, till Heliodorus attempted to plunder treasury, 3⁷⁻²⁵; = Lord's dwelling, 2En. 51⁴; miraculous intervention to protect, 2Macc. 3²⁴⁻³⁰; music and services, Sir. 50¹⁸; of God, T.B. 9²; Philopator's attempt to enter, 3Macc. 1^{9sg}. 3¹⁷; profanation of, 2Macc. 5^{16sg}. 6⁴; by Antiochus Epiphanes, 2Macc. 5¹⁻²⁷; allowed by God owing to sin of Jews, 5¹⁷⁻²⁰; profaning of, Zad. §§ 9^{4v} 10. *See* Sanctuary; purified and rededicated, 1Macc. 4³⁶⁻⁶¹ 2Macc. 10¹⁻⁸; rebuilding of: Cyrus' decree for, § 1, 2¹⁻¹⁵, in 538 B. C. 5⁴⁶, forbidden by Artaxerxes, 2²⁵⁻²⁸, completed by Darius's intervention, § 1, 6-7, in 520-516 B. C., Samaritans hinder, § 1, 2¹⁶⁻³⁰, whether done by Ezra or Nehemiah, § 5(e); restoration of, but 'not like the first', Tob. 14⁵; low esteem of worship of, Ass. Mos. 4⁸ⁿ. 1En. 89^{73,74} 2Bar. 68⁸; sanctity of, 3Macc. 11^{1sg}. 2^{9sg}; second, destruction of, Zad. § 6in.; second, low reputation of, 2Bar. 68⁸ⁿ; still standing, Zad. § 6i, 1ⁿ; treasures, 4Macc. 4⁸, an object of attack to Epiphanes, 1Macc. 3³¹ⁿ; veil of, *see* Veil; Warden of, 2Macc. 3⁴ⁿ; worship, importance of, in Sir. 44-49n. *See* Sanctuary.
Temple, Heavenly, Azar. 31; = the holy, T.L. 5¹; of glory, 18⁶.
Temple, heathen, Bel. 8.
Temple, Messianic, Sib. 5⁴²³.
Temple of Onias at Alexandria, 1Esd. § 1.
Temples, use of, disowned, Sib. 4²⁷.
Temptations, the, T.Jos. 2⁷; of trade, Sir. 26²⁹⁻²⁷ 3³; power of, Wisd. 4¹².
Tempting God, wickedness of, Sir. 5⁴⁻⁸.
Ten, series of: generations, P.A. 5^{2,3}; sayings, world created by, 5¹; things created between the suns, 5²; trials of Abraham, 5⁴; wonders in Egypt, 5⁵; in Sanctuary, 5⁸.
Ten tribes, Ass. Mos. § 6 4Ez. 13⁴⁰; Return of, 13⁴⁰⁻⁴⁸.

Tendency, the natural, Sir. 21¹⁴ⁿ. *See* Inclination, Yetzer.
Tent, Sir. 50⁵. *See* Tabernacle.
Tenth, first and second, Tob. 1^{6,7}. *See* Tithes.
Tephon, city, 1Macc. 9⁵⁰. *See* Taphu.
Terah, Jub. 11^{10,12,14} 12^{1,14,15,29} 34²⁰.
Tergal, king of nations, Jub. 13²².
Territory added to Judaea by Demetrius I, 1Macc. 10^{30,38}.
Tertullian, 1En. 8¹ 15^{8,9} 19¹ 99^{6,7} (notes).
Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, account of, § 1; additions, Jewish, § 12, Christian, § 13; author, § 11; bibliography, § 17; brackets, symbols, and abbreviations, § 18; date of original Hebrew, § 10; integrity of, § 11; influence on Jewish and Patristic literature, § 14, on N.T., § 15; MSS., Armenian, § 4, Greek, § 3; original language Hebrew, § 8; recensions of, two, in Armenian, § 6, Greek, §§ 7, 9, Hebrew, § 9, Slavonic, § 5; relation to 1 Enoch, 1En. § 10(a); 2 Enoch, 2En. § 4; sources, § 11; theology of, § 16; title, § 2; versions of, Armenian, § 6; Greek, § 7, translated from Hebrew, § 8; Slavonic, § 5. *See* Zad. §§ 8, 12, Levi, References.
Testament of Moses, Ass. Mos. 1¹. *See* Moses.
Testament, title of, Test. § 2.
Testimony, 1En. 67¹² 80^{63,76} 96⁴ 97⁴ 99⁸, cf. 89⁵³ 103⁴.
Testing of character, Sir. 21¹⁻⁶ 47¹⁸; of friends, Sir. 67.
Teuchira, Sib. 5¹⁹⁵.
Thamna, T.Jud. 74⁹ (Timnath, 1Macc. 9⁵⁰).
Thanksgiving, a, Sir. 51^{121-xvi}.
Tharmuth, daughter of Pharaoh, Jub. 47⁶.
Tharra, eunuch, Add. Esth. A¹².
Thassis. *See* Simon.
Thebes, Sib. 4⁸⁹ 5¹⁸⁹.
Thelersas, 1Esd. 5³⁶.
Theodektes, tragic poet, Arist. 316n.
Theodosius, Arist. 47.
Theodosius, an elder, Arist. 49.
Theodosius, an elder, Arist. 50.
Theodotus, 2Macc. 14¹⁹.
Theodotus, a deserter from Ptolemy, 3Macc. 1²ⁿ.
Theophanies referred to, T.S. 6⁵ T.L. 2¹¹ 5² 8¹ T.Jud. 22² T.Z. 9⁸ T.D. 5¹³ T.N. 8³ T.A. 7³.
Theophilus *ad* Autolycum, Sib. § 1.
Theophilus, an elder, Arist. 49.
Theophrastus, Ah. § 2.
Theopompus of Chios, Arist. 314n.
Therapeutae, Wisd. 4⁸.
Theras, river, 1Esd. 84^{1,61}.
Thermeleth, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
Thermodon, Sib. 5³²⁰.
Thessalian land, Sib. 5¹³⁴.
Thevan or Thevad, month, 2En. 48².

INDEX

Third period or kingdom. *See* 4Ez. 5⁴ⁿ.
Thisbe, Tob. 1².
Thmouis, Sib. 5⁸⁰.
Thocanus, 1Esd. 9¹⁴.
Thomei, 1Esd. 5³².
Thrace, Sib. 3⁵⁰⁸ 5¹⁶.
Thracian, 2Macc. 12³⁵ Sib. 3⁴⁷⁴.
Thracians, Sib. 5^{333,337,467}.
Three Children, Song of, 4Macc. 13⁹. *See* Azariah, Prayer of; Hananiah, Mishaël.
Throne, of God, 1En. 25³; of glory, T.L. 5¹; Elect One sits on, 1En. 45³ 55⁴ 62^{3,5}.
Thrones, T.L. 3⁸; of the elect, 1En. 108¹².
Thummim. *See* Urim.
Thunder, 1En. 59², *see* Lightning; and lightning, angel or spirit of, *see* Angels.
Thunderer, Sib. 3⁴⁰⁰. *See* Poseidon.
Tiber, Sib. 5¹⁷⁰.
Tigers = Assyrians, 1En. 89⁵⁰ⁿ.
Tigris, Tob. 6² Judith 1⁶ Sir. 24²⁵ Jub. 9^{2,5} A. & E. 61⁷ 9¹ S.A. & E. 36¹ 1En. 77⁶ⁿ Sib. 4⁶⁴.
Time, observe the, Sir. 4²⁰ⁿ; watch closely, 27¹².
Times and seasons, 4Ez. 14⁵ⁿ; ended, Ass. Mos. 7¹; end of, 11³⁹ 12⁹ 14⁹; of Most High, ended, 4Ez. 11⁴⁴ⁿ, *see* Last time; the last, T. Iss. 6¹. *See* Hours.
Timnath, 1Macc. 9⁵⁰ Jub. 41⁸⁹. *See* Tamnatares.
Timotheus, an Ammonite, 1Macc. 5^{6,11,34,37,40}.
Timotheus, general, 2Macc. 830³² 9³ 10^{24,32,37}; death, 10³⁷.
Timotheus, governor, 2Macc. 12^{2,10,18,19,20,21,24}.
Tina, river, Jub. 812^{16,25,28} 9^{2,7}.
Tiras, Jub. 71⁹ 91³ Test. *App.* I 9⁴.
Tirshatha, the. *See* Attharias.
Titan, Sib. 3^{110,121,129,149}.
Titans, Judith 16⁷ Sib. 3^{132,138,147,156,157,159}.
Tithes and tolls, on Temple revenues, 1Macc. 10³¹; law of, 13²⁵⁻²⁷ 32¹⁰⁻¹⁵; of oxen and sheep, 32¹⁵, *see* Holy Things, Tenth; paid by Jacob to Levi, Jub. 32⁴⁻⁹.
Tithing, Jub. § 15, 32¹⁰.
Titus, Sib. 5^{408,411}.
Tobia the Canaanite, Mart. Is. 2⁵.
Tobiadae, the, Sir. 45²⁰ⁿ.
Tobias. *See* Hyrcanus.
Tobiel, Tob. 1¹.
Tobit, Book of, abbreviations used, § 13; account of, short, § 1; bibliography, § 12; date of, pre-Maccabean, § 6; influence on later literature, § 11; integrity of, § 9; MSS. and Papyrus, Greek, § 3 (for non-Greek, *see* Versions of); original language, Greek or Semitic, § 5; place of composition, Egypt, § 7; purpose, § 7; religious and moral teaching, § 10; sources, § 8: (i) Tractate of Khons; (ii) Fable of Grateful Dead; (iii) Story of

Ahikar; (iv) O.T. and Apocrypha, esp. Sirach; (v) Magian influences; title, § 2; versions, non-Greek, § 4; (A) Aramaic; (B) Latin—Old Latin and Quotations, Vulgate; (C) Hebrew Versions, Münster, Fagius, London, Gaster; (D) Syriac, two; (E) Ethiopic; parallels of, with Sirach, Sir. § 7(6), with Ahikar, Ah. § 3(6).
Tola, Jub. 44¹⁶.
Tolbanes, 1Esd. 9²⁵.
Tolman, 1Esd. 5²⁸.
Tomas, 1En. 78¹.
Tongue, control of, Sir. 23⁷⁻¹⁵; mischief wrought by wicked, 28¹³⁻²⁸. *See* Double-tongued.
Tongues, two, T.B. 6⁵.
Torah, P.A. 11^{2,50,12,15} 2^{2,8,9,16,18,20} 3^{3-7,8,16,18,21} 4^{8,11,12,17,18} 5^{11,24} 6^{1-4,6,7,10,11}; the chief concept of Aboth, P.A. § 5.
Torah and Mitzvah, Sir. 8⁹ⁿ.
Torture, 2Macc. 6^{10sg.} 7^{4sg.} 13^{6sg.}; instruments of, 4Macc. 81³ⁿ. 10^{6sg.} 11^{9sg.}.
Tower of sanctuary, Ass. Mos. 2⁴ⁿ.
Tower = Temple, 1En. 89⁵⁰ⁿ. 54^{56,67,73}.
Trade, temptations of, Sir. 26²⁹⁻²⁷.
Tradition, P.A. 3¹⁸ⁿ; of the elders = Halachah, P.A. § 2; oral, Sir. 8⁹ⁿ; recognized only to small extent by Zadokites, Zad. § 9^{39,40}.
Trajan, 4Ez. 11³²ⁿ. 12³⁻³⁹ⁿ.
Trallis, Sib. 3⁴⁵⁹ 5²⁸⁹.
Transcendence of God, 1Macc. § 5.
Transformation of nature, Sib. 3⁷⁷⁷; of world, moral and physical, *gradual*, Jub. 12²⁰ⁿ. T.L. 18 (*contrast* 1En. 45⁴ 91¹⁶ 2Bar. 32⁶ 67² 4Ez. 7¹⁵); of world, spiritual—it becomes undying, 2Bar. 51⁸; incorruptible, 74², *see* World; of righteous at resurrection, 51^{1-3,7}; and of condemned, 51⁴⁻⁶. *See* Creation.
Translations of Enoch and Elijah, 4Ez. 6²⁶, *see* Messiah, companions of; of Ezra, 4Ez. 14⁹, *see* Enoch.
Translators of Septuagint, Arist. 47-50.
Treasure of works. *See* Works.
Treasure-house of natural forces, Sir. 43¹⁴.
Treasure-houses of snow, dew, &c., 2En. 51⁶¹.
Treasures of immortality, 4Ez. 8⁵⁴.
Treasures of good deeds, 2Bar. 24¹ⁿ; of righteousness, 24¹ⁿ, *see* Works, good; of souls, 21²³ⁿ. 23⁴, *see* Chambers; of the stars, 1En. 17¹; of the winds, 18¹ 4Ez. 4⁹ⁿ. 5³⁷ⁿ.
Treasury of manna, 2Bar. 29⁸.
Tree, dismembered = Israel, 1En. 26¹; of life, 24⁴ 25⁴⁻⁶ Apoc. Mos. 19² 22³ 28^{2,4} T.L. 18¹¹ 2En. 8³ⁿ. 4Ez. 7¹²³ 8⁶²ⁿ; of mercy, i. e. of life, A. & E. 36² 40² 2En. 8⁵(B),

cf. 22⁸(B); of wisdom, 1En. 32³⁻⁶ⁿ.
Trees, desirable, 1En. 10¹⁹; fourteen evergreen, 3; fragrant, 24³ 29² 30³ 32¹; with branches abiding and blooming, 26¹.
Trees of gladness = saints, as in Ps. Sol. 14²(?), 12³, but cf. 11⁷.
Trees of life = God's pious ones, Ps. Sol. 14². *See* Planting.
Trespass, Zad. 13⁸ 81⁸ 9^{17,32,48} 10¹⁰ 11⁴; against next of kin, 9¹⁷; against Law, 10¹⁰.
Trials, P.A. 5^{4,7}. *See* Abraham, Testing.
Triballi, Sib. 5⁵⁰⁴.
Tribes, the nine and a half, 2Bar. 62⁵ 77¹⁹ 78¹; the ten, 12², *see* Ten; the Twelve, T.B. 9².
Tribes, two and a half, lost Epistle to, 2Bar. § 8, 77^{12,17,19}.
Tripolis, 2Macc. 14¹.
Tripolis by Maeander, Sib. 5³²¹.
Troglodytes, T.Z. 4⁶.
Troy, Sib. 3^{206,405} 5⁹.
True, he is, Zad. 2¹⁰. *See* Interpretation, Judgement, Messiah.
Trumpet, announces coming woe, Ps. Sol. 8¹; proclaims Final Judgement, 4Ez. 6²³, cf. 5⁴ⁿ. *See* Voice of God.
Truth, Tob. 4⁶ 12⁸; praise of, 1Esd. § 1, 3¹⁻⁴⁰ 3¹ⁿ.
Truthfulness enjoined, T.R. 6⁹ T.D. 2¹ 5² 6⁸ T.A. 6¹ T.B. 10³; as a virtue, T. Iss. 7^{4,6} T.D. 13³.
Tryphon, 1Macc. 11³⁹ⁿ. 54⁵⁶ 12^{39,42,49} 13^{1,12,14,20-24,31,34} 14¹ 15^{10,25,37,39} Sib. 3³⁸⁸⁻⁴⁰⁰ⁿ.
Tsivan. *See* Sivan.
Tubal, Jub. 71⁹ 91³ Test. *App.* I 9⁴.
Tubias, place, 1Macc. 5¹³ⁿ.
Tubieni, Jews so styled at Charax, 2Macc. 12^{17,35}.
Tumael, 1En. 69².
†Turael, 1En. 69².
Turel, 1En. 67⁶⁹.
†Turel, 1En. 69².
Turn away. *See* Apostasy.
Twenty-two acts of creation, Jub. 2¹⁵; heads of mankind from Adam to Jacob, 2²³.
Twins, the, Sib. 5^{208,521}.
Tyrannus. *See* Auranus.
Tyre, 1Esd. 5⁵⁵ Judith 2²⁸ Mart. Is. 5¹³ Sib. 4⁹⁰ 5⁴⁵⁵ 2Macc. 4^{18,32,44}; games at, 2Macc. 4¹⁸; Ladder of, 1Macc. 11⁵⁹.
Tyrians, Sib. 4⁹⁰.
Ubael, one of the flying boys, Ah. 6⁶ (Syr.). *See* Tabshelim.
Uchan, 2En. 57² (A, 'Azuchan' B).
Unchastity, Zad. 9¹⁷.
Uncircumcised (= children of the pit), Zad. 81² 16⁷; marriage with, Add. Esth. C²⁶.
Uncircumcision, an eternal error, no forgiveness for, Jub. 15³⁴; submitted to, 1Macc. 1¹⁵ⁿ. *See* Hellenizing.
Unclean, Zad. 5⁴ 81⁴ 12² 14^{1,2,6} 15¹, *see* Clean; foods, abstinence from, 4Macc. 5²⁶ⁿ; woman, Zad. 5⁴.

Uncleanness, 1En. 10^{11,20} 91⁷, cf. 106¹⁷, *see* Sin; Zad. 1¹⁷ 14^{1,15,16}, *see* Impurity; heathen, Wisd. 14²⁴; laws of, Zad. § 7.
Underworld, i. e. *infernium* = abode of souls of wicked dead, 4Ez. 4⁴¹ⁿ.
Unfaithful steward, parable of, parallel to, in, Ah. 3¹⁻².
Unforgiving, no atonement for, Sir. 28⁵.
Ungodly, end of, Sir. 41⁵⁻¹³.
Unique. *See* Teacher.
Unity of God, Sir. § 9i Sib. Frags. i & iii 2Bar. 48²⁴ 4Ez. § 10i.
Universal salvation, T.S. 6⁵ T.L. 2¹¹ Test. § 16.
Unleavened bread, Feast of, Jub. 49²².
Unrighteous, 1En. 62^{2,13} 96² 103¹¹, *see* Sinners, Wicked; gains, 1En. 63¹⁰, *see* Wealth.
Upper chamber, Tob. 3¹⁷.
Upper Galilee, Tob. 1².
Upright, *see* Spirit.
Uprightness, *see* Plant; of heart, T. Iss. 3¹ⁿ. 4⁶ T.G. 7⁷.
Ur, son of Kesed, Jub. 11¹³.
Ur of Chaldees, city, Jub. 11^{7,8} 12^{14,15,21} 13⁷ 14⁷ 22²⁷ Sib. 3²¹⁸. *See* Camarina.
Urias, 1Esd. 86² 9⁴³.
Uriel, A. & E. 48^{4,6,7} Apoc. Mos. 40¹ 1En. 9¹ 10¹ 19¹ 20² (over Tartarus) 21^{5,9} 27² 33⁴ 72¹ 74² 75^{3,4} 78¹⁰ 79⁶ 80¹ 82⁷ (*see* Angels, Archangels) 4Ez. [4¹] 5²⁰ 10²⁷; archangel of fire and of Gehenna, 4¹ⁿ; sent as messenger to Salathiel, 4¹.
Urim, Law faithful as, Sir. 33³.
Urim and Thummim, 1Esd. 5⁴⁰.
Usury, Sir. 29²ⁿ.
Uta, 1Esd. 5³⁰.
Uthi, 1Esd. 8⁴⁰.
Uzziel, Test. *App.* II 74.
Valley, accursed (= Gehenna), 1En. 27²; burning, among metal mountains, 67⁴, cf. 67⁷, *see* 54⁷⁻⁵⁵ⁿ; deep with burning fire, 54^{1,2}; deep with open mouths, 53¹; full of water, 30⁴.
Valleys, cinnamon, 1En. 30³; of the earth, 10¹². *See* Abyss, Chasm, Deep, Depth, Gehenna, Ravine.
Value, true of a man, how tested, Sir. 27⁴⁻⁷.
Varus, quelled Jewish rebellion in 4 B. C., Ass. Mos. 6⁸.
Veil of Temple, T.L. 10³ T.B. 9⁴.
Vengeance, 4Macc. 9^{24,32} 10²¹ 11²³ 12¹⁹ Zad. 9²⁰ 10^{2,3,6}; belongs to God alone, Sir. 27³⁰⁻²⁸⁷; of the covenant, Zad. 1¹² 9¹¹.
Venom = head, Zad. 9²⁰.
Versions. *See under each Book.*
Vespasian and Titus = Nabuchodonosor and Baltasar, 1Bar. § 7.
Vessel = body, 4Ez. 4¹⁰ⁿ. 7⁸ⁿ.
Vessels of Temple, *see* Temple; holy, hidden by angel till last times of Messianic restoration, 2Bar. 64⁴⁻¹⁰ new ones made for rededicated Temple,

INDEX

1 Macc. 4⁴⁹; of the Lord, removed by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, Ass. Mos. 3², first some, 1 Esd. 1⁴¹; again others, 1⁴⁵; all taken, 1⁵⁴; restored (?) by Cyrus, 2¹⁰ n. 6¹⁸; by Darius, 4^{44,57} 6²⁶; by Artaxerxes, 8¹⁷; of Temple, restored to Jerusalem by captives at Babylon, 1 Bar. 1⁸ n.; removed from Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Macc. 1²¹⁻²³.

Vesuvius, 1 Bar. 4³⁵ n.

Vicarious suffering of martyrs, 2 Macc. 7³³⁻³⁸ 4 Macc. 6²⁸.

Vine, planted by angel Samael, the forbidden tree, 3 Bar. 4⁸ n.

Violence, 1 En. 65⁶ 91^{6,8,11,18,19} 94² 102¹⁰ 104⁶; denunciation of, Sib. 5²²⁸⁻²⁴⁶. See Oppressed.

Virgo, Sib. 5^{209,521}.

Virtues, cardinal, Wisd. 8⁷; = guardian angels, A. & E. 21¹, cf. 33¹; philosophical, 4 Macc. 1² sg. 5²³ sg. — forms of wisdom, 1¹⁸; obtained by training under the Law, 5²³.

Vision, Tob. 12¹⁹; of angels, Jews saved by, 3 Macc. 6¹⁸; of the cedar and the vine, i.e. A², 2 Bar. 36-40; of the cloud and the lightning, i.e. A³, 2 Bar. 53-74; heavenly, 1 En. 93²; of the Holy One, 1²; of chastisement, 13⁸; of cherubim, 14¹⁸; of wisdom, 37¹; of Levi, T.L. 2⁵ sg. 8¹ sg. g. ; Jacob, T.Jud. 3¹⁰; Naphtali, T.N. 5, 6; Joseph, T.Jos. 19, cf. T.B. 10¹.

Visions, 1 En. 13⁸ 14^{4,8,14} 19⁸ 37¹ 82¹⁻⁷ 85^{2,3} 87² 88³ 89^{7,70} 90^{2,8,40,42} 93² 106¹³, see Dream Visions; of Naphtali, Test. App. I 2¹⁻³ 13⁴ 4¹⁻⁶.

Visit (of God), Zad. 1⁵ 7¹⁷ 9^{12,13}.

Visitation, Zad. 9^{2,10,11} (period of, 9¹⁰; of first, 9¹¹); = deliverance, Wisd. 3⁷; in good sense, Ass. Mos. 1¹⁸; = judgement, Wisd. 14¹¹ n. 19¹⁰; of the earth, by God, 2 Bar. 20² n.

Visiting the sick, duty of, Sir. 7³⁵ n.

Voice, mysterious voice, a sign of the End, 4 Ez. 5⁷; of God proclaims the End, 6¹³⁻¹⁷. See Trumpet.

Vows, P.A. 3¹⁸ 4²³. See Laws.

Vretil, 2 En. 22^{11,12} 23(B).

Vulgar, i.e. am-ha-aretz, P.A. 2⁶ 3¹⁵ 5¹⁸.

Vultures = Graeco-Egyptians, 1 En. 90², cf. 90^{11,13} n.

Wages, Tob. 4¹⁴ 5¹⁵ sg. 12³ Arist. 258, 259.

Wajjissau. See Midrash.

Walk, according to Law, Zad. 7¹ 9¹: in midrash of Law, 9³³; in perfection of holiness, 8²¹; uprightly, 1¹⁶ 3².

Wall, built the, Zad. 6⁸ 9²¹; builders of, 7¹⁹ 26. See Pharisees.

War of Egyptians against Canaan, Jub. 46⁶⁻⁹ n. T.S. 8² T.G. 8⁵ n. T.B. 12³ (β).

Wars, civil, T.Jud. 22¹ T.Z. 9²⁻⁵.

Watchers = (i) archangels, 1 En. 12^{2,3}, cf. 20¹ ('who watch'), also 39^{12,13} 40² 61¹² 71⁷ ('who sleep not'); = (ii) fallen angels, 1 En. 1⁵ 10^{8,13} 12⁴ 13¹⁰ 14^{1,3} 15² 16^{1,2} 91¹⁵ Jub. 4^{18,22} 7²¹ 8⁵ 10⁵; the, T.R. 5^{6,7} T.N. 3⁵; of heaven fell, Zad. 3⁴, see Inclination; punished, rebellious in second heaven, 2 En. 7¹⁻⁵, lustful beneath the earth, 2 En. 18⁷. See Children of, Grigori, Princes.

Water, Zad. 5³ 9¹³ 12^{1,2} 13¹² 14¹⁴, see Cleansed; of judgement, 1 En. 67¹³, see Spring.

Waters, above the heavens, 1 En. 54^{1,7}; beneath the earth, 54⁸ 66¹; earth upon, 69¹⁷, see Fountain, Spring; living, 1 En. 17⁴, cf. 22⁹; spring of, Zad. 9²⁸, see Well; of knowledge, i. e. of Torah, Sir. 15³ n.

Way = course of action, P.A. 2¹; good, right, evil, &c., 2^{1,12,13} 6⁴; of God, Zad. 9⁴²; of righteousness, 1 En. 82⁴; The Way, Zad. 16⁸ 2⁴.

Ways, in 4 Ezra: of this world, narrow and sorrowful, 4 Ez. 7^{11,12}; of future world, broad and safe, 7¹³, see Path; of souls, seven, see Seven. In Zad. Frag.: of God, Zad. 5², 9⁴²; of kings of Gentiles, 9²⁰; of the people, 9²⁴; of traitors, 9¹⁵; of unclean woman, 5⁴; of wicked, 2¹ 9¹⁰; — the Two, 1 En. 91⁴ n. 13¹⁰ n. 2 En. 30¹⁵ n. T.A. 1^{2,5}.

Wealth, Zad. 61¹ 9³³ 14⁸ 16⁴; and unjust gain, 9¹⁷ 13⁴, or gain, 13²⁵ 14⁷; duties of, 14⁹⁻¹⁹; less honoured than wisdom, Sir. 10³⁰⁻¹¹ 1¹; of Sanctuary, Zad. 8¹²; of sins, 1 En. 103⁵, see Unrighteous; of wickedness, Zad. 61¹ 81² 9¹⁵; trust not in, Sir. 5^{1,2}, cf. 1 En. 94⁸; without sin, is good, Sir. 13²⁴. See Gains.

Week, of world, 1 En. 93 91¹²⁻¹⁷, = seven millenniums, 4 Ez. 4³⁶⁻³⁷ n. 7^{30,43}.

Weeks, Zad. 20¹; feast of, 2 Macc. 12²¹ Tob. 2¹ Jub. 15¹ n., connected with Noah's covenant, Jub. 6^{17,18}, see Pentecost; (= year-weeks), Jub. Prologue, 1^{26,29}.

Weighing, 1 En. 41¹ 43² 60¹² 61⁸; of sins of Israel and the nations, 4 Ez. 3³⁴.

Well, is the Law, Zad. 8⁶; dug by nobles of people, 8⁹, penitents of Israel, 8⁹; of many waters, dig a (= restudy Law), Zad. 5³ 8⁴⁻⁶; of the Oath, Jub. 16^{11,15,20} 18¹⁷ 22¹ 24²⁰ 29^{17,18,19} 36¹² 44^{1,8}; of Vision, Jub. 24¹.

West, 1 En. 67⁴ 70³. See Fire.

White, symbolizes righteousness, 1 En. 83³ n.; men = angels. See Angels, Men.

Whoredom, Tob. 4¹².

Wicked, God's wrath against, Sir. 16⁶⁻¹⁴ 32(35)¹⁵; recompense of, 9²; sacrifice of, Zad. 14¹; snared by Law, Sir.

32 (35)¹⁵; ways of, Zad. 2¹ 9¹⁹.

Wickedness, of impurity, Sir. 23¹⁶⁻²⁷; of kings after Solomon, 47²³⁻²⁵; of people in Elisha's time, 48¹²⁻¹⁶; of tempting God, see Tempting; period of, Zad. 8^{9,12} 15⁴, see Israel; wealth of, see Wealth.

Widows, Tob. 1⁸; care of, Sir. 4¹⁰.

Wife, P.A. 1^{5,52}; avoid being jealous of, Sir. 9¹; blessing of a good, 26^{1-4,13-22}; curse of wicked, 26^{5-12,23-27}; duty to, Sir. 7^{19,26} 9¹; need of a good, 26¹⁹⁻²⁷; value of, 36²⁴⁻²⁶ (29-31).

Will of God, T. Iss. 4³ T.D. 6⁶ T.N. 3¹ T.B. 11² (β) P.A. 2⁴ 5²⁴ Zad. 3¹⁻² 5²; of man, of own spirit, 4²; own, 3⁷ 4¹⁰, see Free-will.

Windows, 1 En. 72^{3,7} 75⁷ 83¹¹ 101².

Windpipe, T.N. 2⁸.

Winds, 1 En. 18¹⁻⁵ 34-36 41⁴ 60¹² 76; angels or spirits of, see Angels; portals of, 76¹; the twelve, 76¹. See Chambers, Treasuries.

Wine, 2 Macc. 15³⁹ Tob. 4^{15,17}; makes heart lustful, Sir. 9⁹ 19²; new, a new friend is, 9¹⁰; use and abuse of, Sir. 31(34)²⁵⁻³¹; = ways of kins of Gentiles, Zad. 9¹⁹. See Dragons.

Wisdom, Tob. 4^{18,19} 4 Macc. 1¹⁶ sg. P.A. 2⁸ 3^{12,13,21-23} 4¹ 5^{10,13} 6^{6,8}; and fear of God, 3^{21,22}; and Word, 2 En. 33⁴; assessor of God, 2 En. 30⁸ n.; awaits righteous in heaven, 4 Ez. 8⁵²; embodied in Law, praise of, 1 Bar. § 11, 3⁹⁻⁴⁴; God loveth, Zad. 2²; hidden at last times, 2 Bar. 48³⁶; hypostatized, 2 En. 30⁸ n. 33³, cf. 1 En. 42^{1,2}. In Book of Wisdom: conceptions of — a breath of the power of God, a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty, . . . from generation to generation passing into holy souls she maketh them friends of God and prophets, 7²⁵⁻²⁷; God's intermediary, sent into world, 9¹⁰; immortal, 8¹⁷ n.; not a person, but personified, § 9; omnipotent, 7^{21,27} 8⁸; omnipresent, 1⁷; omniscient, 8⁸ 9¹¹; spirit, 7²²; spouse of God, 8²; synonymous with Word, 9¹ n. In Sirach: Sir. 1^{1,4,6,14,16,18,20,25,26,27} 4^{11,23,24} 6¹⁸ 7⁵ 10³⁰ 11¹⁵ 13²² 14²⁰ 15¹⁸ 16²⁴ 18²⁸ 19^{20,22} 20^{30,31} 21^{11,18,21} 22⁶ 23¹⁵ 24^{1,25} 25^{5,10} 27¹¹ 32⁴ 33^{8,11,17} 38^{24,34} 39¹ 40¹⁹ 41^{14,16} 42²¹ 51¹³⁻³⁰; applied to eating, 37²⁷⁻³¹; as seen in creation, 16²⁴⁻³⁰; blessedness of those who seek, 14²⁰⁻²⁷; comes from the Lord, 1¹ 11¹⁵; conception of in Sirach, § 9 iii; — divine, created before creation, eternal: = the fear of the Lord: the free gift of God; differs from craftiness, 19²⁰⁻³⁰; fear of Lord is true wisdom, 1¹¹⁻²⁰; how acquired by Ben-

Sira, 51¹³⁻³⁰; how attained, 15¹⁻¹⁰; joy and crown of beauty to those who seek, 6¹⁸, 19, 23-31, but harsh to foolish, 6²⁰⁻²²; must not be hidden, 4²³ 20^{30,31} 4^{14,15}; need of in rulers, 9¹⁷⁻¹⁰; not wealth, brings honour, 10³⁰⁻¹¹; of aged, beautiful, 25³⁻⁶; origin of, 1¹⁻¹⁰, from the Lord, 1¹ 11¹⁵; poured out on all God's works, 1⁹, on all flesh in measure, on to Israel without measure, 1¹⁰; practical value of true, 34⁹⁻¹⁷ (31⁹⁻²⁰); praise of, 24¹⁻³⁴; reward of those who seek, 4¹¹⁻¹⁹ 6³²⁻³⁷; shown in conduct, 18²⁶⁻²⁹, by patience, self-control, and humility, 1²²⁻³⁰; true and false, 37¹⁶⁻²²; — literature, § 1; praise of, Wisd. 6⁹⁻¹¹ T.L. 13 Test. App. II 88-95; soul so constituted as to receive, Arist. 236.

Wisdom, Book of, Add. Esth. §§ 1, 5, F¹¹ n.; account of, short, Wisd. § 1; author, § 7; an Alexandrian Jew; bibliography, § 10; composite nature, § 6; date, § 5; language of, § 7; MSS., § 3; relation to O.T. and N.T. books, § 8; theology and philosophy, § 9; title, § 2; versions, § 4; vocabulary, § 6.

Wisdom literature, Wisd. § 1 1 Bar. § 2 iii.

Wisdom of Jesus Ben-Sira, § 2. See Wisdom, Book of.

Wise, P.A. 1^{4,5a,11,17} 2^{11,14} 5¹⁸ 6^{1,6,9,10}; advice to learn from, Sir. 8⁸; class of, § 1; gifts blind the eyes of, 20²⁹; godly man is, 21¹¹; how differs from fool, 21^{12-17,18-28}; of the people to be taught the secret revelations of Ezra, 4 Ez. 12³⁸ 14²⁶ n.; reward of, Sir. 26^{27,28}; speech of, 20^{13,27} 27¹¹⁻¹³; = teachers, Rabbis, P.A. 1¹¹.

Witchcraft, 1 En. 65⁶.

Witness, heap of, Jub. 29⁸.

Witnesses, P.A. 4²⁹; examination of, Sus. §§ 7, 8, 44-59; P.A. 1⁹, see Simon ben Shetach; false, law regarding, Pharisees and Sadducees differ in, Sus. 60-62 n.; law of, Zad. 10¹⁰⁻¹⁷.

Witnesses (= prophets), Jub. 1¹².

Wolves = Egyptians, 1 En. 89^{13-27,58}.

Woman, Disconsolate, vision of, 4 Ez. 9³⁸⁻¹⁰ 24; unclean, ways of, Zad. 5⁴; wicked, 25¹⁶⁻²⁶.

Women, conduct to, Sir. 9¹⁻⁹ 19²; inferiority of, Arist. 250; to be shunned by men, T.R. 3¹⁰ 4¹ 6¹ T.Jud. 17¹ T. Iss. 4⁴; not to associate with men, T.R. 6²; value of, to man, Sir. 36²¹⁻²⁶ (26-31).

Wonders, P.A. 5^{5,8}.

Woods, to be used in sacrifices, Jub. 21¹²⁻¹⁴ Test. App. II 23, 24.

Word, the, of God, Sir. 33³; all-powerful, Wisd. 18¹⁵ n., see

INDEX

9¹ 16¹²; and wisdom, 2En. 33⁴; creation by, 2Bar. 21⁴; interpreter of God's powers, a seventh sense, Sir. 17⁵ *crit. n.*; = 'person' of God, Ass. Mos. 8²ⁿ; (= prophecy), 2Bar. 10⁴ Zad. 9²⁸(A); written, 9². Words, careful in, P.A. 1^{9,11,17}, cf. 4¹⁶, *see* Fence; lying, Zad. 1¹⁰; of the holy angels, 1En. 93²; Holy One, 37² 104⁹; righteousness, 13¹⁰ 14¹ 104¹⁰; wisdom, 14³ 37² 99¹⁰. Work, P.A. 1¹⁰ 2^{18,20}; honourableness of, Sir. 7¹⁵. Works, doctrine of, 2Bar. 21²ⁿ. 14⁷ⁿ; faith and, *see* Faith; good, T.R. 4¹ 2Bar. 14^{7n,12} 4Ez. 7⁷ Zad. 1⁷ P.A. 3¹⁶ 4^{13,22} 6¹⁰, no doctrine of in Ass. Mos. § 9, justification by, Sir. 16¹⁴ⁿ, of righteous should have saved Zion, 2Bar. 14⁷ⁿ, prepared for man by God, Test. App. I 10⁸, cf. 4Ez. 8²², store of preserved in treasures, 2Bar. 14¹² 4Ez. 7⁷; judgement by, Sir. 16¹⁴ (cf. 3^{14,31} 11²⁷ 17²² 26⁹ 31^{9,10}, *contrast* 5^{5,6} 34²⁶) 4Ez. 8³³ P.A. 3¹⁹; justification by, 2Bar. § 10, 10¹² 14¹² 51^{3,7} 63^{3,5} 67⁶ 85²; of Beliar, T.B. 6⁷; of deceit, T.Jud. 20³; of God, Zad. 1¹ 3¹ 16¹, of Israel, evil, 2⁶; of man preordained, *see* Man, works of; of righteousness and truth, 1En. 10¹⁶; of truth, T.Jud. 20³; salvation by, 4Ez. 8³³; treasure of, laid up with Most High, 7⁷ⁿ; wealth of, 8³⁶. World-age, stages in, revealed to chosen men, e.g. Enoch, Moses, Jub. 1²⁶ 4Ez. 14⁵ⁿ. Ass. Mos. 1¹⁸ *sgg.* 10¹² 11¹; beauty of, Wisd. 13²; beginning of, Zad. 2⁶; children of, 9⁶⁴; created on behalf of Israel, Ass. Mos. 1¹² 4Ez. 6^{55,59} 7¹¹ 2Bar. 14¹³ⁿ; for righteous in Israel, 2Bar. 14¹⁹ 15⁷ 21²⁴; for mankind, 2Bar. 14¹⁸ 4Ez. 8¹⁴⁴; empires, 2Bar. 39³⁻⁵; fights for the righteous, Wisd. 5¹⁷ 16¹⁷⁻²⁴ 18²⁴ 19⁶; new, 2Bar. 44¹², which does not die, 51³, which ages not those who come to it, 51¹⁶ 44¹²; now invisible, 51⁸; of corruption, 21¹⁹ⁿ; end of, 40⁸;—plan, place of successive generations in, 4Ez. 5⁴¹⁻⁵³; (future) promised to righteous after death, 2Bar. 14¹³; of incorruption, 21¹⁹ⁿ. 57²ⁿ;—soul, Wisd. 1⁷ⁿ; this, P.A. 1^{2,18} 2¹⁶ 3^{15,19,22} 4^{1,7,21,22,28} 5^{1,11,27} 6^{1,4,6,7,11,12} Beliar ruler of, Mart. Is. 2⁴, life of, P.A. 4²²; to come, 1En. 71¹⁵ P.A. 2⁸ 3¹⁶ 4^{1,21,22} 6^{4,7,10}, inherit, 5²², life of, 2⁸, calmness of spirit in, 4²², portion in, 3¹⁶; whole, represented in high-priest's robe, Wisd. 18²⁴ⁿ. Worldly occupation, P.A. 2² 3^{7,21}. Worship of animals, Wisd. 16¹; nature, 13²; serpents,

11¹⁵ 15¹⁸. *See* House of worship. Wrath of God, P.Man. 10, 13 1En. 55⁹ 62¹² 84⁴ 90¹⁸ 91^{7,9}; (= anger, 5⁹ 101³, cf. 18¹⁶ 99¹⁶) Zad. 1¹⁷ 3⁷ 4⁷ 7¹⁷ 9^{13,22,26} [40] 11⁴, *see* 2⁴⁻⁷; against wicked, Sir. 16⁶⁻¹⁴; came upon Israel, 1Macc. 1⁶⁴; certain though long delayed, Sir. 5^{6,7} 7¹⁶ 16⁶⁻¹³ 21¹⁰ 40¹⁰⁻¹⁷, *see* Retribution; day of, *see* Day; prayer that it may be stayed with the martyrs' sufferings, 2Macc. 7³⁸; turned away, 1Macc. 3⁸. Write down, censor to, a capital charge, Zad. 10¹⁰; to write in register of people, 9²⁹, *see* Written; (sins recorded in heaven), 1En. 89⁷⁰ 98⁸ 104⁷; for destruction, 1En. 91¹⁴, cf. 'Record', 1En. 89^{62,64}. *See* Names. Writing. *See* Characters. Written, it is, Zad. 13²⁷ 14¹; Law is, 7¹¹. *See* 9² 10³. Xanthicus, month, 2Macc. 11³⁰, 33³⁸. Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, relation to, of Wisdom, Wisd. § 9, 8²⁻¹⁸ⁿ. Xouis, Sib. 5⁸⁶. Year, 1En. 74¹⁰ 82⁶, *see* Lunar, Solar; four parts of, 1En. 82⁴⁻¹³. Years, during which Beliar is let loose, Zad. 6⁵⁻⁹; forty, 9³⁹; seven, of excommunication, 14⁶. Yeshibah, i. e. circle of hearers, Sir. 51²⁹ⁿ. Yetzer, Sir. 15¹⁴ 27⁶ 37³; God placed man at first in hand of his Yetzer, 15¹⁴, *see* Inclination, Tendency; good, Sir. 1¹⁴ⁿ; evil, P.A. 2¹⁵ 4¹, counteracts the Law, 4Ez. 3²², inherent in man's nature, 3²⁰⁻²², not created by God, Sir. 15¹¹ⁿ. *See* Evil—germ, heart, principle, seed, thought. Yoke, of the Law, 2Bar. 41⁸ⁿ. P.A. 3⁷ 6⁶; wisdom compared to, Sir. 6^{25n,30}. Yosippon. *See* Josephus 'the Hebrew'. Zabadeas, 1Esd. 9⁸⁵. Zabdeus, 1Esd. 9²¹. Zabdiel the Arab, 1Macc. 11¹⁷. Zabolon. *See* Zebulon. Zacchaeus, a Maccabaeal leader, 2Macc. 10¹⁹. Zachariah, an elder, Arist. 47. Zachariah, an elder, Arist. 49. Zacharias, a ruler of the temple, 1Esd. 1⁸. Zacharias, a singer, 1Esd. 1¹⁶. Zacharias, son of Phoros, 1Esd. 8³⁰. Zacharias, son of Bebai, 1Esd. 8³⁷. Zacharias, 1Esd. 8⁴⁴. Zacharias, 1Esd. 9²⁷. Zacharias, 1Esd. 9⁴⁴. Zacharias, i. e. Zechariah, the prophet, 1Esd. 6¹ 7³.

Zadok, chief of works, Mart. Is. 2⁵. Zadok, Rabbi, P.A. 4⁷. Zadok, play on name, Zad. § 2; Book of Law hidden till Z. arose, 7⁶; sons of, Zad. 5⁷; are elect of Israel, 6²; chosen for priesthood, Sir. 51¹²¹ⁿ, cf. 50²⁴; pre-Maccabaeal high-priests, Sir. § 3iii, 51¹². Zadokite Fragments, bibliography, § 14; date of original, § 6; MSS., § 3; integrity of, § 7: (i) incomplete; (ii) in great disorder; (iii) based on earlier documents; sources of teaching of, § 7iii; teachings of, § 13; text, *see* Hebrew; title of work, Zad. § 2. *See* Zadokite Party. Zadokite Party (*refs. to Zad. Frag.*): belief in future life and angels, Zad. 9¹⁰; connexion with Christian Church, § 10vi, Dositheans, § 10 end, Karaites, § 10vii; constitution, § 11, *see* Censor, Judges, Priest; depreciate David and Kings, and Judah, § 12, 7^{5,7}; expect Messiah from Aaron and Israel, not Judah, *see* Messiah; expectations of, 9⁴⁻⁹; foundation of, 9⁴⁻⁹; glorify Aaron, and priests, and Levites, § 12; head-quarters, Jerusalem, not Damascus permanently, § 10iii; history, principal phases in, § 10:—(i) breach with Sadducean priesthood; (ii) establishment of new covenant of repentance; subsequent breach with Pharisaic party; (iii) claim to be the true Israel; hence term Temple their sanctuary; Jerusalem their holy city, &c.; (iv) period of obedience to precepts of 'Lawgiver' ('Star') till coming of Teacher of Righteousness, thereafter called 'Sons of Zadok'; (v) period from death of Teacher till expected advent of Messiah—judges of, *see* Regulation; leader, *see* Leader; members of, in four orders, § 11, *see* Levites; migration to Damascus, temporary, § 10; name, play on, 1¹ 2¹⁰, *see* Zadok; nature and origin of—a party, not a sect, § 5; within Judaism, within priesthood, possessed genuine orders, § 5; had origin in priesthood (i.e. Sadducees), but was closely related to Pharisees, § 9; an attempt at reform from within the priesthood, § 9; included laity and priests = 'from Israel and Aaron', § 10; not Essenes, § 9²⁰; not Pharisees, yet related to in many respects, § 9⁴⁰; not Sadducees, but a reformed Sadduceism, § 9³⁰; not Samaritans, § 9¹⁰—; relation to Pharisees and Sadducees, § 9^{30,40}; sanctuary = Temple, § 10iii; rules for membership—faithfulness to New Covenant; penalty excommunica-

tion and exclusion for seven years, 9²⁸⁻³⁸—; observance of Levitical and moral laws, 7⁹⁻¹¹ 9¹ 10⁷⁻¹⁷ 12-15 19-20; use of Old Testament, Prophets as well as Law, §§ 8, 9³⁰, 10. Zambri, 1Esd. 9³⁴. Zamothe, 1Esd. 9²⁸. Zaqiel, 1En. 6⁷. Zera, Jub. 38¹⁷. Zeraias, 1Esd. 5⁸. Zeraias, 1Esd. 8². Zeraias, 1Esd. 8³¹. Zeraias, 1Esd. 8³⁴. Zarakas, brother of Joakim, 1Esd. 1³⁸. Zardeus, 1Esd. 9²⁸. Zathoes, 1Esd. 8³². Zathui, 1Esd. 5¹². Zealot, Ass. Mos. § 8. Zeboim, Jub. 13²³ 16⁶. Zebulon, or Zabulon, Jub. 28²³ 33²² 34²⁰ 38⁷ 44¹⁷ T.Jud. 25² T.Z. 1¹⁻³ 10². Zechariah, the prophet, Zad. § 3, 9²(B). *See* Isaiah, Zacharias. Zechrias, 1Esd. 8¹. Zedekiah, king of Judah, 1Esd. 1⁴⁶ (*see* Sedekias) 2Bar. 8⁶. Zedekiah, an elder, Arist. 49. Zedekiah, son of Chenaanah, Mart. Is. 2^{12,13,15}. Zelebsel, 1En. 82¹⁷. Zephathite woman, Jub. 44¹³. Zerah, Jub. 41²¹ 44¹⁵. Zeredah, P.A. 1⁴. Zerubbabel, Sir. 49¹¹ 1En. 90⁷²ⁿ; wins in contest of oratory, 1Esd. § 1, 3¹⁻⁵; overshadowed by Ezra, 1Esd. § 1; a Zerubbabel source of 1 Esdras, § 6(b). *See* Zorobabel. Zeus, Sib. 3¹⁴¹ 5^{7,87,131,140}; of Ammon, 5⁷; or Dis, Arist. 15; the planet, 2En. 30³ⁿ; Olympus, sanctuary at Jerusalem called after, 2Macc. 6², *see* Hellenizing; Xenius, sanctuary at Gerizim called after, 2Macc. 6². Zilpah, Jub. 28^{3,9,20} 33²² 44¹⁹ T.N. 1¹¹ T.G. 1⁶ T.Jos. 20³(B). Zimram, Jub. 19¹¹. Zimri, son of Salom, slain by Phinehas, 1Macc. 2²⁶. Zion, Jub. 1^{28,29} 4²⁶ 8¹⁹ Sir. 24^{10,18} 48^{18,24} 51^{12x111} 1En. 26²ⁿ 2Bar. 5^{1,3} 7¹ 10^{7,10,12} 11¹ &c. Ps.Sol. 11¹; centre of earth, Jub. 8¹⁹; consolation of, 2Bar. 44⁷ 81²; God King on, Jub. 1²⁸; shall be holy, 1²⁸; Mount, scene of revelations in 2Bar. 13¹ 22-30 48-52. *See* Sion. Ziphion, Jub. 44²⁰. Zodiac, 2En. 30⁶; twelve signs of, 21⁶ 30³ⁿ. *See* Signs. Zohar, son of Simeon, Jub. 44¹³. Zoma, ben, P.A. 4¹. Zoroastrianism, not in Tobit, Tob. § 8 v. Zorobabel, 1Esd. 4¹³ 5^{5,48,56}, 68,70 6^{2,18,27,29}. *See* Zerubabel. Zorzelleus, 1Esd. 5³⁸. Zotiel (the angel), 1En. 32². Zugoth, i. e. pairs, P.A. 1⁴ⁿ.

OXFORD: HORACE HART M.A.
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

In compliance with Section 108 of the
Copyright Revision Act of 1976,
The Ohio State University Libraries
has produced this facsimile on permanent/durable
paper to replace the deteriorated original volume
owned by the Libraries. Facsimile created by
Acme Bookbinding, Charlestown, MA



2001

The paper used in this publication meets the
minimum requirements of the
American National Standard for Information
Sciences - Permanence for Printed Library
Materials,
ANSI Z39.48-1992.



